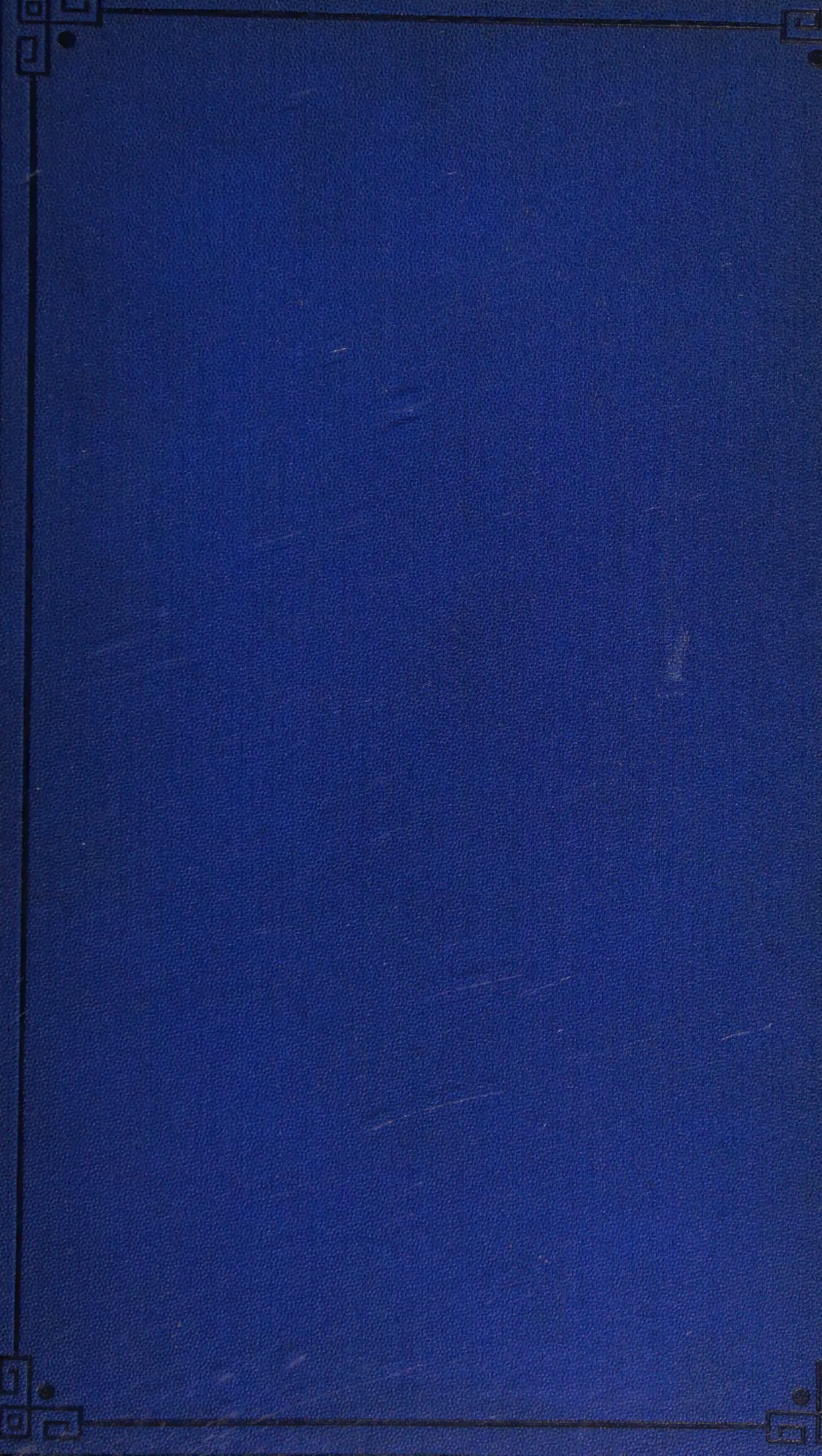

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FROM THE ROYAL INJUNCTIONS OF 1535
TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

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THE

UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

FROM THE ROYAL INJUNCTIONS OF 1535
TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES THE FIRST.

BY

JAMES BASS MULLINGER, M.A.

LECTURER ON HISTORY AND LIBRARIAN OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE.

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TO

JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, ESQUIRE, M.A.
Public Orator in the University of Cambridge.

MY DEAR SANDYS,

The period devoted to the production of this volume has been coincident, for the most part, with your tenure of the office of Public Orator. During the last eight years it has, from time to time, devolved upon you to recall to our recollection the achievements of not a few of our illustrious living, while it has been my endeavour to illustrate the careers of many of our memorable dead. I can scarcely venture to hope that my efforts will appear to have been attended with success in any degree comparable to your own; but when I remember that I was, in the first instance, encouraged and aided in the prosecution of my task by one of your many distinguished predecessors,—the Orator of our undergraduate days,—I feel that there is no one to whom I can more fitly dedicate the following pages than to one who, while ably filling the same office, has constantly aided me with like sympathy and encouragement.

Believe me,
Very truly yours,
J. BASS MULLINGER.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE,
3 *Sept.* 1884.

PREFACE.

THE period comprised within the present volume, although somewhat less than a hundred years, can hardly but be regarded as the most important in Cambridge university history prior to the present century. It was the time when the code by which, with little modification, the university was governed for nearly three centuries, was, notwithstanding strenuous opposition, first introduced, and the ancient constitution of the academic community thereby almost subverted. It was the time of the foundation of four of the colleges, among them the most considerable of the entire number. And it was the time when those trammels were thrown over our higher national education from which it has but lately been set free.

While such was the internal history of the university, the influence which it exercised on the nation at large was not less notable,—far greater, indeed, than most writers on this period seem to be aware. In a former volume I have attempted to shew the extent to which the Reformation in England derived its inspiration from Cambridge; in the following pages it has been no small portion of my task to endeavour to shew the manner in which the great Puritan party was here formed and educated. In dealing with the career and influence of some of the chief leaders of that party,—Thomas Cartwright, Walter Travers, Whitaker, Laurence Chaderton, and Preston,—I have sought to be strictly impartial; a matter of some difficulty where the motives and the actions of the characters under consideration often excite very different sentiments. I would fain hope, on the other hand, that I have done something towards bringing out more clearly the real character of Whitgift and the services which he unquestionably rendered to the university. The slur cast upon his memory by one of the most distinguished ornaments of that society which he ruled so ably, must always be a matter of regret to those who have at heart the cause of historic truth.

The difficulty in dealing with my whole subject has certainly not diminished as the materials have multiplied. It has been truly observed by a very careful investigator of university history, that an adequate treatment of the subject postulates not merely due attention to the organisation and the code, the general discipline and the privileges, of an academic corporation, but also frequent reference to contemporary events and to the influences, whether favorable or restrictive, resulting from the policy of the civil and ecclesiastical powers; while the developement of the intellectual and scientific life of the whole university and the corresponding achievements of its most conspicuous members, are obviously of primary importance[1]. If I admit that it has been my endeavour to realise, in some degree, the high ideal indicated by professor Aschbach, it will be conceded that the labour involved has been considerably beyond that of a mere registration of facts; in no respect, perhaps, have I been more conscious of the difficulties of my task than when endeavouring to discriminate (as I have continually been under the necessity of doing) between the incidents and features in college history which properly belong to such a treatment of the subject, and those which must be considered as appertaining rather to the special history of each separate foundation.

---

[1] 'Eine alle Beziehungen erschöpfende Universitäts-Geschichte welche den gegenwärtigen Anforderungen an eine wissenschaftliche Darstellung ganz entsprechen soll, darf das auf die Organisation, die Statuten, die sonstigen Einrichtungen und Privilegien Bezügliche nicht übergehen; sie kann auch die äusseren Ereignisse der Zeit und die fördernden oder hemmenden Verhältnisse zur Landesregierung und zur Kirche nicht unbeachtet lassen; sie muss aber vor allen Dingen die Entwicklung des wissenschaftlichen Lebens in seinen manchfachen Richtungen verfolgen, und die Ergebnisse der vorzüglichsten Leistungen der namhaftesten Universitäts-Mitglieder in eingehender Weise darlegen.' *Gesch. d. Wiener Universität im Ersten Jahrhunderte ihres Bestehens.* Von Joseph Aschbach. *Introd.* p. viii.

For the encouragement and practical aid which I have received in every quarter, I here take the opportunity of expressing my sincere thanks. To the Masters of Magdalene, Trinity, Emmanuel, and Sidney Colleges, my acknowledgements are especially due for access to documents, and for advice and corrections in my accounts of those several foundations. To the Rev. John E. B. Mayor, M.A., professor of Latin and senior fellow of St John's College,—to J. E. Sandys, esquire, M.A., fellow and tutor of St John's College and public orator to the university,—and to the Rev. Christopher Wordsworth, M.A., formerly fellow of Peterhouse, I am, as in connexion with my former volume, under no small measure of obligation for continuous help in the revision of my proof-sheets and other valuable assistance. To no one, however, is my indebtedness in this respect greater than to the late E. R. Horton, esquire, M.A., fellow of Peterhouse and vice-master of University College School, London, who, until within a few weeks of his lamented death, aided me with a careful and suggestive criticism which I shall always gratefully remember. To the Rev. H. R. Luard, D.D., senior fellow of Trinity College and registrar of the university, I am indebted for access to the original documents in the registry; to Henry Bradshaw, esquire, M.A., senior fellow of King's College and university librarian, for information relating to the history of the Library and other matters of literary interest; to J. Willis Clark, esquire, M.A., auditor and late fellow of Trinity College, for the loan of transcripts of the original statutes of the college and other help; to W. Aldis Wright, esquire, M.A., fellow of Trinity College, for information and valuable guidance on points connected with the history of the college; to the Rev. Robert Sinker, B.D., librarian of Trinity College, for like assistance and for access to the library of the foundation. I have also to thank E. J. L. Scott, esquire, of the manuscript department of the British Museum, for the loan of his transcript of Gabriel Harvey's *Note Book*, prior to its publication by the Camden Society; and Robert Bowes, esquire, of the firm of Macmillan and Bowes, for the loan of his copy of Cooper's *Additions and Corrections to the Annals* (a volume now of great rarity), and also for permission to consult the manuscript of his paper read before the *Cambridge Antiquarian Society* on the printers to the university. To the trustees of the Williams Library, Grafton Street, London, my thanks are due for frequent access to the library, a collection of special value for students of our seventeenth century history.

For information and assistance on various points, I would venture to express my obligations to H. Maxwell Lyte, esquire, M.A., of Christchurch, Oxford; to T. W. Jackson, esquire, M.A., tutor and dean of Worcester College, Oxford; to the Rev. J. W. Hicks, M.A., fellow and librarian of Sidney College; to the Rev. W. A. Cox, M.A., fellow and junior dean, to W. F. Smith, esquire, M.A., fellow and lecturer, and to R. F. Scott, esquire, M.A., fellow and bursar,—of St John's College.

Lastly my acknowledgements are due to the Syndics of the University Press, during the last seven years, for the assistance rendered me in the production of this volume and their kind consideration of the delay which has attended its publication.

ST JOHN'S COLLEGE,
Sept. 1884.

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APPENDIX.

(A) Early Statutes of Trinity College.
(B) The Bidding Prayer.
(C) The *Disciplina.*
(D) The Counties: North and South.
(E) Foreigners at the University.
(F) Giles Fletcher's Verses descriptive of the Colleges.
(G) *An Abstract*, etc.

CHAPTER I.

FROM THE ROYAL INJUNCTIONS OF 1535 TO THE FOUNDATION OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

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THE destinies of learning in England, in the year with which the preceding volume closes, must have seemed to depend on the decisions of a single mind. It illustrates the completeness of the revolution that was impending in the domain both of letters and of belief, that it was the newly-elected chancellor of the university who sent his predecessor to the scaffold. Months before his purpose found its accomplishment on Tower Hill, an entry among Cromwell's private memoranda,—'*Item:* when Master Fisher shall to his execution?'—had recorded his stern and relentless design.

Cromwell elected chancellor of the university.

Cambridge, by the general admission, had stood honourably by her late chancellor[1], but now that her generous patron was no more, the instinct of self-preservation became

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[1] Fuller (ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 215) says that Fisher continued to be chancellor to 'his last hour,' that is, to June 22, 1535, and the lists which represent Cromwell as created chancellor in 1533 are certainly in error (see Cooper, *Annals*, I 371, note 5). 'Had this,' continues Fuller, 'been imitated in after ages, Cambridge had not been charged with the suspicion of ingratitude, for deserting some of her patrons as soon as greatness deserted them; as choosing not their persons but prosperity for her chancellor.' Cromwell's letter to the mayor and burgesses, in which he says, 'Understanding that the body of that the universitie of Cambridge hath elected and chosen me to be their hed and chancelor,' (printed without date in Cooper, *Annals*, I 372,) was probably written just before the commencement of the academic year 1535–6.

His claims to this distinction, as compared with those of preceding chancellors.

paramount. 'The university,' says Lloyd, 'made Cromwell chancellor to save itself[1].' Already Master of the Rolls, chancellor of the exchequer, and secretary of state, the signs of his growing power were such as none might safely disregard; although his claims, in other respects, might hardly have seemed to entitle him to this new distinction. Hitherto it had been deemed essential that the head of the university should have acquired a certain academic status or that he should represent the name and influence of some noble and powerful house. To the latter class belonged the Percys and the Fitz-Hughs; to the former, such men as Thomas Rotheram, who was not only the son of a knight but also a fellow of King's and at the time of his first election, in 1469, bishop of Rochester,—Thomas Cosyn (1490), master of Corpus,—and Thomas Ruthill (1503), the same whose incaution when lord keeper of the privy seal had betrayed to the royal eyes the record of his inordinate wealth, and who, at the time of his election, was archdeacon of Gloucester and in high repute at Oxford for his attainments in philosophy; Fisher, when already Margaret professor and master of Michaelhouse, had succeeded to the chancellorship and the bishopric of Rochester in the same year. Their newly-elected successor, on the other hand, was a man of humble origin,—according to common report, the son of a blacksmith,—and one whose early experiences had been gained in the licence of the camp rather than in the discipline of the schools. He seems first to have come prominently into public notice by his energy in carrying out Wolsey's plans for the suppression of the smaller monasteries and by the ability he evinced in the task of applying their revenues to the use of his patron's foundations at Oxford and Ipswich. But the prevalent impression of his character at this time appears to have been that of a clever and not very scrupulous adventurer in whom the king had recognised a fit instrument for his bold designs in asserting his independence of Rome.

Lukewarmness as a friend or a patron was not among

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[1] *State Worthies*, p. 61.

Cromwell's defects, and already two of the most eminent Cambridge men of the day had reaped the advantage of his personal good will. Edward Fox, of King's College, of whose abilities he had already had personal experience as his coadjutor in the organisation of Wolsey's foundations, was raised in September to the see of Hereford, notwithstanding that he had been prominent among the opponents of the royal divorce; and Latimer, who was perhaps Cromwell's most trusted friend, succeeded a few weeks earlier to the bishopric of Worcester[1]. They were both men well qualified for carrying out the work which Henry and his minister had in view. Fox's dexterity in debate and unrivalled oratorical powers had already, according to one writer, made him the 'wonder of the university[2]'. His genius however inclined him rather to the stirring arena of political life, and before the end of the year he was on his way to Smalcald, together with Heath and Barnes, deputed to warn the assembled princes against the lures of both pope and emperor; while Latimer, a few months later, in his memorable sermons before Convocation, was making the ears of men tingle with his satire and denunciation of the old abuses and his stirring appeals for reform both in doctrine and practice.

His patronage of Latimer and Edward Fox.

The new chancellor's connexion with Cambridge was of but recent date,—apparently not earlier than the year 1532. At that time the chronic strife between university and town had risen to a point which led the former to make application to the Crown for assistance in the defence of its prescriptive rights, and Cromwell, then the royal secretary, had listened favourably to the petition. The university, to mark their sense of his good offices, had bestowed on him a complimentary pension for life, and two years later, on the decease of their high steward, lord Mountjoy (Erasmus's old pupil), had elected him to the vacant office. To the additional distinction now conferred upon him by his election to the dignity of chancellor, Cromwell responded by measures which afford a good illustration of his consummate skill and tact in winning popular support. The feud with the townspeople

Disputes between the town and the university.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 531.

[2] Lloyd, *State Worthies*, p. 89.

had not been allayed, and it was foreseen that at next Sturbridge fair the fray between 'town' and 'gown' would probably assume serious dimensions. Another element had also been imported into the dispute. The jurisdiction of the two 'taxors' of the university, exercised throughout the year conjointly with two burgesses of the town, included a right of 'search of vitail' at the fair[1]. The mayor and burgesses now boldly declared their intention of excluding the taxors from the fair and also of claiming exemption from taxation for certain articles of consumption. In other ways they had also thwarted the legitimate action of the university: they had failed to appear on the juries summoned to the two half-yearly assizes which the university was empowered to hold, and when appearing, under compulsion, had refused to convict offenders[2]. Their malice, their subterfuges, and their continual encroachments appear to have often tried the temper of the academic authorities to the utmost. "They are wonderfull maliciouse," wrote Ralph Aynsworth, proctor of the university and afterwards master of Peterhouse, nor does he hesitate to accuse them, in connexion with one particular suit, of "uncharitable lyes[3]."

Growing boldness of the town authorities.

However faint the interest that now attaches to the

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[1] *Stat. Antiq.* lxv, lvi; *Documents*, I 349–50; Peacock, *Observations*, pp. 25–6. The real cause of the sore feeling between the town and the university at this period appears to have been the loss of trade to the town owing to the developement of the college system. The colleges made and baked their own bread and brewed their own ale, and thus became independent of the town brewers and bakers. This appears very plainly from an appeal, addressed in 1532 to the lord chancellor of the realm and the chief justices by the mayor and burgesses of Cambridge, in which they urge that 'at the time of the said grants made to the university for the said assize of bread and ale, the substance and greatest part of the said university consisted in hostels, halls, and other small places ordained for students, *which at that time were furnished of all their bread and ale and other victual of the poor occupiers and inhabitants of the said town;* now at this present time, the great substance and more part of the said university consisteth in colleges as well of old time as more lately builded, which by reason of their great riches, substance, and possessions wherewith they be endowed, been waxen so politic and wise that they have provided brewhouses and bakehouses of their own, and so at these days the more part of the said colleges do brew and bake in their own houses, by means whereof the officers of the said university give the less care and diligence to the true and just assize of bread and ale, but many times for lucre, meed, gifts and reward do suffer great misusage in that behalf.' Cooper, *Annals*, I 349.

[2] *Ibid.* I 372–3.

[3] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 34.

Cromwell interposes on behalf of the university.

history of these local grievances, it is probable that as a serious source of disquiet they were, for the time, more effective than either the Royal Injunctions or the Oath of Supremacy. In the preceding year, Dr Heynes, the vice-chancellor, had already addressed a letter to the university suggesting the imperative necessity of concerted action in defence of their privileges, and significantly adding, 'also I pray you remember that ye send letters to Mr Crumwell, thanking him for his goodness and to desyre him to contynew[1].' It was this suggestion that the authorities now proceeded to carry out. In his interference on behalf of the body over which he had been elected to rule, Cromwell displayed his usual tact. Professedly the man of the popular party, he was anxious not to make enemies among the burgesses; but at the same time he was well aware that the announcement of his designs in connexion with the university would shortly try its loyalty and temper to the utmost, and that something must be done to win as far as possible the favour both of Catholic and Reformer in its midst. He had already, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Audley, lord chancellor of the realm, given the townsmen warning to keep the peace. This was shortly before the fair of 1535. On the fifth of the following September he issued another mandate to 'his loving friends' the mayor and burgesses, enjoining them to 'permit and suffer' the university 'to use and exercise their privileges' in the matters above described. On the 15th of October he reiterated these commands in somewhat more peremptory language: and on the 15th of December a fourth letter, after specifying certain direct violations of the law on the part of the town, concluded with the following menace: 'yet in cace prayer and gentle entreatie cannot pull and allure you away from the doing of wrong and injury, both to the king and his subjects, I will not fail to advance, to the uttermost of my power, justice, and to see punished with extremytie the interrupters thereof, to the example of other[2].'

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I 367–8; Lamb, *Documents*, p. 35.

[2] *Ibid.* I 377–8.

A letter from the corporation to Cromwell, dated on Michaelmas Day in the following year, reveals another source of contention between the town and the university. It was customary for the newly-elected mayor to take a formal oath that it was his intention and wish to observe and enforce due consideration for the rights of the academic community. This oath the vice-chancellor claimed to administer in person. The burgesses now evaded the obligation under the pretext that it rested with Cromwell and the high steward of the town (then the Duke of Norfolk) to appoint the day for the administration of the oath. As however they had altogether omitted to communicate with either authority no day had been fixed, and they could only plead that this was the result of the negligence of the 'olde mayer,' who was 'so remysse in assembling his brithern to knowe their opynyons and myndes in that behalf[1].'

Evasive conduct of the mayor and burgesses.

In the year 1537 we find the corporation assuming the aggressive, alleging 'a certain case of misorder and misdemeanour' done by the proctors' servants. The result of this indictment does not appear, but on the 15th of May a letter from Cromwell to the town authorities shews that his patience was wearing out before the interminable strife. He laments that 'no entreatie or good meane' can bring about peace between the two bodies, and intimates that it may be his duty to bring the 'perverse inclinacions' of the town under the notice of the king himself[2]. Even this warning however seems to have produced but little effect, for at the ensuing Sturbridge fair the town element distinguished itself by a brutal assault on some members of the university and by other acts involving a breach of the peace. Another letter from Cromwell followed, purporting this time to have been written by the royal direction, wherein he laments that by their 'perverse doings' they should have shewn themselves 'so unkind' to him, 'contempning all my letters written unto you in the favor of the universite,' and enjoining, in his majesty's name, prompt submission and obedience.

They put in counter allegations.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I 384–5.

[2] *Ibid.* I 388.

But still the obstinacy of the townsmen was unsubdued and they responded only by a series of plausible demurrers which roused the royal wrath to the highest pitch. A letter signed with the royal manual now appeared, enjoining instant compliance with the chancellor's commands, 'any contempt of which,' says the letter, 'we shall not fail to see so punished as it shall be heavy for the transgressors of the said commandment to bear it[1].' The danger they had invited was now too obvious to admit of further trifling, and in their anxiety to escape the penalties that seemed imminent the burgesses resorted to the disingenuous expedient of bringing a series of counter-allegations against the university. Deputies were hastily despatched to Hampton Court there to confront the vice-chancellor and his proctors in the presence of the king and the lords of the Star Chamber. That they met with but indifferent success may be inferred from the brief but pithy comment that accompanies the entry of the expenses in the accounts of the treasurers of the town,—that 'all was lost as it fortuned[2].'

The royal mandate.

Final expedients of the townsmen.

In the meantime Cromwell's influence at Cambridge had made itself felt in another direction, and one much more closely concerning the university as a seat of learning. Both there and at Oxford it begun to be clearly discerned that his accession to power portended not merely reformation, but revolution. We have already seen[3] how the Royal Injunctions had changed both the ecclesiastical allegiance and the studies of the university,—substituting homage to the Crown for the ancient homage to Rome, and altogether suppressing the faculty of the canon law[4], enjoining the professors to discard the Sentences for the Bible, and making it lawful for all students to study the sacred volume in private, banishing the prolix commentators, and requiring the colleges to institute lectures in Greek, putting aside the scholastic interpreters of Aristotle and introducing in their place the more scientific

Further proceedings of Cromwell as Visitor.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I 389–90.

[2] *Ibid.* I 391.

[3] Vol. I p. 630.

[4] 'King Henry stung with the dilatory pleas of the canonists at Rome in point of his marriage, did in revenge destroy their whole hive throughout his own universities.' Fuller (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 225.

and intelligent expositions of Rudolphus Agricola and Melanchthon, or the simpler manual of George of Trebizond. At the same time that these Royal Injunctions were promulgated, Cromwell had been appointed Visitor to the university[1], with plenary powers to act 'according to his discretion, judgment, and experience.' Burdened however as he was with pressing affairs of state, it was impossible for him personally to discharge the office, and he was accordingly content in turn to appoint a delegate. His selection could hardly have failed to give warning of his purpose. Among the royal commissioners most distinguished during the following three years by their zeal in the work of suppression and confiscation, five names are especially conspicuous, those of Dr London, Dr Tho. Leigh, Dr Richard Leighton, Dr Ap Rice, and Richard Thornton, the suffragan bishop of Dover. Among these five, Leigh and Leighton acquired an unenviable notoriety by their harsh severity[2]. They had both been educated at Cambridge and had graduated in civil law[3]. Leighton, as we have already seen, was about this time busy in expelling the scholastic writers from Oxford, and we also find him acting as one of the commissioners sent to interrogate More and Fisher in the Tower[4]. Leigh had recently returned from a diplomatic mission to Flanders. It would probably be unjust to conclude that he was indifferent to learning, for about this very time he rendered kindly assistance to the eminent but unfortunate Leland, whom he may have personally known when the latter was at Christ's College[5]. But all accounts agree in representing him as a man of imperious nature and unyielding will. Even those with whom he was shortly after associated as their fellow-commissioner cried out against him. Ap Rice could not but note his 'satrapike countenance,' and declared that he was

The Royal Commission.

Dr Leigh.

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[1] By the 20th clause of the Act of 1533 the right of visitation was transferred from the pope to the king, and Cromwell, as the royal deputy, was invested with plenary powers.

[2] 'The two most active and unpopular of the monastic visitors.' Froude, *Hist. of England*, II 509.

[3] Leighton was B.C.L. in 1522; Leigh in 1527, and D.C.L. in 1531. Cooper, *Athenae*, I 84, 87.

[4] *State Papers*, I 431.

[5] Leland proceeded B.A. in 1521–2; Cooper, *Athenae*, I 110.

'too insolent and pompatique.' Leighton, of whom Leigh complained as too lenient, retorted by asserting that Leigh was 'overweeningly proud and conceited,' and that he 'used the monks with great severity[1].' Such was the man whom Cromwell, who never, as Fuller observes, 'sent a slug on his errands,' now deputed to act as his representative at Cambridge.

Dr Leigh's Injunctions: Oct., 1535.

Surrender of the university charters, etc.

The university was not long left in suspense as to the character of the new commissioner's instructions, and but a few days' interval separated the Royal Injunctions from those of Cromwell's surrogate. The latter open, it is true, with requirements of no alarming nature. Scholars are enjoined to observe the 'statutes, constitutions, ordinances, and laudable customs' of the university; factions, whether of counties or of colleges are bidden to compose their differences; heads and fellows are directed neither to sell fellowships nor to take money for the reception of scholars. Then however follows the main purpose of the missive: within less than four months from the issuing of these injunctions[2], the vice-chancellor and proctors and the heads of houses are commanded to deliver their respective 'charters of foundation, donation, or appropriation, statutes, constitutions, pontifical bulls, and other diplomas and papistical muniments, with a full rental of their immoveable property and true inventory of their moveable goods into the hands of Master Thomas Cromwell or of his deputy for the purpose, to await his good pleasure.'

Institution of a university lectureship in Greek or Hebrew.

Another requirement in the injunctions must be looked upon as of considerable importance, inasmuch as it represents the introduction of a new principle into university education. This is the injunction directing that the university shall institute and maintain, *at its own expense*, a public lecture in either Greek or Hebrew. The details of the directions sound somewhat strangely to modern ears, for not only is the lecturer required to be one known for his attainments and his rectitude of life, but he must also be willing to lecture 'purely, sincerely, and piously,' and without 'carnal affection' or any other 'unjust regard.'

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[1] Cooper, *Ibid.* I 536; Ellis's *Orig. Letters* (3) II 354; Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 57.

[2] 'Before the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary then next;' i. e. the 2nd of February, $15\frac{35}{36}$.

Within one month, the whole university is commanded to assemble at St Mary's on the occasion of the celebration of high mass for the souls of the founders of the university and its halls and colleges, as well as 'for the most happy state of our lord the king and of the lady Anne, his lawful wife, queen of this realm, and for the utmost increase of their high honour under whose auspices the Christian faith again flourishes.'

Finally the head of each house is required to provide himself with a copy both of these and of the Royal Injunctions, and to cause them to be read monthly in his house to all the scholars, any one of whom, if desirous of transcribing them, is to be at full liberty to do so[1].

Importance of the above measures.

Fuller's estimate of the importance of these injunctions is probably marked by the fact that he gives them at full length in the original Latin. They involved indeed a complete surrender of the university and college property into the royal hands, and perhaps no better proof of the terrorism represented by the rule of Henry and his minister can be given than the fact that both at Cambridge and at Oxford (where like demands were made) they were received not only with prompt and unquestioning compliance, but even with professed satisfaction[2]. Other signs were not wanting which plainly foreshadowed a policy that demanded for its execution bold, if not unscrupulous, hands. Hitherto it had been deemed a necessary qualification for the vice-chancellorship that the candidate for the office should have already been admitted D.D. When however the election for the year 1534-5 took place, John Crayford, master of Clare Hall,

Election of Crayford to the vice-chancellorship, 1534-5 and 1535-6.

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[1] Fuller-Prickett & Wright, pp. 216-219.

[2] 'Also the hole universyte of Cambryge be very joyful of your Injunctions, whiche saye that ther cam never un to the universyte so lawdable, so good, and godly a purpose for the common welthe of all the students ther in, savyng iij or iiij of the Pharysaycall Pharysys, from whom that blyndeness that ys rotyd in them ys impossybyll, or ells very hard, to eradycate and plucke awaye. Yet they saye they woll doo well.' *Ellis's Letters*, (3) II 363.

was elected without regard to this precedent, the usual qualification being conferred after his election, *ut gradus*, to quote the sarcastic comment of Dr Caius[1], *quaestum ex officio faceret.* Originally of Queens' College, Crayford had been one of those who accepted Wolsey's invitation to Cardinal College, and had been selected a canon on that foundation. He subsequently returned to Cambridge, and succeeded to the mastership of Clare Hall. The motive for his election to the vice-chancellorship, without regard to the usual conditions, and his re-election in the following year, is to be surmised from the fact that he was notoriously one well fitted for strenuous measures and stormy times. Tradition indeed would seem to imply that he was qualified rather for the tournament or the wrestling-ring than to wear the academic gown, 'a man of mettle,' as Fuller apologetically suggests, 'chosen of purpose with his rough spirit to bustle through much opposition[2].' Another election which took place at nearly the same time, and also under Cromwell's influence, points in the same direction. Dr Francis Mallet, one of Cranmer's chaplains, was appointed master of Michaelhouse, and on Crayford's retirement succeeded to the vice-chancellorship for the year 1536-7; in the following year he was made chaplain to Cromwell himself.

Significance of his election.

Election of Dr Mallet.

That the loyalty of the universities, still largely Catholic, was severely tested by Cromwell's successive measures admits of little doubt, and it appears to have been deemed politic to conciliate both bodies by an important concession in their

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[1] Caius (*de Antiq. Cant. Acad.* I 156) states that Crayford was expelled from the college; but Mr Searle (*Hist. of Queens' Coll.* p. 158) says that though 'there seems to have been some dispute between the college and Craforth, no particulars have been found.' The statement would seem to be rendered improbable from the fact that Crayford was invited by Wolsey to Cardinal College.

[2] Fuller-Prickett & Wright, p. 215. Fuller, quoting Caius, suggests that Crayford was '*gladiator melior quam procancellarius*, who in a fury cut off the hand from one Pindar, and cast out a fellow out of the regent-house, catching him up on his shoulders by main force.' Notwithstanding these harsh traits of character, Crayford appears to have been not indifferent to learning. He afterwards became spiritual chancellor of the diocese of Durham, and on his death bequeathed to the library of the church in that city St Augustine's works (10 vols. fol. 1529), a St Basil in Greek and 'Rabbi Moses in print.' *Durham Wills*, p. 194.

Remission to the university of first-fruits and tenths, Feb. 1535-6.

favour,—the remission of the payment of first-fruits and tenths, which in the year 1534 had been imposed by the Crown[1]. The urgency with which this boon was solicited by Cambridge and the warm expressions of gratitude with which it was acknowledged are significant proofs of the diminution which had already taken place in the resources of the university[2]. This substantial concession was however accompanied by a stipulation which is deserving of special notice as marking the commencement of an important change in the system of tuition in both universities, whereby the higher instruction of the students was no longer left dependent upon the regents,—who, with little regard to merit or capacity for instruction, had hitherto succeeded by virtue of mere academic status to the office of teachers—but was confided to professors of recognised ability who received a certain adequate stipend. Of this change it will be necessary to speak more fully hereafter; at present, we have only to note the fact that the colleges and halls in each university were now required *collectively* to support a public lecturer 'in any suche science or tonge as the Kynges majestie shall assigne or appoynte,'—the lecture to be called 'King Henry the eight his lecture[1].'

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[1] Stat. 26 Henry viii. c. 3.

[2] The effect of this form of taxation in driving away the poor scholars in the colleges is insisted upon with singular emphasis by the university: 'Sentit tamen ex hac re magnam sibi aliquando filiorum orbitatem proventuram esse. Sentit hinc hinc in academia nunc celebri magnam olim solitudinem magnam scholasticorum paucitatem fore... ....Quando nemo est qui nesciat *omnes fere qui apud nos in collegiorum sodalitia cooptantur*, licet doctrina ceteros excellant, tamen pauperrimos omnium esse.' Letter to King Henry, *Epist. Acad.* i 172. In a second letter to Henry, the petitioners expressly disclaim the imputation of exaggeration in their statements: 'Altera res, o princeps, est ipsa academiae tuae salus, quae profecto conservari diu non poterit si hanc sibi imperatam modo pecuniam quotannis solvere cogetur. *Nihil hic figurate a nobis dicetur, nihil amplificationibus, nihil dinosi aut ullo orationis colore;* tantum plane ac simpliciter tum vota nostra tum pericula confitentes vehementer obsecramus Majestatem tuam,' etc. *Ibid.* i 176. The preamble to the act remitting these payments (Cooper, *Annals,* i 379) and the terms in which the petitioners express their thanks shew that these representations had weighed with the king. After describing his generosity as unprecedented and most princely, they further characterise it as 'quae tantam pecuniae vim de summa thesauri sui decedere perireque maluerit potius *quam in academiis bonae litterae perirent, potius quam artium omnis generis et disciplinarum studia misere collapsa, deserta, relictaque iacerent.*' *Epist. Acad.* i 180. That the payment of first-fruits was a real burden is also attested by a letter of Dr Leigh to Cromwell: 'And in divers colleges we founde the nombre of felowes decreased, for that (as they said) they that were chosen felowes were not able to pay the Kings first frutes; wherfor we think that ye might doo a very good dede yf ye wolde helpe theym to be discharged of that.' Ellis's *Letters* (3) iii. 117. The authorities of Queens' College found it necessary to reduce the number of fellows in priest's orders from twelve to ten, the order to this effect affirming that the 'hows cannot susteyne the old accustomed number of prestes felows and scholers with other charges and also pay the seid xth part.' Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll.* p. 191.

Institution of King Henry the Eighth's lectureship from college funds.

Another measure, passed in the same year, served considerably to diminish the numbers of the residents in the university. Eight years before, parliament had been called upon to deal with a growing evil of the times,—the non-residency of the clergy,—and had enacted some stringent regulations. It had been ordered that a rector or vicar should in no case absent himself from his cure for a whole month at a time, and that his absence in the aggregate throughout the year should be less than two months. An exception had however been made to these requirements in favour of those beneficed clergy who might be desirous of visiting the universities for the purpose of study, and of this exception many had taken advantage to an extent that called for renewed interference. Never perhaps, either before or since, has the social life of Oxford and Cambridge assumed so attractive a guise when compared with the conditions of life in other parts of the kingdom. They were centres not simply of learning and of intelligence, but also of gaiety and, too often, of dissipation,—features which, when weighed against the moral satisfaction resulting from the faithful discharge of laborious duty in a remote country parish, were often only too potent attractions. The academic authorities, accordingly, found themselves not a little embarrassed and perplexed by the large numbers of middle-aged clergymen who, without devoting any attention to study, 'ne,' as the Act of 1536 sternly adds, 'never entending,' flocked to the university there to pass their time in gossiping at the Dolphin, the Bull, or the White Horse, 'in idleness and in other pastimes and indolent pleasures,' and to occupy the chambers and encroach on the "commodities" designed exclusively for "the relief and maintenance of poor scholars." On these un-

Number of beneficed clergy at the universities.

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[1] Stat. 27 Hen. VIII. c. 42.

faithful shepherds, parliament, under Cromwell's inspiration, now imposed an effectual check: all over forty years of age were required forthwith to betake themselves to their cures, while those under that age were permitted to remain at the university only on condition that they gave satisfactory evidence of their studious designs by attendance at lectures and keeping in their own persons 'sophems, problems, disputacions, and other exercises of lernyng' and assuming the arduous functions of opponent or respondent in the schools[1].

They are required either to apply themselves to study or to their cures.

In the same year, with the design apparently of replacing these pretended votaries of learning by a more genuine class, certain injunctions to the clergy required every beneficed clergyman whose emoluments from church property amounted to £100 yearly, to maintain a scholar at Oxford or Cambridge or at some grammar school, who, says the injunction, 'after they have profited in good learning may be partners of their patrons "cure" and charge as well in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices, or may when need shall be, otherwise profit the commonwealth with their counsel and wisdom[2].'

The wealthier clergy required to maintain scholars at the university.

It was in the year 1534-5 that the Scotch Reformer, Alexander Alane, visited Cambridge. He had been invited over to England by Cromwell and Cranmer, who hoped to secure in the disciple of Melanchthon and the approved antagonist of Cochlaeus an able champion of the doctrines

Alexander Alane. *b.* 1500. *d.* 1566.

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[1] Stat. 28 Hen. VIII. c. 13; Cooper, *Annals*, I 384; Wood-Gutch, II 66. That this statute was directed at a real and serious abuse is evident from the fact that similar requirements were laid down by the Convocation of the province of Canterbury in the reign of queen Mary. Wilkins, *Conc.* IV 166–7. Becon, in his *Vessel of Joy* (*Works*, Pt. ii. f. 15), says 'God commandeth tithes to be paid. But for what cause? That the ministers should spend them in the Court, *or at the university*......or in keeping of hawks and dogs,' etc. 'Nay, verily, but that there should be meat in his house.'

[2] Wilkins, *Conc.* III 814. Cooper, *Annals*, I 386; Wood-Gutch, II 66. Wood observes, 'The reason for this injunction was because the abbies and priories from whence exhibitions for poor scholars proceeded, were at this time dissolved, and thereupon many of those students that had not wherewith to subsist in the university were forced to leave it and betake themselves to another course of life.' The injunction was re-enacted in 1547 under Edward VI. (Cooper, *Ib.* II 16), 'Whether these injunctions were duly observed I find not. I doubt by the license given to the clergy to take wives and the distractions in the king's reign, they were not observed.' (Wood-Gutch, II 86).

which they sought to uphold[1]. Alane appeared at Cambridge as the 'king's scholar' expressly charged with the office of lecturing in the university on the Scriptures, and with the more direct design of instructing his hearers in the theology of the German Reformers. He entered at Queens' College, where, according to his own statement, he found congenial companionship,—'jucundissimum sodalitium;' and we can well understand that the story of his youthful and stern experiences in the Scottish university, of his interviews with cardinal Beaton and the merciless prior of St Andrew's, his long incarceration in the noisome dungeon and romantic escape to Wittenberg, his intimacy with Melanchthon and not inglorious controversy with Cochlaeus, could hardly have failed to win for the 'Wanderer[2]' more than ordinary sympathy and interest. He was however embarrassed by the non-receipt of the pension which Cromwell had promised but never paid[3]; while in his office of lecturer he soon found himself confronted by opposition of a kind which clearly attests not only the extent to which the university was still hostile to Lutheran doctrines, but also the boldness with which, notwithstanding the terrorism of its chancellor's rule, it could yet, at times, give expression to this feeling. He was lecturing on the Psalms, when, according to his own account[4], he appears to have been interrupted and challenged to defend the views which he maintained. He thereupon intimated his readiness to meet his antagonist in a formal disputation at the schools and named the hour and the day. At the appointed time he was in his place and found a

His experiences at Cambridge.

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[1] He was, says Prof. Lorimer, 'one of the first batch of students who were educated in the new College of St Leonard's, founded in 1512 by Prior John Hepburn.'...'He was fond of theological disputation, and soon acquired considerable reputation for his dialectical skill.' *The Scottish Reformation*, p. 30. Camerarius speaks of him as 'cupidus conflictus.' *Vitae Quatuor Reform.* (ed. Neander) p. 79.

[2] His name of 'Ales' or 'Alesius' was probably given him by Melanchthon, from the resemblance of his name to the Greek word ἀλαίνω, 'to wander.' See Lorimer, *Precursors of Knox*, p. 167, note 11.

[3] MS. Parker, cxix, 215; Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll.* p. 192.

[4] The facts are given by Alane in a tract which he afterwards published, *Of the authorite of the word of God agaynst the bishop of London, etc. made by Alexander Alane, Scot, and sent to the duke of Saxon.* No date.

considerable number of intending auditors assembled, but his antagonist failed to appear. The feeling excited against himself was however so strong that, as he avers, he went in fear of his life and was advised to appeal to the vice-chancellor for protection. But Crayford, who then filled the office, shewed him so little sympathy, that Alane, king's scholar though he was, deemed it prudent to quit the university. He accordingly went to London and having resolved on entering the medical profession, there became the pupil of a Dr Nicholas, a physician of note at that time.

He takes an active part in the debate in Convocation.

It so happened that while Convocation was sitting in 1536, Cromwell met Alane in the streets of London, and, in the hope of securing for the cause which he had at heart the services of an experienced controversialist, introduced him to the assembly. The discussion, which soon became of the warmest, resolved itself into the ancient dispute concerning Church doctrine as distinct from Scriptural authority, or, to quote the language of Alane himself, 'the grosse blasphemy of the unwritten worde.' Alane upheld the teaching of Melanchthon, although, in arguing concerning the definition of a sacrament, he did not disdain to appeal to the definitions of Augustine, the Master of the Sentences, and Thomas Aquinas. He was attacked by Stokesley and as warmly defended by Fox,—the poor fugitive from Cambridge and the 'wonder of the university' appearing in striking accord. Fox urged the assembly not to appeal to 'the doctors and schole writers' but to the Scriptures alone, and it is somewhat surprising to find him deliberately asserting that 'the lay people do now know the Holy Scriptures better than most of us.' Alane however conducted himself with more zeal than discretion[1] and his intrusion was resented by some of the bishops. On the following day he received an intimation from Cranmer to this effect and accordingly did not present himself a second time.

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[1] I must confess myself unable to concur in Dr Lorimer's statement, that Alane delivered his opinion with 'equal modesty and ability' (*The Scottish Ref.* p. 59). From Alane's own account it appears that he twice assumed a leading part in the debate, and was proceeding to do so a third time when Cromwell bade him 'be content for the tyme.'

The controversy in which he had taken part resulted[1], as is well known, in the Ten Articles, and these again found a place in the most important theological treatise of the time,—*The Institution of a Christian Man*[2]. This celebrated volume,—'beyond question the most beautiful composition which had as yet appeared in English prose,'—was the joint production of a Commission which included the whole episcopate, eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and civil law; an illustrious list, seeing that it contains the names of those who were also the translators of the Bible of 1540 and the compilers of the Prayer Book. Essentially a

The *Institution of a Christian Man.*

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[1] That Alane exercised considerable influence on the controversies of the time is evident from the language of Weston, the catholic dean of Westminster, at the disputation at Oxford: 'A runagate Scot did take away the worshipping of Christ in the sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion Book; *so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time.*' Latimer-Corrie, II 278.

[2] A good account of the *Institution* is to be found in Mr J. H. Blunt's *Reformation of the Church of England*, pp. 444-469. He regards it as 'the great dogmatical document of the Reformation,' and speaks of it as a 'noble endeavour on the part of the bishops to promote unity and to instruct the people in Church doctrine.' 'The spirit of reactionary Ultramontanism,' he observes, 'had not then been imported into English affairs, as it afterwards was by the provocations of Edward VI and his courtiers; nor had the spirit of Continental Protestantism as yet made its way to any extent among divines' (p. 446). Mr Perry (*Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 152) also characterises the work as 'a very admirable attempt to separate in a calm and reverent spirit, catholic truth from the admixture of papal error.' Dr Short, in his *Hist. of the Church of England* (Append. B to c. 5), gives a detailed comparison of the doctrinal teaching of the *Institution* and the *Erudition of a Christian Man* (the 'King's Book'), which was published six years later, with that of the Thirty-Nine Articles. So far as it deviated with respect to doctrine from the Romish Church, the *Institution* was mainly a reproduction of the Ten Articles. Transubstantiation was essentially still taught. The placing of images in churches was encouraged, although it was forbidden to worship them. Justification was declared to be attained through Christ's merits conjointly with contrition, faith, and works of charity on the part of the believer. Prayers for the dead are commended, as also are masses and exequies on their behalf; but the Roman theory of masses *ad scalam coeli*, as of efficacy to obtain remission from the pains of purgatory, is condemned. The most important innovation was that introduced in the definition of the Church Catholic as that which 'cannot be coarcted or restrained within the limits of any one town, city, province, region, or country, but is spread and dispersed universally throughout the whole world.' It is a matter of some dispute whether the *Institution* or the *Erudition* (published six years later) exhibits the closer approximation to Romish doctrine; Strype (*Mem.* I 589) holding that the latter work shews what 'a good step the reformation of religion had made,' while Collier (*Eccles. Hist.* V 102) considers that it proves that there had been a retrograde movement towards Rome. Mr Hunt (*Religious Thought in England*, I 10) considers that Strype's is the more correct view.

compromise between the doctrines of Lutheranism and those of Roman Catholicism, the *Institution* has gained the commendation of the majority of our Church historians rather, it would seem, from the spirit in which it was conceived than on account of the standpoint which it represents. For our present purpose it is of exceptional value as an illustration of the spirit and theology of the school of thought predominant in the Cambridge of that day. Of the ascendancy of that party in the assembly to which the book owed its origin there can be no reasonable doubt[1]. Of the twenty-one bishops only three,—Stokesley, Voysey, and Longlande,—can be regarded as distinctively Oxford men. Cambridge, in fact, was already identified in the eyes of the nation at large with that eclectic spirit which subsequently resulted in the position taken up by the Church of England, and in this relation exercised an influence over the state policy and

Essentially an exposition of the Cambridge theology of the time.

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[1] In the subjoined list the names of those who were educated at Cambridge are printed in italics, an asterisk being prefixed to the names of those who either studied or proceeded to degrees at *both* universities. The remaining names are those of divines who had received their education at Oxford exclusively.

Thomas Cranmer, archbp. of Canterbury.
Edward Lee, archbp. of York.
John Stokesley, bishop of London.
*Cuthbert Tunstal, ,, Durham.
Stephen Gardiner, ,, Winchester.
Robert Aldrich, ,, Carlisle.
John Voysey, ,, Exeter.
John Longlande, ,, Lincoln.
John Clerk, ,, Bath.
Rowland Lee, ,, Coventry & Lichfield.
Thomas Goodrich, ,, Ely.
Nicholas Shaxton, ,, Salisbury.
*John Bird, ,, Bangor.
Edward Fox, ,, Hereford.
(provost of King's College.)
Hugh Latimer, ,, Worcester.
*John Hilsey, ,, Rochester.
Richard Sampson, ,, Chichester.
William Reppes, ,, Norwich.
*William Barlow, ,, St David's.
Robert Parfew, ,, St Asaph.
Robert Holgate, bishop of Llandaff.
Richard Wolman, archdn. of Sudbury.
(principal of Paul's Inn.)
William Knight, ,, Richmond.
*John Bell, ,, Gloucester.
Edmund Bonner, ,, Leicester.
William Skip, ,, Dorset.
(master of Gonville Hall.)
Nicholas Heath, ,, Stafford.
Cuthbert Marshall, ,, Nottingham.
Richard Curren, ,, Oxford.
*William Cliffe, canon of York.
William Downes, canon of York.
Robert Oking.
Ralph Bradford (one of Latimer's chaplains).
Richard Smith (regius prof. of divinity, Oxford).
Simeon Matthew.
John Pryn.
William Buckmaster (vice-chancellor of Cambridge).
William Mey (afterwards president of Queens' College).
Nicholas Wotton.
*Richard Coxe.
John Edmunds (master of Peterhouse).
Thomas Robertson.
John Baker.
Thomas Barrett.
John Hare.
John Tyson.

religious thought of the nation throughout the century to which the sister university could make no claim.

But although the influence of the Reformation was predominant, there still existed at Cambridge a considerable party who viewed with equal dislike the new learning and the new theology. Alane, as we have just seen, had been driven from the university by their machinations, and two years later the same feelings found more formal expression at St John's College. In that society the more reasonable and respectable conservative element was still opposing a pertinacious check to the innovating policy supported by the younger fellows. In 1537 this struggle reached a crisis, and Dr Metcalfe, who had held the mastership ever since the year 1518, was induced under something like compulsion to retire from the post. He had been greatly esteemed by Fisher, of whose virtues and habits of thought he was no unfit representative. Roger Ascham, who was then a young student in the college, long afterwards described him as one who 'was parciall to none, but indifferent to all: a master for the whole, a father to every one in that college. There was none,' he goes on to say, 'so poore, if he had either wil to goodnes, or wit to learning, that could lacke being there, or should depart from thence for any need. I am witnes myself, that mony many tymes was brought into yong mens studies by strangers whom they knew not[1].' It was however well known that Metcalfe was distrusted by the new chancellor and the court, for although he had yielded to the recent innovations with both temper and tact, he was supposed to regard them with secret dislike and to be still a Catholic at heart. Under these circumstances the interests of the college may have seemed to call for his removal[2],

Evidence of reactionary feeling in the university.

Election at St John's of a successor to Dr Metcalfe as master.

Ascham's testimony to Metcalfe's merits.

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[1] Ascham, *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), p. 160.

[2] 'It is very observable that Dr Day, who succeeded him in the mastership here and was removed from hence to King's College, was afterwards obliged to abdicate his provostship to make room for Cheek, and that Sir John Cheek after a few years' enjoyment did abdicate (i.e. unwillingly resigned) that preferment in the same way that Day had done before him, and that under bishop Day's own roof, to make way for a third person. And yet these two great men, who thus jostled out one another, had been very dear and entire in their friendship whilst they lived under Dr Metcalfe, to whom they both owed their rise and be-

but nothing could well be more impolitic than the subsequent conduct of the society. They proceeded to petition Cromwell for full liberty to elect a new master, 'giving him,' according to Baker, 'strong hopes that all should be transacted to his satisfaction[1].' Cromwell gave a formal assent to this petition, although at the same time the college received a significant intimation that Dr Day, one of the royal chaplains and public orator in the university, would be no unfit person for their choice. We must look upon it as a last and fruitless effort to assert their independence that the majority of the voters elected Dr Nicholas Wilson, formerly master of Michaelhouse, who was not only a staunch opponent of the theory of the royal supremacy but had recently been a state prisoner on a charge of misprision of treason. Fortunately Wilson had the prudence and good sense to decline the perilous honour, and the college, awaking somewhat tardily to the rashness of its conduct, thereupon proceeded to elect Dr Day. The anger of the chancellor, however, was not lightly expressed, and it needed no slight contrition and all the united eloquence of Fox and the new master to avert from the society the royal displeasure and the consequences of its indiscretion[2].

Election of Dr Day.

Dissolution of the monasteries.

The suppression of the smaller monasteries in 1536 and the consequent uprising of the northern counties, though doubtless watched with intense interest both at Oxford and Cambridge, had but slightly affected the actual condition of the two universities. But now the tide of revolution rolled closer, and the visitation of the larger monasteries, followed by their ultimate surrender in 1537 and 1538, both touched the interests and affected the character of academic life very nearly. The work was directed by Cromwell with his usual consummate sagacity. While the most influential of the nobility and gentry were bribed into acquiescence by the promise or the actual bestowal of the richest abbey lands, the scholar and the churchman were induced to keep silence

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ginning.' Baker-Mayor, p. 105. See, much to the same effect, Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 227.

[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 110.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 111-2.

by the hope of seeing new and splendid homes of learning endowed from the monastic spoils. Just as the confiscation of the estates of the alien priories under Henry v had given birth to Eton and King's College,—as that of the lands of the smaller monasteries under Wolsey had resulted in the foundation of Cardinal College and the grammar school at Ipswich,—so, it was imagined, the final abolition of the monasteries would prove to the universities a yet more splendid gain.

Activity of Latimer.

At this period the activity of Latimer is astonishing, and probably no one individual in those days, Cromwell alone excepted, attracted to himself a larger share of the nation's interest and sympathy. We trace him at the university, where he was Cromwell's most trusted agent and correspondent, now furnishing letters of introduction to fellows of St John's about to solicit freedom to elect a master of their own choice[1], or intimating that 'disaffection' (such as had been shewn in the matter of Wilson's election) is not yet altogether banished from that society[2],—now entreating Cromwell to remember 'poor Clare Hall,' at that time groaning under Crayford's despotic rule,—now suggesting that he should, from time to time, send for the masters of the different colleges and inspect the statutes, dismissing the former and altering the latter whenever he might see cause[3]. We see him in his own diocese issuing injunctions to his clergy to procure for themselves copies of the *Institution*, and to the monasteries to provide themselves with English bibles and testaments and with schoolmasters who could teach grammar. We find him, again, at Paul's Cross, sounding high and clear the key-note to which the pulpits throughout England were enjoined to attune their exhortations. When

He is the confidential correspondent of Cromwell in the university.

His invectives against the monasteries.

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[1] 15 July, 1537. 'For these two fellows of St John's College, Cambridge, do come to your lordship in the name of the whole college, to the intent to shew your lordship the tenor of their statute as touching the election of a new master,' etc. (Latimer-Corrie, II 378). With reference, evidently, to the election of Metcalfe's successor.

[2] Sep. 6, 1537. 'As for S. John's college, I can say no more but that all factions and affections be not yet exiled out of Cambridge: and yet, my good lord, extend your goodness thereunto, forasmuch as you be their chancellor, that in your time they be not trodden under foot.' *Ibid.* II 382.

[3] *Ibid.* II 378.

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the monasteries had been finally marked out for destruction, his unrivalled powers of sarcasm and invective were turned with terrible force upon the most palpable and indefensible abuses. The gross absurdities perpetrated in connexion with the veneration of relics were especially singled out by him for scathing ridicule. 'I think,' he cried, in his famous second sermon before Convocation, 'ye have heard of St Blesis's heart which is at Malverne and of St Algar's bones, how long they deluded the people; I am afraid, to the loss of many souls. Whereby men may well conjecture that all about in this realm there is plenty of such juggling conceits[1].'

The royal commissioners and the monasteries.

The royal commissioners, on their errand of confiscation, caught up the hint with alacrity. As seen in their letters to Cromwell, they appear to have been actuated by a spirit in which contempt for superstition and greed of gain were somewhat oddly compounded, and the rich settings and jewels that adorned the relics rendered these monastic treasures a special object of their cupidity. 'I have Malkow's ere that Peter stroke of,' wrote the bishop of Dover. Dr London sent word that he had already captured two heads of St Ursula and had tidings of a third. Ap Rice, at Bury, reported the finding of 'the coles that St Lawrence was tosted withall, the paring of St Edmundes naylles, St Thomas of Canterbury's penneknyff and his bootes, and divers skulles for the hedache[2].' The complete enumeration included objects which, though designed by monastic imposture to excite veneration, it appears profanity now to name. To such excesses had an ancient superstition been carried, which, as at first harboured by the Christian Church, might undoubtedly claim the sanction of some of the most illustrious of her teachers.

Dissolution of the Cambridge houses.

On Cambridge the final dissolution inflicted a blow of which the outward and visible traces long remained. The map executed under the direction of archbishop Parker thirty-six years later shews the sites and surrounding orchards of three out of the four foundations of the Mendicant Friars still unoccupied,—the house of the Augustinian Friars near the old Botanic Gardens, looking on to what is now Pembroke Street,—that of the Dominicans standing where Emmanuel College with its gardens was shortly to appear,—while a solitary small tenement in one corner of a broad expanse of orchard ground, which is traversed by the King's Brook, alone represents the once splendid buildings of the Franciscans[1]. Of these foundations, none fell much regretted. The reputation which the Augustinian house had acquired under Barnes' presidency faded away with his departure; and the men who had ruled the Dominican society for the last quarter of a century, Jullys, Oliver, and Pickering, had acquired little esteem in the university, and were notoriously opposed to all reform[2].

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[1] *Ibid.* I 55.

[2] *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries* (ed. Thos. Wright. Camden Society), pp. 212, 234, 85, etc.

The Carmelites and Queens' College.

It was natural that the university should hold that it had the first claim to benefit by the dissolution of the houses in its immediate neighbourhood, and we accordingly now find the pens of its most distinguished scholars not infrequently employed for the purpose of urging upon royalty and other influential personages the consideration of its case. The example, in this respect, was first set by Queens' College. Between that foundation and King's College there stood the ancient house of the Carmelites, which now presented a pitiable spectacle of external and visible decay. Their poverty indeed had already led them to alienate portions of their property to the authorities of King's College and of Queens'[3]. The latter of these societies was at this time presided over by Dr Mey, a warm supporter of the Reformation, and distinguished by the ability with which he had discharged the duties of the office of commissary to Cranmer in the diocese of Norwich. To his prudence and aptitude for practical affairs[1], the college was largely indebted throughout this period, and in the work of administration he was effectively seconded by two of the fellows,—one the celebrated Thomas Smith, the other, Richard Wilkes, afterwards master of Christ's College.

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[1] Their ancient importance may be inferred from the fact that the house had been, in the reign of Richard II, selected as the place of assembly for the Parliament which met at Cambridge. Baker-Mayor, p. 38.

[2] An exception however is to be made in favour of the prior at the time of the dissolution, who is described by Hilsey, bishop of Rochester, in a letter to Cromwell, as 'a man off good lernynge and a prechare off God's trewe gospell,' and also as opposed to image worship. Ellis's *Letters* (3), III 98. The head of the Franciscan house in Cambridge in 1534, one Disse, appears to have been a bachelor of divinity and to have preached in the university church. *Report of Hist. MSS. Commission*, IV 417.

[3] Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll.*, p. 194-6. On 25 Nov. 1533, the Carmelites leased to William Dussing, a fellow of King's, a garden with a house thereupon, which lay on the north side of their church. This piece of ground was finally ceded to King's College for £26. 6*s*. 8*d*. during the provostship of John Cheke. Cooper, *Annals*, *A. & C.*, p. 258.

The authorities of Queens' College petition the Crown for the transfer of the premises of the Carmelites into their hands.

In view of the impending dissolution, Dr Mey had already obtained from the Carmelites a formal promise of the transfer of their property into the hands of the college authorities[2]. It was however necessary that this transfer should be sanctioned by the Crown, and for this purpose a letter, couched in a superior Latinity, at once suggestive of Smith's hand, was forwarded to Cromwell, beseeching his good offices in their behalf. It sets forth that the friars, owing to the decline of false religion and of the supplies once yielded by the practice of mendicancy, had already nearly all forsaken the house; and those who remained were unable alike to maintain themselves and to keep the premises in repair. The writers doubt not that it is the royal design (*cujus te non immerito caput et principem esse putamus*) to convert the house to better and more reputable uses, and they suggest that the premises, though not extensive, would be most useful to the college. They proceed accordingly to urge their claims on the royal favour. They recall how, whenever royalty had visited Cambridge, Queens' College had almost invariably been selected as its place of sojourn, the college standing remote from the noise of the town, and being not without a certain charm of situation. But if the adjacent property should pass into other hands it was impossible to say to what base uses it might not be turned: a granary, or perchance a tannery, might arise, which the college would find a great annoyance and royalty itself, on a future visit, most displeasing! On the other hand, the bestowal of these buildings on the college would be a lasting source of comfort and congratulation to the society, and attended, the petitioners would fain hope, with some advantage to his royal Majesty himself[1].

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[1] Downes says of him 'he was well skilled in the constitution both of Church and State, and there was scarce any considerable step taken towards the reformation of the prevailing corruptions and abuses without consulting his opinion.' *Lives*, p. cxxxv.

[2] Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll.*, p. 222.

Cromwell, who was then with Henry at Arundel Castle, did not keep the petitioners long in suspense. Their appeal was dated the 8th of August, and on the 16th an answer was returned that the college was empowered, in conjunction with the provost of King's, Dr George Day, to take possession of the property, and, after drawing up a complete inventory of the goods, to hold the same until the royal pleasure was further known. On the 28th of the same month, the Carmelites, now only six in number, signed a formal deed of surrender; and for the next seven years the bursar's accounts shew us the college authorities employed in taking down windows, repairing locks, removing nettles from the neglected garden ground, and finally, in the year 1541, purchasing of the king's officers the entire building materials of the ancient fabric[2].

Surrender of the Carmelites, Aug. 28, 1538.

On the 8th of November in the same year, the last of these foundations, that of the venerable and once illustrious society at Barnwell, surrendered to Dr Leigh in the chapter-house. Although the valuation made by the commissioners in 1534 shews that the revenues of the priory were still considerable[3]—they were exceeded by those of only two of the colleges in Cambridge, King's and St John's,—the fact that but six canons, besides the prior, attested the deed of surrender, proves that the house had participated in the prevalent decay.

Suppression of the priory at Barnwell.

Encouraged apparently by the success of the authorities at Queens', the university now commenced to press its claims more boldly on the attention of the crown, and in the October of 1538 addressed to Henry a letter congratulating him on

Oct. 12. The university petitions that the suppressed friaries at Cambridge may be converted into colleges.

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[1] *MS. Cotton*, 'Faustina,' C. vii, 102; Searle, *Ibid.* 'Additions,' pp. vi, vii.

[2] Searle, *Ibid.* pp. 228-9.

[3] The revenue was estimated at £256. 11*s*. 10¼*d*. Cooper, *Annals*, I 370.

his policy of confiscation and at the same time pleading in sufficiently plain language for some share in the spoil. It servilely compared itself to the trembling soldier whom Augustus, as told by Suetonius, rebuked for the groundless trepidation with which he presented his petition[1]. The unfailing clemency, the virtues, and the ardent regard for piety which distinguish Henry, embolden the petitioners to ask for that for which otherwise they could scarcely have ventured to hope. They dilate on the splendid results already achieved by the royal policy: the Roman pontiff shut out from the realm,—his indulgences, diplomas, and other empty pretences (*nugae*) given to the winds,—the superstitious life, vain religion, and monstrous rites of monasticism abolished,—the friars, 'a race begotten of fraud and falsehood, the remnant of the Pharisees and false philosophers,' expelled. But it is not, they urge, sufficient to root up the evil weeds, good seed must also be sown; and the university is deeply moved by the spectacle of the downfall of these societies in its midst, —moved, not to deplore their fate, but to hope that these ancient haunts of superstition and vain religion may yet be made subservient to Christian doctrine and to the spread of sound learning,—that, in brief, these same houses, from whence 'swarms of lazy drones and great throngs of impostors were once wont to issue,' may be converted into colleges, the resorts of 'young men distinguished by their aptitude for learning or of older men well qualified for preaching[2].'

Further petitions with the same object.

That this and similar petitions were received with at least apparent favour, may be inferred from the sequel. It began to be rumoured that it was the royal design to found a new and splendid college, endowed from monastic revenues; while we find the university, as the next step, venturing openly to beg for the gift of the noble premises of the Franciscans. A petition to Henry, drawn up apparently in

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[1] Suetonius, *Augustus*, c. 53.

[2] Strype, *Memorials*, I ii, App. 86. Both Strype (*Ibid.* Vol. I, pt. i, c. 41) and Cooper, in the abstract given by him (*Annals*, I 392), represent the university as referring in this petition to the monastic foundations *generally;* but the expression 'movet nos fraterculorum *nostrorum* ruina' proves, I think, very clearly that the petitioners had at the time only the Cambridge houses in view.

November, 1539, both contains a distinct allusion to the probability of the foundation of another college and dwells at length upon the great importance of the Franciscan buildings to the university[1]. In the following January, again, a letter, *pro Academia*, written by Roger Ascham, *e senatu nostro*, to Thirleby, bishop of Westminster[2], expresses the concern of the community at the little progress they are making in their endeavours to attain the latter object of their desire,—'the house of the Franciscans,' says the letter, 'is not only an ornament to the university but is especially suited for holding congregations and for the transaction of the other business of the body[3].'

These petitions shew that the university was much impoverished and reduced in numbers.

Another feature common to these two letters is that they alike describe the university as much straitened in its pecuniary resources and materially diminished in numbers. The letter to the king speaks of the students in the colleges as applying with commendable industry to their studies, but adds that these are now almost the only students left in Cambridge[4]. Ascham declares that 'poverty casts aside shame in begging,' and implores Thirleby to have compassion on his

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[1] 'Interea temporis fratrum jam vacua coenobia, si vel in id tempus *quando collegium aliquod erigere placebit tuae Maj. servanda*, vel ad reipub. nostrae usus, ut necessitas exigat, aliter disponenda, etc.......... Franciscanorum aedes, *ubi actus insigniores ante comitiaque nostra celebrabantur*, quam sunt ad decus academiae tuae necessariae, quamque gratam rem nobis omnibus, quam necessariam nostrae reipub., quam tua Munificentia dignam, si vel eas modo largiaris, facies, non commode litterae, plenius ac melius viva Procancellarii nostri vox enarrabit.' *Letter to Hen. VIII*, *Epist. Acad.* I 207-9; Baker MSS. x 393. Baker adds, 'Scriptae erant litterae M^ro^. Writhisleo et D. Thomae Crom. Canc. nostro, dat. Nov. 5, sub eodem tenore, viz. de Franciscorum aedibus et de novo collegio instituendo.' *Ibid.*

[2] He was of Trinity Hall and had proceeded D.C.L. in 1530. Cooper, *Ath.* I 287.

[3] 'Franciscanorum aedes non modo decus et ornamentum academiae, sed opportunitates magnas ad comitia et omnia academiae negotia conficienda habent.' Ascham, *Epist.* p. 332.

[4] 'Nam sive ita vertentibus rerum vicibus languidiores homines ad studia litterarum fiant, sive quia patroni ac mecaenates desunt, Academias inviti deserunt, sive quod non tanta inde compendia sperent, magnos progressus et uberiorem disciplinam iam plurimi negligant, sive quae sit alia cunque causa, illud pro comperto habemus, *turbam scholasticorum nostrorum vehementer esse imminutam, et praeter eos quos alunt collegia, qui diu bonis litteris et continenter incumbant, aut nullos apud nos, aut perquam paucos inveniri.* Quam vero exiguum numerum, ad innumeram tuam plebem edocendam, Academiae duae nisi valde populosae ac frequentes fuerint, possint emittere, nemo melius ac rectius quam tua prudentia novit.' *Epist. Acad.* I 207.

'destitute and unhappy university[1].' A third letter, addressed about the same time by the university to Wriothesley, affirms that while in scholarship the Cambridge of the present far surpasses the past, in point of numbers it can sustain no comparison even with quite recent times[2]. That this condition of affairs was, in a great measure, the result of the dissolution of the monasteries is directly stated in the last of these letters[3], nor can we suppose that it had been unforeseen by the academic authorities both at Oxford and Cambridge. The suppression of the few houses in their midst represented, it is to be remembered, but a trifling diminution in the monastic element at either university when compared with that resulting from the abolition of such foundations throughout the country. For a long time past, the members of these societies, on coming up to the university, had been permitted to reside in the different colleges and hostels,—a relaxation of the monastic rule which probably dated from the time when the number of the 'religious' had been so great as to make it necessary to enact that two members of the same house should not be allowed to give either ordinary lectures or lectures on the Sentences at the same time[4]. In marked contrast to this provision, we find a royal injunction of the year 1535, issued at a time when the avowed policy of the Crown was directed rather to reformation than to abolition, enjoining the abbat or prior of every house to maintain one or two of its members (according to the revenues of the society) at some university,—'which brethren,' says the injunction, 'after they were learned in good and holy letters, might, when they returned home, instruct their brethren, and diligently teach the word of God[5].' That a stimulus

Relations of the monasteries to the universities.

The monastic element had greatly decreased both at Oxford and at Cambridge, but was still not inconsiderable.

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[1] *Epist.* p. 332.

[2] '...quod qui nunc Cantabrigiae bonis litteris dant operam, eos qui aliquot retro annos in Academia fuerant, sic eruditione superare intelliguntur ut nulla prope inter eos comparatio sit, sic rursus numero vincuntur ut tantam studiosorum esse paucitatem vix quisquam credat.' *Epist. Acad.* I 203.

[3] 'Cuius quidem rei hanc esse causam intelligimus, quod cum hoc tempore non tam ampla compendia de mediocri doctrina et eruditione sperentur, quanta tum cum Monasteria cantariaeque valuere, quae fuerant indoctorum omnium perfugia, expectari solebant.' *Ibid.*

[4] *Documents*, I 396.

[5] Wilkins, *Conc.* III 790; see also Leighton's letter to Cromwell in Wright's *Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 71.

should now have been required where, in the fourteenth century, it had been found necessary to enforce restrictions, is significant evidence of the intellectual decay that had overtaken the monastic societies. But, apart from their moral degeneracy, the whole tone of these communities had been becoming less and less in unison with the higher thought of the age. The jealousy of Greek, of which we have already heard so much, still lurked in the cell of the monk when driven from the academic chair and the episcopal palace. Yet notwithstanding this increased divergence of aims and of spirit, the ties that connected the monasteries with the universities were still such that it was impossible for the latter not to suffer, and to some extent to sympathize with, the victims of the impending catastrophe. To the very last, the monk and the friar were to be seen keeping their acts in the schools, attending lectures, sitting at table and in chapel side by side with the ordinary occupants of the college or the hostel; and Leigh, Leighton, and London, on their mission of visitation and suppression must oftentimes have found themselves face to face with men with whom they had been personally intimate or with whose countenances they had been familiar when at the university. Sometimes the lax discipline in which those who represented this element had been reared, betrayed itself by speech which jarred strangely on the hearing of men accustomed to the high moral tone and the earnest theological discussions of the Reformers. 'There was a merry monk in the college that I was in[1],' said Latimer, when, at a later period, he recalled his impressions of these times, 'and it chanced a great company of us to be together, intending to make good cheer and to be merry,—as scholars will be merry when they are disposed. One of the company brought out this sentence,—*nil melius quam laetari, et facere bene*..."A vengeance of that *bene*," quoth the monk, "I would that *bene* had been banished beyond the sea; an that *bene* were out, it were well; for I could be merry and I could do, but I love not to do well,—that *bene* mars all together. I would that *bene* were out," quoth

A story told by Latimer.

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[1] Clare Hall,

the monk, "for it importeth many things, to live well, to discharge the cure[1].'"

The dissolute tone of many of the monasteries found expression however in something more than openly avowed dislike of moral restraints. At the time when Latimer told this story in the presence of king Edward, there were probably not a few still living at Cambridge who could well remember the tragical fate of Edward Loud a quarter of a century before, and how when that gallant gentleman had been liberated from Cambridge castle, where his bold opposition to the vicious monks of Sawtrey had led to his temporary imprisonment, he had made merry with his friends at the university[2].

Other and more favourable examples of the monastic element in the universities.

Other members of the monastic profession there were, however, of a widely different stamp. John Houghton, the heroic and saintly prior of the London Carthusians, together with William Exmeuse, of the same house, both of whom suffered for their denial of the royal supremacy[3], had received their education in the university and appear to have passed with some distinction through the ordinary course. The 'grand old abbat' of Glastonbury, whose cruel and unmerited end moved the compassion of the whole realm, was both M.A. and D.D. of Cambridge, and under his rule Glastonbury had become a noted school for the universities as well as a much frequented centre of education for the young nobility and gentry[5]. John Bale, the well-known writer, had passed from a Carmelite foundation to Jesus College. John Barret, afterwards a canon of Norwich and a laborious student of the writings of the Reformers, was a member of the same order when he proceeded D.D. in 1533[6]. Miles Coverdale, who graduated as bachelor of the civil law in 1531, had been a member of the Augustinian friary at Cambridge[1]. Among those who assisted in the compilation of the *Institution of a Christian Man*, Parfew, bishop of St Asaph and bachelor of divinity at Cambridge, was a monk of the Cluniac order and still held the abbey of Bermondsey *in commendam;* while Hilsey, bishop of Rochester and D.D. of Oxford, who had studied at both universities, was prior of the Dominicans in London when their house was finally surrendered into the royal hands[2]. Scory, afterwards bishop of Hereford, whose signature occurs in the surrender of the house of the same order at Cambridge, proceeded in the following year to the degree of D.D. by a grace which stated that he had been for nine years a student in the faculty of theology[3]. The heads of the houses of the Augustinian Canons which made their surrender at this time to the Crown, at Ipswich, Lees, and St Osith's in Essex, at Kirkby Bellars in Leicestershire, Cokesford in Norfolk, at Huntingdon, and at Merton in Surrey,—those of the Augustinian friaries at Cambridge and at Tickhill in Yorkshire,—the abbats of the monasteries at Thorney, Peterborough and Ely, at Westminster, Saffron Walden and Hyde near Winchester, of Ensham in Oxfordshire and Selby in Yorkshire,—those of the Cistercian houses at Bordesley in Worcestershire, at Buckfastleigh in Devonshire, of Bittlesden in Buckinghamshire, of St Mary Byland in Yorkshire, of Bindon in Dorsetshire, and of Tiltey in Essex,—were all men who had passed through the regular course of study requisite for a degree in theology or the canon law at Cambridge. If, in addition to the head of each society, we remember that the statute of 1535 must have compelled each of the larger monasteries to support one or two students at the university, we can readily understand that the overthrow of these ancient foundations must have involved a temporary diminution of the numbers at Oxford and Cambridge scarcely less serious than would result, in the present day, from a sudden diversion of those educated at the public schools[1].

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[1] *Third Sermon before Edward VI*, Mar. 22, 1549; Latimer-Corrie, I 153.

[2] See Strype, *Memorials*, Vol. I, pt. i, c. 46, where the incidents are narrated.

[3] See Mr Froude's account of the foundation in the ninth chapter of his *History of England*. Exmeuse was of Christ's College and was one of the few monks of the time who had any knowledge of Greek.

[4] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 520.

[5] *Ibid.* I 71. Richard Whiting, styled by Leland, 'homo sane candidissimus et amicus meus singularis.' *De Scriptt. Britt.* (ed. Hall), I 41.

[6] *Ibid.* I 224.

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[1] *Ibid.* I 268. The two Augustinian orders undoubtedly represented a considerable share of the intellectual activity of the time. Dr Lorimer notes that in Scotland many of the Reformers came from their ranks. *Patrick Hamilton*, p. 164. Baker, however (*Hist. of St John's Coll.*, p. 47) speaks slightingly of the learning of the Augustinian Canons at Cambridge.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 170 and 70.

[3] *Ibid.* I 511.

The monasteries themselves not altogether corrupt.

Justice, again, requires us to admit that the condition of many of these societies was very far from being of the kind represented in the unscrupulous exaggerations of the Black Book. The commissioners, strongly prejudiced though they were and eager to listen to all that might discredit and defame the monastic character, were yet obliged to allow that there were houses with the administration of which they could find no just fault. Those at Newark, Folkestone, Dover, Ramsey, and not a few others, presented to the most inquisitorial scrutiny a state of discipline, order, and economy, which it was impossible to gainsay[2]. Leland has left on record the admiration with which he first beheld the splendid structure at Edmundsbury—'like a great city, with its brazen gates and towers,'—and the no less reverent awe with which he gazed at Glastonbury on the vast assemblage of ancient authors in the library[3].

Feelings with which the dissolution was regarded by the laity at large.

Although moreover the most zealous and prejudiced members of the Reform party could see in the monastery only the home of ignorance, the stronghold of obsolete superstitions, and a shelter for vicious and abandoned men, to the great majority of the nation, who had nothing to gain by the overthrow of these ancient societies, the associations they suggested were of a very different kind. Many a noble had received his education within monastic walls and not a few had there found shelter with their families in times of difficulty and distress[4]. There was scarcely a merchant who had not met there with a welcome and a resting-place when on his journeys; not a scholar who envied not the treasures of learning there enshrined, the legacy of a less degenerate race. Men could remember how often at the decline of day, as the sunset reddened on the ancient towers, the weary cavalcade had halted at some abbey gate, to find there a hospitality which was seldom otherwise than heartily accorded and was often sumptuous and profuse in character. They could remember how as they had sat at the social board they had listened to and discussed each new item of intelligence,—the designs of Wolsey, the machinations of the emperor, the vacillations of the French monarch, and the perplexities and trials, amid all these contending interests and passions, of the Holy Father at Rome; grave themes, varied perhaps by some story none too chaste from the wanton page of Poggio or Boccaccio, until the evening service with its impassioned chant and plaintive *Miserere* summoned them to loftier thoughts. To all these familiar experiences there was now an end, and notwithstanding the shouts of exultation with which the work of destruction was urged on, not a few, from the zealous reformer of the sixteenth century to the candid historian of the nineteenth, while admitting that monasticism as a system was obsolete, have yet seen cause to regret that its institutions should have altogether perished[1]. Thoughtful minds have held, even in these later times, that it might be well if some such retreats for the heart-stricken and the desolate still existed among us, where those unfitted by temperament or defect for the rude warfare

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[1] A letter addressed by the university of Oxford to Sir Thomas More plainly indicates both the commencement and the causes of this decline: it speaks of abbats recalling their monks; nobles, their sons; and priests their young kinsmen. Wood-Gutch, II 69. See also Huber's observations in his *English Universities*, I 256–9.

[2] Wright, *Suppression of the Monasteries*, pp. 89, 93, 98, etc.

[3] 'Vix certe limen intraveram, cum antiquissimorum librorum vel solus conspectus religionem, nescio an stuporem, animo incuteret meo; eaque de causa pedem paullulum sistebam.' *De Scriptt. Britt.* I 41.

[4] 'The common people well liked them and generally were very fond of them; because of the hospitality and good housekeeping there used. The inhabitants of these cloisters relieved the poor, raised no rents, took no excessive fines upon renewing of leases; and their noble and

The total abolition of monastic institutions in England a matter of regret in after times.

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well-built structures adorned the places and countries where they stood. The rich also had here education for their children.' Strype, *Memor.* Vol. I, pt. i, c. 46. Henry Stafford, son of the duke of Buckingham, is represented in a letter to king Henry as having been 'fayne to lyve full powerly at boorde in an abbey this four yere's day, wyth his wyff and seven children.' Ellis's *Letters* (2nd series) II 24. See also facts cited from the evidence of Robert Aske when in the Tower, Froude, *Hist. of England,* II 501–2; and the interesting fourteenth chapter of Haweis' *Sketches of the Reformation.*

[1] See on this point Blunt (J. H.), *Reformation of the Church of England*, p. 281; Lecky, *Hist. of Morals*, II 392. 'There is,' says this latter writer, 'I think, no fact in modern history more to be deplored than that the Reformers, who in matters of doctrinal innovations were often so timid, should have levelled to the dust, instead of attempting to regenerate, the whole conventual system of catholicism.'

CHAP. I.

of life, or smitten, it might be, by some irretrievable calamity, which had embittered the cup of worldly intercourse for ever, might yet cast their solitary remaining talent into a common fund, and treading an unbroken and tranquil round of lowly duties and devout observances, pass the remainder of their days nearer in thought to heaven and in action more helpful to man.

The duke of Norfolk elected High Steward of the University.

In the year 1540, a vacancy having occurred in the office of high-steward to the university, the duke of Norfolk was elected to the post. His eldest son, the earl of Surrey, was at the same time united with him in the office. No name now stood higher than the father's in the general esteem, and seven years before, the university when soliciting his intervention on their behalf against the townsmen, had dilated on his still growing fame,—had recalled the prowess which had inflicted at Flodden so deadly a defeat on Scotland, and declared him, next to the king himself, the chief bulwark and pillar of the state[1]. His recent victory over the northern rebels[2] had yet further added to his renown, while his political leanings were of a kind that served to conciliate not a few of the party over whom that victory had been gained. His election may accordingly be interpreted as of twofold significance: as indicating a sense on the part of the university of the absolute necessity, at this critical juncture, of winning the powerful to the support of its interests, and also a certain reaction against the influence of the Reform party. The old duke was no friend to the changes in progress either in letters

Significance of the election.

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[1] 'Neque enim nescimus quantopere Regni huius salus et incolumitas e tua salute pendeant et sustententur qui secundum regem ipsum omnium consensu es maximum huius regni propugnaculum et columen. Qui ut praesens iam et in republica versans magnam cunctis huius regni incolis securitatem praestas praesentia tua, adversus Bellicos omnes rumores et metus hostium; ita dum absens in Gallia legatus ageres ingens tui desyderium nobis fuit, dum ad omnem de Scottorum in nostros fines incursionibus rumorem, Norfolsiensis statim ducis virtutem praesentiamque desyderamus; dum recordaremur tuae et fortitudinis et Rei militaris peritiae; maxime vero dum cogitaremus clarissimam tuam de illa gente victoriam, quam ante multos annos ipsorum occiso rege et exercitu omni victo et profligato nobis reportasti.' *Letter* (*written by George Day*) *from the University to the duke of Norfolk*, Oct. 4, 1533. *Epistolae Academiae*, I 131–2.

[2] The duke had halted at Cambridge with his army when on his way to the north. *State Papers*, Hen. VIII, I 494, 518.

or religion. He had been heard to declare that 'it was merry in England before the new learning came up'; as for the Bible, 'he never had read it and he never would.'

The Universities required to renounce their allegiance to the Pope.

The rupture between the universities and Rome might well, it is true, have appeared irreparable. In 1536 an Act of Parliament had required of every person proceeding to any degree in any university of the realm, to make oath before the commissary of such university, 'that he from henceforth shall utterly renounce, refuse, relinquissh or forsake the Bishopp of Rome and his auctorite, power, and jurisdiccion[1]'; while the papal bull, issued two years later, excommunicating Henry in terms, to quote the language of Father Paul, such as 'had never been used by the pontiff's predecessors, nor were ever imitated by his successors[2],' seemed finally to close the door against all reconciliation between the Holy See and the English Crown. Yet notwithstanding the party of reaction were still active and far from despondent, and the Act of the Six Articles had proved their power. Latimer had resigned his see, and was for some time the prisoner of bishop Sampson; while bishop Sampson's confessions when, in 1540, he was himself committed to the Tower, revealed a concerted effort, of which Gardiner, Tunstal, and Stokesley were the chief leaders, for preserving in the English Church the most important doctrines and rites of Catholicism[3]. An outbreak of more than ordinary turbulence at the re-election of Dr Buckmaster to the vice-chancellorship for the year 1539-40 probably indicates the excited state of parties within the university[4].

Reactionary symptoms.

Fall of Cromwell.

Cromwell had sanctioned the election to the high-stewardship and had even designated the duke as the more eligible of two candidates for the honour, but within a few months the hand of Norfolk himself plucked the insignia of the garter from his neck in the council chamber, and another of the chancellors of the university died on the scaffold.

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[1] Stat. 28 Hen. VIII, c. 10, ss. 6 and 7; Cooper, *Annals*, I 382.

[2] Strype, *Memor.* Vol. I, pt. i, c. 43 *ad fin.*

[3] *Ibid.* Vol. I, pt. i, c. 42.

[4] See *A Broyle upon the attempt of D. Glyn the Lawer for the Election of a Vice-Chancellor contrary to the myndes and libertyes of the Regentes*, printed in Cooper, *Annals*, I 395–6.

He is succeeded in the chancellorship by Gardiner.

Cromwell was succeeded by Gardiner, whose tact and compliant character had marked him out as a fit instrument for the accomplishment of the royal designs. He was now high in Henry's favour,—favour however not unmingled with contempt for his too manifest lack of principle[1]. His rise since the time when he first comes prominently into notice as master of Trinity Hall and a supporter of the royal divorce had been singularly rapid. He had been promoted to the see of Winchester. He had been employed on more than one important state negotiation, and was this very year despatched as ambassador to France. He had taken an active share in the promulgation of the Six Articles, and Melanchthon, pained beyond measure at their character and the harshness of the penalties with which they were enforced, cast on him the chief blame. That his election as chancellor was, on the whole, a politic measure, there seems little reason to doubt. He was now in his forty-sixth year, a ripe scholar and a skilful orator, and he subsequently proved himself a jealous guardian of the academic interests and privileges; while already the rising talent of the university was beginning to look to him as a judicious patron of struggling merit.

STEPHEN GARDINER. *b.* 1483. *d.* 1555. His career and character.

CAMBRIDGE IN 1540.

St John's College.

Testimony of Ascham and Edward Grant.

Of the Cambridge of 1540 it may probably be said with truth, that never had the need or the desert of her scholars been greater, and St John's, to its lasting honour, may fairly claim the distinction of including among its members at this time a majority of the most able teachers and the most promising students in the university. Roger Ascham, writing about seven years later, declares that from their society went forth the talent which formed the ornament of nearly every other college in the university[2]; while more than a quarter of a century afterwards, as he recounted the names of those who had adorned the college in his own time, he could venture to assert that it then numbered more true scholars than the university of Louvain could shew in a long course of years[1]. Not less emphatic is the testimony of his biographer, Edward Grant, also, for a short period, a member of the same foundation and afterwards the eminent master of Westminster School. He does not hesitate to declare that in Ascham's time the number of 'learned theologians, erudite philosophers, and eloquent orators' at St John's equalled, if it did not surpass, that which could be found in any other single home of letters throughout the world[2].

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[1] This trait in Gardiner's character seems to have been soon noted by Henry's shrewdness; in a letter to an unknown individual written in 1536, he says: 'we may well perceyue hym to have ostentyd and bostyd hym to have doone more then in deede he hath, and *a coloryd dowblenes* ether to be in hym or in Morres, or in bothe.' Ellis, *Orig. Letters* (2nd ser.), II 86. Compare Burnet's statement, that the king used Gardiner 'not as a counsellor but as a slave.' Burnet-Pocock, I 401.

[2] '...ex nostro coetu proficiscuntur, qui reliqua fere singula collegia explent et ornant.' Letter to Somerset, *Epist.* p. 292.

Masters of St John's College.

George Day, bp. of Chichester. b. 1501. d. 1556.

It does not appear that the several masters who ruled the society after the time of Metcalfe are entitled to much of the credit that attaches to this satisfactory state of affairs. Dr Day, who succeeded Metcalfe, was a man of considerable ability, and his Latin scholarship is sufficiently attested by his letters written when public orator, to which office he was elected in 1528 on the retirement of Richard Croke[3]; he was the tutor of John Cheke and appears also to have been the first to deliver lectures on the Linacre foundation in the college. But in the same year that he was elected to the mastership, the provostship of King's became vacant by the death of the accomplished Fox, bishop of Hereford, and Day was transferred to the more lucrative office[4]. His appointment as

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[1] *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), p. 62.

[2] 'Imo certe in hoc uno collegio, quod ea aetate singula totius orbis literarum domicilia et doctissimorum theologorum numero, eruditissimorum philosophorum turba, eloquentissimorum oratorum multitudine, vel juste adequare, vel longe superare posset, erant complurimi homines, omni politiori literatura, linguarumque cognitione praestantissimi.' *de Vita Aschami*, p. 6.

[3] It would seem that his services were specially appreciated by the university, for a grace was passed to increase the orator's stipend '*for Mr Days time*' (Baker MSS. XXXI 186). In this capacity it devolved upon him to draw up the university decree of the royal supremacy in 1535, a task, observes Baker, 'so well done that it shews the genius of a great man.' Baker-Mayor, p. 110. The salary was raised to £4 yearly; 'et pro laboribus quos superioribus diebus sustinuit xxvi^{s} viii^{d}.' *Documents*, I 436.

[4] The provostship of King's was at this time by far the most valuable piece of preferment in the university, being more than half the value *of all the other headships together*. The stipend attached to the mastership of St John's, which ranked second in value, was not a third the amount,—the master receiving, according to the Commission of 1546, for stipend, £12; for commons, £5. 4*s.*; for livery, £1; while the provost of King's received, for stipend, £66. 13*s.* 4*d.*; for livery, £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*; and for exequies, £1. 3*s.* 4*d.*; Cooper, *Annals*,

Linacre lecturer suggests that his inclination was rather to scientific than theological studies, 'wherein,' says Baker, 'he was exceeded by Redmain, Madew and others, that were fellows about the same time[1].' In his subsequent career his zeal as a partisan of the Catholic party was so unmistakeably shewn, that Downes does not scruple to say that had he lived he would have proved a second Bonner[2]. His successor, Dr John Taylor, a fellow of Queens', was a man of a different stamp,—an enthusiastic student of logic, and a not less enthusiastic advocate of the doctrines of the Lutherans. He carried indeed his opposition to the Six Articles so far that it resulted, in this same year, in his committal for a short time to prison. His appointment to the mastership, if judged by the sequel, cannot certainly be regarded as judicious, and it will be of service here somewhat to anticipate the order of events so as to supply a connected account of an episode which affords valuable evidence of the relations of the university at this time both to learning and to religious parties.

John Taylor, bp. of Lincoln. *b.* (?) 1507. *d.* 1554.

State of parties in the college during his mastership.

There is probably but little weight to be attached to the suggestion of Baker, that Taylor was unpopular in his new position from the fact that he was 'a stranger to the society.' The appointment of a member of one college to the headship of another was too common an exercise of the royal prerogative at this period to be in itself the ground of much dissatisfaction. But, just as Metcalfe had been compelled to retire by the influence of the more progressive element in St John's, at the time when their power was at its height, so Taylor was eventually constrained to abdicate by the action of the conservative element now that the tide was turning in their favour. They do not appear to have offered any immediate opposition to his appointment, but towards the

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I 435 and 437. Prior to the statutes of 1545 the master of St John's had received as stipend only £6. Baker-Mayor, p. 119.

[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 112. Baker observes ''Tis pity he did not continue longer; being fitted for government and very learned, the college might have flourished under him much more than it did under his successor, who had not the art of governing a college; especially divided, as the society then was.' *Ibid.*

[2] Downes, *Lives*, p. cxii. He was with Bonner in the commission appointed for removing the Protestant bishops on the accession of Mary, and also visited Gardiner on his deathbed. Froude, *Hist. of England*, IV 251; Baker-Mayor, p. 662.

close of the second year he found himself involved in a series of disputes which resulted in a complete rupture. Supported by an influential minority, he had recourse to the extreme measure of expelling three of the fellows, Saunders, Becke, and Fawcett; while a young bachelor, the afterwards celebrated Thomas Lever, was refused admission to a fellowship. The malcontents hereupon lodged an appeal with the Visitor, the bishop of Ely,—at that time Dr Goodrich. A formal visitation was held, and, chiefly through the persuasions of the bishop, a temporary reconciliation was effected. The three expelled members were re-admitted to their fellowships, and in 1543 Lever was elected a fellow. The liberal party in the college, however, exerted their influence at court in order to place a permanent check upon the power of their opponents; and in 1545, mainly through the interest of Day and Cheke, a new body of statutes was obtained whereby the authority of the master was augmented, and the numbers of the northern fellows restricted[1].

Significance of the opposition to Taylor's rule.

The statement of Baker, that the majority of the appellants against Taylor were 'northern' men and 'men of the old learning,' is sufficiently borne out by his enumeration, but that they represented the 'sounder part' of the body is a statement that may fairly be challenged. In fact, the names only too plainly prove that the opposition was really a conspiracy of zealous Catholics against the authority of an equally zealous Reformer[2]. Seton, the author of the *Dialec-*

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[1] 'By these statutes there was to be a master and twelve seniors (the master's stipend was almost doubled with some new advantages), and only one mediety of the seniors, and no more, were to be of the nine northern counties: and whereas by the original establishment these nine counties were to have at least one-half of all the fellows and scholars of the foundation according to the foundress' intentions, by these statutes they could only have so many at most, and it was scarce possible for them to have so many: for whereas before private foundations were no bar to any county, it was now otherwise; these private foundations were to come into account, so that where there were two fellows or scholars in for private founders in any county, that county was full, and could have no advantage from the foundation.' Baker-Mayor, p. 119.

[2] The language of John Cheke to Gardiner plainly indicates his view of the whole dispute: 'tamen perturbationes collegii nostri, ut quidam *tumultum contra magistrum statutaque* fecerunt, nosti; quibus tute etiam immiscuisti et ad eas cognoscendas sacellanum tuum misisti.' *De Pronunt.* p. 228. The chaplain referred to was Thomas Watson.

tica, and Thomas Watson were both very shortly afterwards among Gardiner's chaplains; Alban Langdale appears as one of the disputants against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer at Oxford in 1554; Peacock, afterwards president of Queens', resigned that post in 1559 to avoid the expulsion which his avowed tenets would have necessitated; Richard Fawcett refused, as canon of Canterbury, to take part in the election of archbishop Parker and forfeited his canonry in consequence; John Young, the acrimonious assailant of Martin Bucer, and George Bullock, afterwards master of the college, were equally distinguished throughout their lives by their pertinacious resistance to the reformed doctrines[1].

The opposition dictated by Catholic sympathies.

It is significant proof of the close connexion that then existed between theological tenets and the new culture, that not more than one of the appellants appears to have been distinguished in those studies by which St John's was now rising into such honourable pre-eminence. The solitary exception was Thomas Watson, afterwards master of the college and bishop of Lincoln, whom Ascham, with his habitual fairness, does not hesitate to describe as 'one of the best scholars that ever St John's College bred.' The impression we obtain of his attainments however is rather suggestive of the Italian dilettantism than of that more sober enthusiasm which characterises the rising school of classical learning in the Cambridge of this time,—scholars who undoubtedly derived from the masterpieces of antiquity a real and noble inspiration. He translated, it is said, with remarkable felicity, certain portions of Homer, and composed a tragedy entitled *Absalon*, which, says Ascham, 'he would

Thomas Watson, bp. of Lincoln. *b.* 1516. *d.* 1584.

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[1] Ascham, himself a Richmondshire man, and venerating the memory of Dr Metcalfe, endeavours to rebut the charge of partiality frequently preferred against the 'Northern men' by appealing to the many proofs of their liberality to the college (*Scholemaster*, pp. 159–60). The circumstantial evidence is however too strong to permit it to be gainsaid that the great majority of them at this time were Catholics in religion, and reactionary in their sympathies. A very similar experience to that of St John's under Dr Taylor appears to have befallen Queens' College on the eve of Peacock's resignation of the presidentship (see Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll.*, pp. 271–6). The details in the latter case are too imperfect to supply a clear narrative, but the same connexion between northern partialities and Catholic sympathies is sufficiently evident.

never suffer to go abroad, and that onelie bicause *in locis paribus Anapaestus* is twise or thrise used instede of *Iambus*[1].' The only other scholar of any note among the appellants was Seton, who had a considerable reputation as a tutor and whose manual of logic became the text-book of the university. But the names which mainly justify the proud assertions of Ascham and Grant are to be found in the list of those who probably sympathised with the new master and gave him their moral support. Of these, Madew, Redman, and Pember, were the three most distinguished seniors. Madew, who was afterwards professor of divinity and master of Clare Hall, was a man of high character and attainments and is always referred to by Ascham in terms of the highest respect[2]. Redman, who was of good family and related to Cuthbert Tunstal, had also been a student at Oxford and at Paris, and when he returned to England and entered at St John's College about the year 1522, had already acquired some reputation as a scholar. His elegant Latinity marked him out as a fitting successor to Dr Day on the retirement of the latter from the public oratorship, and his example and advice exercised a special influence in rousing to honourable emulation the two most promising young scholars in the university,—Thomas Smith of Queens' and John Cheke of St John's[3]. He was now about forty years of age and his warm sympathy with the Reformation had, for some time past, led him to bring his classical acquirements to bear upon the study of divinity, a branch of learning which he cultivated with so much success as to gain for himself the reputation of being one of the ablest theologians in Europe[4]. As a preacher, his admirable exhortations to the Christian life

John Seton.

The Reform party in the College:

John Madew.

John Redman. *d.* 1551.

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[1] *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), pp. 169–70.

[2] 'Saluta gravissimum virum et mihi amicissimum dominum Madaeum, cui quantum debeo non excidit mihi.'......'gravissimus vir et magna eruditione ac modestia praeditus.' Ascham, *Epist.*, pp. 115, 303. 'Esteemed in the university as few men ever were.' Baker-Mayor, p. 129.

[3] Strype, *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, p. 10.

[4] Burnet, in alluding to the fact that Redman was employed by Cranmer to compose a treatise on the much-controverted subject of Justification, speaks of him as one who 'was esteemed the most learned and judicious divine of that time.' Burnet-Pocock, I 287.

were powerfully enforced by his blameless character, his liberal hand,—ever open to the relief of poor students,—and by his winning disposition. Pember, though of less conspicuous ability, was a man of similar stamp and of about the same standing in the college. He is highly commended by Ascham, who was one of his most attached pupils, for the extent of his acquirements in Greek[1]. Another tutor, to whom both Pember and Ascham were under no slight obligations and who was not unworthy to rank with those just named, was Hugh Fitzherbert, who had been removed by death some three years before[2].

Robert Pember.

Hugh Fitzherbert.

But while St John's was in no small degree indebted for its reputation to the virtues and abilities of these men, it was in a younger fellow, the illustrious John Cheke, that it recognised its greatest ornament and its inspiring genius. He was a native of the town, the son of one of the esquires-bedell[3], and although only twenty-six years of age already distinguished as the most successful tutor in the college. His youthful merit had gained for him the exceptional distinction of being appointed, like Alane, king's scholar, and he was now prosecuting the study of the classics and especially of Greek with a steady enthusiasm which communicated itself to not a few around. Among his pupils, although but one year his junior, was Roger Ascham, the youngest representative of a family well known in St John's. Ascham had been indebted for his university education to the generous aid of Sir Anthony Wingfield, and his career had amply justified his patron's choice. As the pupil of Fitzherbert,

JOHN CHEKE. *b.* 1514. *d.* 1557.

ROGER ASCHAM. *b.* 1515. *d.* 1568.

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[1] Grant, *Vita Aschami* (ed. Elstob), p. 7.

[2] 'Doctrina, virtute, et modestia praestans, et Roberto Pembero intima familiaritate conjunctissimus. Quem Pemberum summa caritate complexus est Fitzherbertus et ad omnem honestatem sacraeque Scripturae lectionem melliflua oratione saepissime vocavit et amicissime instruxit.' *Ibid.* p. 6.

[3] According to Baker, Cheke's mother 'sold wine in St Mary's parish in Cambridge, in which quality she may be met with upon the college books.' Baker-Mayor, p. 105. This fact, if such it be, was unknown to Baker's correspondent, Strype, who represents the family as coming from the Isle of Wight and of good descent. *Life of Cheke*, p. 2. The will of the father (ann. 1529) and that of the mother (ann. 1548) printed by Cooper (*Annals*, II 135–6) clearly prove that they died possessed of competence, if not wealth.

Pember, and Cheke successively, he appears to have won the highest regard from them all[1]. His natural independence of thought had however, even thus early, manifested itself in a manner which seemed only too likely to prejudice his advancement, and some bold expressions of opinion with respect to the Pope, hazarded at a time when such language was still dangerous in England, had seriously imperilled his election to a fellowship. But old Dr Metcalfe, although professing to be greatly scandalised, had secretly exerted his whole influence in Ascham's favour[2], and one of the brightest ornaments of our literature was thus preserved to the society of St John's. Ascham had already been appointed Greek reader in the university, at a fair salary, and, chiefly on account of his singularly felicitous Latin prose, but partly, perhaps, owing to the exceptional beauty of his penmanship[3], had also for some years past been employed as the writer of the letters from the university to royalty and other illustrious personages. Among his pupils was one whom he regarded with especial friendship and for whom he augured a brilliant career; this was William Grindal, afterwards tutor to the princess Elizabeth. He was admitted fellow in 1542-3; but his high promise as a scholar ended with his premature death in 1548. Among Cheke's nume-

William Grindal.

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[1] Grant (p. 6) expressly says that Ascham was a pupil of Fitzherbert; while, as regards Pember, he says 'Hunc Robertus Pember unice amabat, amplexabatur, in manibus habebat, laudabat, ad majora in dies et praesens sermone et absens litteris excitabat.' *Ibid.* p. 7.

[2] 'And yet for all those open threates, the good father himselfe privilie procured, that I should even than be chosen felow. But the election being done, he made countenance of great discontentation thereat.' Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 151. Dr Katterfeld notes that Metcalfe was born near Ascham's birthplace (Kirby Wiske), and was also intimate with the Scrope family to whom Ascham's father was steward. *Ascham's Leben*, p. 10, n. 2.

[3] Baker (MSS. xxvi 351–4) says that Ascham taught the fellows of St John's to write. See also Wood, *Fasti*, I 114. A very beautiful specimen of his skill is preserved in the college library,—*Expositiones quaedam antiquae in Epist. Divi Pauli ad Philemon*, etc., given to the college in 1726 by Dr John Bernard. Dr Cowie says that 'it looks like printing so much, that at first I thought it must be a mistake to call it manuscript.' *Descriptive Catalogue of MSS. etc. in St John's College Library*, p. 107. As regards Ascham's Latin style, its merits are felicitously described in a criticism purporting to be that of Petrus Nannius of Louvain reported in a letter to Ascham himself from Richard Brandesby. Ascham, *Epist.* 387; see also his *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), pp. 270–1.

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rous pupils and admirers none have left on record so emphatic a tribute to his merits as Ascham, who while gratefully acknowledging the debt under which the college lay to Redman, always asserted that it was to the former that the impetus there given to the study of the new learning was rightfully to be ascribed[1]. It was from Cheke, again, that he himself mainly derived the admirable conceptions of the teacher's method unfolded in the pages of his *Scholemaster*. Of the same age as Ascham, and equally high in their common tutor's esteem, was William Bill, a future master of the college. His genuine merit and signal services to learning were adequately rewarded in after life by a remarkable combination of honourable offices[2]; at the time however of his election to a fellowship in 1535, his poverty would have barred his admission[3], had he not been aided by the generous bounty of Ann Boleyn obtained through the efforts of Cheke and Parker. Another recently elected fellow was one whom Dr Metcalfe in his time had often noted with approval and sometimes encouraged with gifts of money[4],—an indefatigable student who rose at four to pursue his studies and at the age of fifteen had already been appointed to lecture the sophisters. This was William Cecil, the future chancellor, on whose nod the university was one day to wait and whose name was destined to be so conspicuously interwoven with

Wm. Bill.

Wm. Cecil. *b.* 1520. *d.* 1598.

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[1] The Grace Book Γ in the Registry contains under the year 1539–40 the following entry: 'Conc. ut Mr Askam possit mutuari ex Bibliotheca vestra communi Polianum Historiographum ut transcribat, usque ad Festum Omnium Sanctorum prox. futurum, et tum reddendum.' So again under 1540–1 we find that Jo. Cheke is to be allowed to borrow Greek commentaries on Homer and Hesiod for 16 months, 'quoniam quidam tipis eos imprimere vehementur cupiunt.' Baker MSS. xxxi 198–9; 200. We find no similar entries for members of other colleges at this time.

[2] 'No other person ever held at the same time the three important positions of master of Trinity, provost of Eton, and dean of Westminster.' Cooper, *Athenae*, i 212.

[3] Strype (*Life of Sir John Cheke*, p. 8) says that Bill 'had not wherewithal to pay his college debts,' but Cheke's language implies nothing of this kind: 'multum a te desidero et requiro ut aliqua via ad reginam perferatur, esse adolescentulum gravi paupertate oppressum, cui iter ad victum suum interclusum est, quod colligere certam pecuniam nequeat, *quam numerare ante debeat quam societatem inire possit.*' *Parker Correspondence*, p. 3. The sum required was really the 'first-fruits,' to which fellowships in the universities were then subject, but from the payment of which they were shortly after relieved. See *supra*, p. 12; also Baker-Mayor, pp. 128, 356.

[4] Cooper, *Athenae*, ii 249.

its history,—at the time of which we write, in his twenty-first year and college lecturer in Greek. Of nearly the same age and just admitted to his fellowship was William Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham and distinguished as an active leader of the Reform party and a somewhat too zealous iconoclast[1].

Wm. Pilkington.

Though scarcely rivalling St John's, Queens' College may fairly claim the distinction of ranking second among the Cambridge foundations of this period, when estimated by its services to learning. The spirit of Erasmus was still potent within its walls, and the fact that Alane selected it as his college and found a friendly reception is evidence of its sympathy with the Reformers. The most distinguished member of the society at this time was Thomas Smith, and it was owing to the discernment and generosity of Dr William Butts, the court physician and a former fellow of Gonville Hall, that Cambridge still retained this remarkable genius within her walls. We have it on Smith's own authority, that but a few years before, friendless, faint at heart, and without resources, he had already been meditating a farewell to the university and to letters, when the ability which he had displayed at a disputation in the schools reached the ears of that good Maecenas. The youthful scholar was summoned to the kind physician's presence and bidden to be of good cheer; and from that day the career of one of the most remarkable and most estimable Englishmen of the sixteenth century was one of almost uninterrupted success[2]. For Smith, Cheke appears to have cherished an admiration and regard greater than he felt for any of his fellow-collegians. That admiration and that regard were warmly reciprocated.

Members of Queens' College.

THOMAS SMITH. *b.* 1514. *d.* 1577.

His intimacy with Cheke.

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[1] *Ibid.* I 344–9; Baker-Mayor, pp. 146–9.

[2] I cannot forbear quoting Smith's touching tribute of gratitude, uttered when his success was fully assured,—especially as the passage, so far as I am aware, has never before been printed: 'Hic me primus, prope puerum, destitutum omni spe amicorum, propter egestatis et inopiae molestias desperantem, et jam consilia deserendi Academiam ac litteras agitantem, propter nescio quam famam disputationis cujusdam in scholis meae, vocavit ad se rudem prorsus et ferum, et ejus amplitudini penitus ignotum, et quod hactenus scire possim, a nemine commendatum, desperare vetuit, et ex eo tempore, non Hercle tanquam patronus et amicus, sed tanquam naturalis aliquis pater, omni studio me fovit et amplexatus est.' *Oratio secunda de Dignitate Legum*, etc. Baker MSS. XXXVII 406.

'We are of the same age,' said Smith to Gardiner, 'and of like condition in life: our studies have been the same and we are recipients of the same royal bounty; we have been engaged in a continual emulation with each other in the arena of intellectual achievement, but this rivalry, which is wont to kindle envy and strife between others, has hitherto only bound us more closely together in fraternal affection[1].' The 'in utrumque regia benignitas' refers to the fact that Smith, like Cheke, had been elected king's scholar. In another respect however he had temporarily taken the lead of his brilliant friend and rival, for in the year 1538 he had succeeded to the public oratorship, on the retirement of Dr Redman. No member of the university enjoyed a higher reputation for varied learning, and his Greek lectures, both in college and as public reader, were attended by numerous and admiring audiences. Among their number was a young student of King's College, the afterwards celebrated Walter Haddon; while among his own pupils at Queens' was John Ponet, the author of the *Treatise of Politique Power*[2], already known for his attainments in Greek and also as one well read in patristic literature and an Italian and German scholar[3].

He succeeds to the public oratorship.

John Ponet.

NICHOLAS RIDLEY. *b.* 1500. *d.* 1555.

Turning to the other foundations, we find two notable characters destined to pre-eminence not only in the university but in their age. Of these one was at this time often to be seen pacing the orchard walk at Pembroke, intent on a volume of the Pauline Epistles, which he was diligently committing to heart,—a man whose long visage, aquiline nose, and arched eyebrows suggested rather a Latin than a Teutonic descent. Such was Nicholas Ridley, the newly-elected master of the college[4]. He had studied not only at

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[1] *De recta linguae Graecae pronuntiatione...Epistola*, p. 50. They seem to have been regarded by their contemporaries as twin brothers in genius and virtue. Haddon (*Lucubrationes*, p. 133) says 'neutrum in nostris studiis altero superiorem,' while he ranks them as superior to all the rest of their fellow-students.

[2] A treatise noted by Hallam (*Hist. of Lit.*, II 136) as characteristic of the bold spirit of our early Protestantism. Mr Hunt (*Religious Thought in England*, I 29) says that Ponet was the reputed author of King Edward's Catechism.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 155.

[4] According to Downes (*Lives*, p. lvi) Ridley had been elected to a fellowship at University College, Oxford, but refused to accept it.

Cambridge, but also at the Sorbonne and at Louvain,—advantages for which he was indebted to the liberality of his uncle, a prebendary of St Paul's and a staunch Catholic, who had discerned in his nephew talents which he designed should be employed for the defence of the ancient faith. But the younger Ridley had taken to the study of Greek, and the knowledge to which he thus gained the key had enlarged his views. He had recently, moreover, read the famous treatise on the doctrine of transubstantiation that went by the name of Ratramnus, and had become convinced of the error of the Roman doctrine[1]. He was now somewhat over forty years of age, and, with at once more learning and more discretion than Latimer, was becoming one of the most trusted leaders of the Reformers. Like the master of St John's, he had already openly borne his protest against the Six Articles.

MATTHEW PARKER. *b.* 1504. *d.* 1575.

His retirement to Stoke College.

The other, Matthew Parker, was somewhat Ridley's junior and at this time temporarily withdrawn from the university to his college of Stoke-by-Clare[2], of which, through the interest of Ann Boleyn, he had recently been appointed dean. It was a pleasant country retreat situated amid green fields and orchards—his Tusculanum, as his young friend Walter Haddon was wont to style it, in professed envy of his lot. Parker was certainly not forgotten at Cambridge, from which he was only some twenty miles removed; but he was at this time in indifferent health and we may well believe that this period of comparative repose was of inestimable service in enabling him to gather fresh strength for the varied activity and arduous duties of his subsequent career. He was now just thirty-six years of age, a man in whom great natural energy was combined with a singularly retiring disposition which led him, in marked contrast to most of his contemporaries, rather to shun the honours and preferment which from time to time were presented for his acceptance[1]. Like his friend Skip, just created bishop of Hereford, he had declined Wolsey's alluring invitation to Cardinal College; and it was only under considerable pressure that he was prevailed upon to act as chaplain to Ann Boleyn. While deeply read both in the Fathers and the Reformers, he had also acquired a high reputation as a preacher, and whether he discoursed before rural congregations like those at Madingley, Grantchester, and Barton, or to the more critical audiences at court, his popularity in this respect was already inferior to that of Latimer alone. His retired life at Stoke did not altogether secure him from attack on account of his courageously avowed sympathies with the Reformation, and in the year 1539 he had been accused by the townsmen of Clare of manifesting undue contempt for the Catholic ritual[2]. But of the great part which he was yet to take in controversy and in state affairs, he would seem at this time to have had no conception, and we picture him to ourselves in his calm seclusion at Stoke ever and anon deeply pondering the dark questions whereby he had seen so many well-trained intellects perplexed and ever watchfully observant of the stormy times in which he had seen so many a strong purpose and stout heart go down.

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[1] Downes, *Lives*, ib. See also author's *History*, Vol. I 40, n. 3.

[2] A college for the training of the secular clergy. Parker's statutes for the foundation were considered so judicious that the duke of Norfolk in the year 1540, when designing a similar foundation at Thetford, took them for a model,—a high tribute from one who was certainly not friendly to Parker's party. Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 13.

His extensive learning and popularity as a preacher.

Among Parker's most intimate friends was John Skip, whose name must not be passed by here altogether unnoticed. He had been promoted in the year 1539 to the bishopric of Hereford and in the following year resigned the mastership of Gonville Hall. Prior to this he had been for some time resident at court as chaplain to Ann Boleyn, and in this capacity he had continued to render the university good service by skilfully directing the royal bounty to the relief of poor and meritorious students, thus ably seconding the benevolent efforts of Dr Butts.

John Skip, bp. of Hereford.

But while the standard of scholarship was thus rising and

General depression

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[1] See on this feature in his character his letter to Cecil (? 1563), in which he speaks of his own 'natural viciosity of overmuch shamefastness.' *Parker Correspondence*, p. 199.

[2] The articles are printed in the *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 7–9.

at both universities.

the promise of not a few of the younger students was singularly hopeful, the recent changes were telling with serious effect on the general prosperity of both universities. The six years from 1542 to 1548, which mark perhaps the period of the greatest depression, shew us only 191 as admitted to the degree of B.A. at Cambridge[1] and at Oxford only 173[2]. The latter university, indeed, seems to have witnessed a decline yet more serious than that which we have already noted as existing at Cambridge. A letter from the community addressed to Cromwell in 1539 declares that the number of the students has diminished by one half, and Wood himself admits that Oxford now 'fell into great ruin and decay as well in learning as in virtues, behaviour, and good manners[3].' If we compare with this declaration the language in which Melanchthon at Wittenberg, in 1537, deplored the neglect that had there overtaken all profound and generous learning, we shall probably be justified in concluding that the condition of Cambridge, unsatisfactory though it might be, was at least as encouraging as that of any of the universities which espoused the doctrines of the Reformation.

Oxford and Wittenberg.

Effects of religious changes.

In England however religious differences operated with peculiar intensity; for while the oath of renunciation of the papal authority necessarily excluded all conscientious Catholics, the Six Articles, 'a noted touchstone,' as Anthony Wood truly styles them, 'to try the consciences of men,' were a scarcely less formidable stumbling-block to many of the Reformers. To these influences must be added the uncertainty and depression created by the foreboding which had for some years hung over both universities,—that they were destined before long to share the fate of the monasteries. According to Harrison, it was not until the king had rebuked with more than wonted sternness the greed of the courtiers, declaring that he 'judged no land better bestowed than that which was given to the universities,' that the machinations

Anticipated confiscation of the college estates.

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[1] Baker MSS. XI 35–41.

[2] Sloane MSS. quoted by Huber, vol. III *ad fin.*

[3] Wood-Gutch, II 69.

Various measures at Cambridge dictated by the decline in numbers and in revenue.

of the despoiler were for a time effectually checked[1]. At Cambridge the embarrassment resulting from the decline in numbers was so serious that, in February, 1538, a statute was promulgated whereby the regents were required to discharge their functions in the schools for two years instead of one,—a measure rendered necessary by the fewness of those who were of the proper standing and at the same time in other respects qualified for the performance of these duties[2]. Other measures plainly indicate the pressure resulting from an impoverished exchequer. The office of taxor to the university was abolished, his functions being superadded to those of the proctors[3]. The 'useless books' in the university library were sold[4]. The amount contained in the 'common chests' of the university was found, on one occasion, to be less than £20, and it was necessary to borrow from other sources[1]. The Hebrew and Greek lecturers in the university were on two occasions paid only by the expedient of suspending the mathematical lecturer for the current year and appropriating his salary[2].

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[1] 'When such a motion was made by some unto King Henrie the eight, he could answer them in this manner: "Ah Sirha, I perceiue the abbie lands haue fleshed you and set youre teeth on edge to aske also those colleges. And whereas we had a regard onelie to pull downe sinne by defacing the monasteries, you haue a desire also to ouerthrowe all goodnesse by subversion of colleges. I tell you, sirs, that I judge no lande in England better bestowed than that which is giuen to our universities; for by their maintenance our realme shall be well gouerned when we be dead and rotten."' *Description of England* (ed. Furnivall), p. 88. According to the same writer these schemes of spoliation were only temporarily abandoned, being renewed in king Edward's reign, 'and in the time of our gratious queene Elizabeth,' he adds, 'I heare that it was after a sort in talke the third time, but without successe as moued also out of season.' *Ibid.* p. 89. Huber (*English Univ.* I 307) is of opinion that these apprehensions had finally subsided before 1576.

[2] The language of the statute appears to imply that the young regents were either unable or too careless to prevent great irregularities taking place at the different elections: 'Nunc autem cum eo res revoluta et in eum locum adductum est, ut propter annuum disputationum cursum omnes graventur sumptu, regentium numerus minuatur, bedellorum munus plus laboris minus compendii habeat, gravitas tum oneris, tum impensae, *ad paucos pertineat*, et error in suffragiis magnus et nefarius regentium novorum imperitia saepe committatur,' etc. *De continuanda regentia per biennium. Documents*, I 438. The statutes of Edward VI, of queen Mary, and those of the first year of Elizabeth extended the period of regency *to three years*, the first being that of obligatory regency according to the ancient statutes. By the statutes of Elizabeth (1570) this period of obligatory regency was extended to *five* years. *Documents*, I 459; Peacock, *On the Statutes*, p. 51. 'The number of regents,' says Dr Peacock, 'in one year rarely exceeded twenty; before the suppression of the monasteries they were generally double that number, besides from ten to eighteen bachelors in canon law annually.' Ib., p. 33. John Mere, however, when writing to apprise Parker of his election to the vice-chancellorship in Jan. 1544–5, speaks of 98 regents being present. *Parker Correspondence*, p. 18.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, I 401.

[4] *Grace Book*, Γ fol. 152 (*a*).

Rivalry between the three systems of instruction: the voluntary, the public, and the collegiate.

Among the more immediate results of this diminution in numbers was the inability of those regents or other teachers who were supported by their pupils' fees to gain an adequate income. We have already had occasion to quote the authoritative statement of the university[3], to the effect that, in 1539, the colleges contained nearly all the students still remaining in its midst. It is evident indeed that these foundations,—where the 'tutor,' it is to be remembered, at that time represented one who actually taught,—were almost completely absorbing the work of instruction and the majority of the public lecturers in the schools found their classes dwindling year by year. The Royal Injunctions of 1535, as we have already seen, had made a step towards the provision of extra-collegiate instruction by imposing on each college the obligation of providing a daily public lecture both in Latin and Greek[4]. A second step had been taken by the institution of the lectureship created by Cromwell's Injunctions[5]; a third, by the creation of the King Henry the Eighth's lectureship[6]. But although these lectures were open to the university at large, the advantages held out to those students who could command or gain admission to a college, independently of the prospect of a fellowship, presented overwhelming attractions. Already a certain rivalry between the different foundations is discernible, and college tutors appear to have taken the liveliest interest in the distinctions acquired by their pupils. They aided them not only by private instruction but also by the loan of manuscripts and books. Seton, for example, in the preface to his *Dialectica*, tells us that his manual was in use in a manuscript form among the students of St John's some years before he would consent to publish it, although strongly urged to do so by different tutors[1]. What Huber terms 'the voluntary system' of instruction was, in fact, fast disappearing, and its disappearance was accelerated by the creation, in 1540, of the Regius Professorships[2].

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[1] Ann. 1539–40; Baker MSS. XXXI 199.

[2] i.e. in the years 1535 and 1537; Ibid. XXXI 195 and 197.

[3] *supra*, p. 27, n. 4.

[4] This requirement would seem to have ceased after the foundation of the Regius professorships; at any rate the only colleges which exhibit a separate stipend for a Greek lecturer in the accounts for 1546, are King's, Queens', and St John's. Cooper, *Annals*, I 431–8.

[5] *supra*, p. 9.

[6] *supra*, p. 13.

Creation of the REGIUS PROFESSORSHIPS.

The Regius professorships were five in number, representing the several subjects of Divinity, Civil Law, Physic, Hebrew, and Greek[3], and each endowed with a stipend of £40. As the first instalment of the long-looked for gain from the dissolution of the monasteries they were eagerly welcomed; while the liberality of their endowment added to the general satisfaction of the university. Ascham, writing scarcely two years after the event, to Richard Brandesby, a fellow of his college, speaks in glowing terms of the change brought about by the creation of these august chairs. 'Cambridge,' he says 'is quite another place, so substantially and splendidly has it been endowed by the royal munificence[4].' Aristotle and Plato were being read even by 'the boys,' although this, indeed, had been the case at St John's for some five years. 'Sophocles and Euripides,' he goes on to

Ascham's testimony to their good effects.

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[1] 'Nondum absoluto opere, coeptus est juvenum manibus teri hic libellus quinquennium, frustra me interea loci ad editionem sollicitantibus venerandis viris Medcalfo, Daio, et Talero, collegii nostri praepositis......*Tandem ubi coepit hic liber et aliena intrare collegia*, juventutisque manibus passim teri, adeunt me amici mei Checus et Watsonus, viri singulari eruditione, et complures alii pereruditi, minantur non deesse, qui me invito hoc opus evulgare et typographis credere student.' Pref. to edition of 1572.

[2] Dr Peacock is of opinion that the 'decline in the numbers of the university had left few resident teachers who were competent to keep pace with the progress of knowledge.' I somewhat doubt whether the *teaching* power of the university had ever been greater than at this time, but this able critic appears here to have left out of account the very large amount of tuition that was now being performed by the colleges. That 'the establishment of the regius professorships was preparatory to a most important change in the system of academical education' (*Observations on the Statutes*, etc. p. 34), admits of no question.

[3] It will be seen that the Regius professorships were thus in a manner supplementary to the so-called Barnaby lectures, the subjects of which were Terence, Logic, Philosophy and Mathematics.

[4] 'De Cantabrigia, si quid aves audire, en jam pene nova tibi videri potest, tam divinis et immortalibus litterarum praesidiis et ornamentis auxit eam optimi principis nostri munificentia.' Ascham, *Epist.* p. 74.

say, 'are more familiar authors than Plautus was in your time. Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon are more conned and discussed than Livy was then. Demosthenes is as familiar an author as Cicero used to be; and there are more copies of Isocrates in use than there used to be of Terence. Nor do we disregard the Latin authors, but study with the greatest zeal the choicest writers of the best period. It is Cheke's labours and example that have lighted up and continue to sustain this learned ardour. He has already lectured gratis on the whole of Homer, the whole of Sophocles twice, the whole of Euripides and nearly the whole of Herodotus[1].'

The first Regius Professors.

It is hardly necessary to say that Cheke had succeeded to the chair of Greek. The appointment of Smith to that of the Civil Law was probably accepted as an equally well deserved recognition of high desert. Now that Robert Wakefield was no more, his brother Thomas was admitted to be the best qualified to fill the chair of Hebrew. The claims of John Blythe, of King's College, to the chair of Physic were supported by the fact that he was an M.D. of Ferrara, and perhaps not less effectually by the interest which he could command as Cheke's brother-in-law[2]. But the election to the professorship of Divinity is less intelligible, for while men like Madew, Taylor, Ridley, and Parker were at command, they were all passed over for Eudo Wigan, an elderly theologian who had formerly filled the office of sub-dean of the chapel to Cardinal Wolsey, but who, were it not for the mention of his name on this occasion by Ascham[3], would almost have escaped the notice of posterity. Such a selection is perhaps to be best explained by the supposition that in the excited state of feeling that then prevailed in the university with respect to theological questions, and the caution required in steering between the renunciation of the papal authority, on the one hand, and the acceptance of the Six Articles on the other, it was thought most expedient to elect to the newly-created chair some undistinguished, fairly well-read mediocrity, who might be relied on to exhibit in his expositions neither originality of view nor independence of thought.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] 'Blitus, qui sororem D. Checi duxit.' Ascham perhaps intends to imply that Cheke's influence had something to do with his brother-in-law's election.

[3] 'Wigginus Theologiae.' Ascham R. Brandisbaeo, *Epist.* p. 74. According to Baker (MSS. XI 45), Wigan was a member of King's Hall and proceeded D.D. in 1524; he was consequently probably over fifty at this time, and little likely to have much in common with the Reformers.

In the very same letter however as that in which he records the satisfactory results that had followed upon the creation of the new professorships, Ascham found himself under the necessity of relating how Cheke's zeal and assiduity had met with a disheartening repulse, and we are here presented with an episode of considerable interest and importance not only in relation to Cambridge history but also to that of learning at large.

CONTROVERSY RESPECTING THE PRONUNCIATION OF GREEK.

It is a fact familiar to scholars, that the pronunciation of Greek, like that of Latin, had undergone a great change since the classical era of the language; but that, unlike Latin, which had faithfully reflected these successive changes by a corresponding modification of its orthography, Greek still preserved unaltered the modes of spelling used by Demosthenes and Isocrates. The Greek still *wrote* φίλαι and φίλε, though he pronounced the final syllable in exactly the same manner. Words such as ἄκοιτις, φιλομμειδής, and μακαρίτης, still preserved, as *written*, those differences of structure which were lost to the ear in a precisely similar pronunciation of the penultimate. The vowels η, ι, υ, and the diphthongs οι and αι, were also pronounced exactly alike. The scholars of the Italian Renaissance appear to have accepted without enquiry the pronunciation which they heard from the lips of teachers like Chrysoloras and Argyropulos; and Reuchlin, in his turn, brought back with him into Germany the pronunciation which he had heard in the class rooms of Rome[1]. The involved anomaly however did not pass unchallenged by Erasmus, who in his famous dialogue between 'Leo' and 'Ursus,'—*de recta Latini Graecique sermonis pronuntiatione*,—published in 1528, propounded an improved method[2]. His suggestions met with little response in Germany, and Melanchthon continued to support the method handed down by Reuchlin[1].

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[1] See vol. I 407.

[2] Hence the taunt of Gardiner, in his first letter to Cheke,—'Atqui hujus tui conatus gloriam (si quam

Researches of Smith and Cheke on the subject.

Device employed by Smith for the introduction of a new method.

His account, as paraphrased by Strype.

To Smith, whose genius for linguistic researches was of no common order, belongs the credit of having revived the scheme put forward by Erasmus, while he is equally entitled to be looked upon as an originator in connexion with the whole question. It was, as we learn from his own account[2], about the year 1535, when he and Cheke were little more than twenty years of age, that their active minds, whose natural inquisitiveness nothing escaped, were attracted to the subject. They discussed the difficulty together, but could arrive at no conclusion. A little later, Erasmus's treatise fell into their hands and also one by Terentianus,—*de Litteris et Syllabis;* and, aided by this new light, they agreed that it was most desirable that an entirely amended method of Greek pronunciation should, if possible, be adopted. The young reformers felt however the risk of exciting opposition by a too sudden introduction of their innovation, and Smith's ingenuity was successfully exerted to obviate this danger. Without therefore giving any intimation of his designs, he commenced, in a course of lectures on Aristotle's *Politics*, an occasional use of his new method,—to quote his own expression—'*lapsu linguae*, as it were.' 'Which,' says Strype, in his quaint paraphrase of Smith's account, 'he did for this end, that if his auditors utterly refused his words thus pronounced, then he reckoned he ought to defer his purpose for some longer time; and accordingly so he intended to do; but if they received them with a good will, then he would the more speedily go on with his innovation. But behold the issue! At first no notice was taken of it; but when he did it oftener, they began to observe, and listen more attentively. And when

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expectas) praeripuit Erasmus.' Cheke, *de Pronuntiatione*, p. 2.

[1] Geiger, *Reuchlin's Leben*, pp. 101–2.

[2] The facts here given are derived from Smith's narrative in his treatise *de recta et emendata linguae Graecae pronuntiatione, Thomas Smith Angli, tunc in Academia Cantabrigiensi publici Praelectoris, ad Vintonensem Episcopum Epistola* (Lutetiae, 1568) dated 'Cantabrigiae, 12 Augusti, 1542.'

Smith had often inculcated η and οι as E and OI, they who three years before had heard him sound them frequently uncorrectly after the old way, could not think it was a lapse of his tongue, but suspected something else, and laughed at the unusual sounds. He again, as though his tongue had slipped, would sometimes correct himself, and say the word again after the old manner. But when he did this daily, and, as appeared, every day, the corrected sounds flowed from him more and more, some of his friends came to him and told him what they noted in his lectures. Smith now cared not to dissemble, but owned that he had been thinking of something privately, but that it was not yet enough digested and prepared for the public. They, on the other hand, prayed him not to conceal it from them, but to tell them without any grudging. Whereupon he promised he would. Upon this rumour many came together, and repaired to him; whom he required only to hear his reasons, and to have patience with him three or four days at most, until the sounds, by use, were made more trite to their ears, and the prejudice of novelty more worn off. And so by little and little he explained to them the whole reason of the sounds[1].'

His example soon followed by Cheke and other influential members of the university.

Smith's example was now followed by Cheke and also by Ponet, who was shortly afterwards appointed to read the public lecture in Greek. Ascham, although he does not admit the fact in his letter, was at first disposed to resist the innovation, but soon surrendered to argument, and when he was in his turn appointed Greek reader and lectured on Isocrates, was one of the most zealous advocates of the change[2]. The triumph of the reform party was complete when Redman gave in his adhesion to their cause and adopted the new method whenever, in his divinity lectures, he had occasion to quote a passage in the original Greek. In fine, all those who, to quote Smith's expression, had any reputation for ability joined readily in promoting an obviously useful reform[1].

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[1] Strype, *Life of Sir Thomas Smith*, pp. 11–12.

[2] 'Ascamus erat juvenis magnis ingenii naturae ac diligentiae suae ornamentis praeditus, qui tum Academiae nomine Graeca praelegebat in scholis: fuit ille liber, ut arbitror, Isocrates, quem enarrabat. Hic velitabatur in initio cum Poneto meo, pronuntiationem hanc ad sequendum aspernabatur; reprehendere tamen graviter ac aperte, propter Chaeci authoritatem et meam nolebat. Idem paulo post, quem ad modum quidem et nunc est, acerrimus hujus rei defensor, extitit.' Smith, *de Pronunt.*, fol. 42.

Smith leaves England for Padua.

In the firm persuasion that his efforts had been crowned with permanent success, Smith, on the institution of the Regius professorships, ceded his chair of Greek to Cheke, and, in order more fully to qualify himself for his duties as professor of the civil law, left England in the autumn of 1540 for Padua.

State of the university of Padua.

That ancient seat of learning, sharing in the revived fortunes of the Venetian Republic, was at this time at the zenith of its reputation—'attracting,' to quote the exultant language of its historian, 'students from all the other universities of Italy and famous throughout the world[2].' Its teachers were often men whose names were familiar to every scholar in Europe, who had been vigilantly sought for and were munificently remunerated[3]. Its chief study, however, was still that of the civil law; and no less than twenty professors, among whom Accorambonus and Rubeus would appear to have been the most eminent, expounded from as many chairs the Institutions, the Infortiatum, and the Digest, the Codes of Gregorianus, Hermogenianus, and Theodosius, and other special subjects belonging to the same faculty[4]. Cambridge men not unfrequently, at this

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[1] 'Omnes qui quicquam posse credebantur isto more sonabant. Ego deinde in Galliam: Graeca Reg. Majest. lectio Chaeco concessa est.' *Ibid.* fol. 42 *b*. See also Cheke (*de Pronunt.*, p. 106) who specially mentions Ponet, Pilkington, Ascham, Tonge, and Bill among those who 'totos se huic nostrae emendatae dediderunt.' Strype (*Life of Cheke*, p. 155) would accordingly appear to have been guilty of an anachronism in referring to Dr Caius as one of the objectors *at this time*. Caius had left Cambridge in 1539 and was now at Padua, where, according to his own statement, he himself lectured on Aristotle in the schools. *de Libris propriis* (ed. Jebb), p. 163. He did not return to England until 1544, and did not see Cambridge again until 1558. See *infra*, note 4, and p. 58, note 1.

[2] *Facciolatus Triumviris Gymnasii Patavini* (prefixed to the *Fasti*).

[3] 'Where,' says Sir William Hamilton, 'the highest celebrity was possibly to be obtained, nothing could exceed the liberality of the Senate or the zeal of the Moderators; and Padua was thus long eminently fortunate in her competition for illustrious teachers with the most favoured universities of Europe.' *Dissert. and Discuss.*, p. 358.

[4] Facciolati, *Fasti*, III 79–201; Riccoboni, *de Gym. Patav. lib.* VI.,

The university frequently visited at this period by Cambridge men.

period, found their way thither,—in some instances for a lengthened sojourn. Among others, Dr Caius was at this very time a teacher of Greek[1], and was himself being instructed in medicine and anatomy by Montanus and Vesalius. From Padua, Eton received the treatise which served as a model for its time-honoured Greek grammar[2]. Here Smith was admitted to the degree of doctor of civil law, returning to England towards the close of 1541[3]. On his way to Padua he visited not only Paris but most of the other French universities, and to those Greek scholars whom he met with he did not omit to unfold his new scheme of Greek pronunciation and to invite their opinion on the question. He frankly admits that the plan was entirely new to them and that it was not always that it commanded their assent. Landrinus, indeed, at Orleans hailed the reform with enthusiasm and soon after adopted the method in his own class room; but Strazelius, at Paris, demurred and hesitated. He warned Smith, who appears to have contemplated giving

Smith admitted to the degree of D.C.L.

He visits the French universities.

Manner in which his proposed reform of Greek pronunciation was received in France.

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p. 18. The other branches of study do not appear to have been cultivated with much success. Dr Caius, who was there at the same time as Smith, says that the law schools were the only public schools in the university, and that the students in other faculties met in the house of a private citizen,—'aedibus humilibus satis et obscuris.' Before he left however he had the pleasure of seeing new schools erected at the expense of the Senate of Venice. *Hist Acad. Cant.*, p. 184.

[1] This fact rests solely on his own statement: 'Anno enim Domini 1543, defunctus publico munere praelegendi Aristotelicam disciplinam Graece publico salario illustrium Venetorum, *concurrente* Realdo Columbo Cremonense, in scholis publ. apud S. Blasium Patavii, etc.' *de Libris propriis*, p. 163. His name does not occur in Facciolati (*Fasti*) who gives a chronological list of the professors with the amounts of their salaries, nor does it occur in Riccoboni, in the list which he furnishes of 'Explicatores Humanitatis Graecae et Latinae' (*de Gym. Patav.*, pp. 28–29). Dr Caius' use of the term 'concurrente' will be understood from the following passage: 'The plurality of *concurrent* chairs (which long continued) superseded the necessity of hasty nominations; and it not unfrequently happened that a principal ordinary [professorship] *was vacant for years*, before the Triumvirs found an individual sufficiently worthy of the situation.' Hamilton, *Discuss. and Dissert.*, p. 358.

[2] Hallam, *Hist. of Literature*, I 336, note.

[3] An entry in the college books proves that he had returned before 20 Jan. 1541–2 (Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll.*, p. 234). It will be observed that he was thus absent for more than a year, while holding the office of public orator. Ascham, in like manner, when in Germany, continued to hold the office and draw the salary, much of his time being given, as his biographer tells us, 'ut oratoris munus, cujus ille absens fructum percipiebat, diligenter suppleretur' (Grant, *Vita*, p. 19). By the forty-fourth of queen Elizabeth's Statutes this was forbidden, and the Orator's absence limited to three months 'nisi veniam ab Academia uberiorem habeat.' Dyer, *Privileges*, I 193.

a course of Greek readings before the university, that he doubted whether the innovation would be favourably received. There were, he said, a good many lecturers on Greek in Paris, but in that branch of learning, as in others, it was not the most profound scholar who was listened to with the greatest favour, but the one who could most successfully ingratiate himself with the Parisian world at large. For himself, he was content to adhere to the old plan, and in fact he could not but look upon disputes about pronunciation as somewhat pedantic and fit only for schoolmasters; from Smith they looked for something more worthy of his reputation. A third scholar, a native Greek, scouted the whole scheme, and roundly taxed Erasmus with having sought to introduce deep German gutturals and harsh-sounding diphthongs into a language to which they were totally alien[1].

Opposition at Cambridge.

In the mean time it had devolved on Cheke at Cambridge to develope their joint project and eventually to bear the brunt of the attack to which it was subjected. Jealousy, it is said, of the marks of royal favour with which he and his friend had been honoured, gave rise to an opposition which, in its first manifestations, was merely contemptible. One Ratcliff, a member of the university but a man of no attainments, made a ludicrous attempt to argue the merits of the question with Cheke in the schools, but was hissed and laughed down and hustled by 'the boys' in the crowd[2]. Skilful misrepresentations to the chancellor were more effectual. Gardiner, it is easy to understand, may have been far from unwilling to inflict a marked humiliation on the little band of Johnian scholars and their leader, distinguished as they were by theological sympathies widely at variance with his own. But as yet he manifested no disapprobation; and Smith, who shortly after his return to England had waited upon him at Hampton Court, appears to have been received with favour and to have succeeded in conciliating the chancellor's personal good will[3]. It was consequently

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[1] Smith, *de Pronuntiatione*, fol. 4–5.

[2] *Ibid.* fol. 42 *b*.

[3] *Ibid.* fol. 1.

Gardiner's unexpected decree, May, 1542.

like the fall of a thunderbolt from a serene and unclouded sky[1], when, in May, 1542, a decree from Gardiner came down to the university enjoining an immediate return to the former pronunciation of Greek under pain of the severest penalties. Had the offence in question been parricide, Smith said, the chancellor's edict could hardly have been more sternly enforced. Refractory regents were to be expelled from the senate; candidates for degrees were to be refused permission to proceed; scholars were to forfeit all advantages accruing from their scholarships; while other undergraduates who persisted in this insane endeavour to lisp Greek after the supposed classic fashion were to be birched before their fellow students in college[2].

Its discouraging effect.

According to the unanimous testimony of the reform party, Gardiner's decree had a most disheartening effect on the university. Cheke declared that he had no longer any pleasure in lecturing nor his class in listening, while not a few had definitively abandoned the study of the language[3]. 'All sounds in Greek,' says Ascham in his letter to Brandesby, 'are now exactly the same, reduced that is to say to a like thin and slender character and subjected to the authority of a single letter, the *iota;* so that all one can hear is a feeble piping like that of sparrows or an unpleasant hissing like that of snakes.' What made the blow all the harder to bear, he adds, was the fact that it had been dealt by one for whose authority and learning they all alike cherished the utmost respect[4].

Controversy between Gardiner and Smith and Cheke.

Both Smith and Cheke now hastened to employ their argumentative powers and elegant Latinity in defence of what they felt to be a just and honourable cause. The former, who generously took upon himself the whole responsibility of the innovation, composed in the following August an elaborate letter to Gardiner, vindicating the new method of pronunciation and giving a detailed account of the manner in which he had been led to undertake its introduction. At the same time, Cheke and Gardiner exchanged a series of letters on the subject which was not concluded until the following October[1]. The general ground on which the latter chiefly rested his defence was that in a matter like pronunciation usage was the safest guide; and he maintained, rightly enough, that it was a fallacy to suppose that all written characters were necessarily to be reproduced in sound[2]. It is rather suggestive of the real weakness of his case, that he thought it worth while to urge that the younger students, who naturally found the least difficulty in the new method, evinced a mischievous delight in the perplexity which it occasioned their elders, and were thus rendered pert and arrogant. His most solid objection was undoubtedly that derived from the diversity that the change would create between the English and the Continental practice[3],—an objection to which both his opponents readily admitted that some weight was to be attached[4].

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[1] '—multis his annis nihil evenisse meminimus tam insperatum et inexpectatum, nihil molestius et magis acerbum, quam ut per edictum tuum tolleretur, etc.' *Ibid.* fol. 1 *b.*

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I 402–3. Cheke, *de Pronunt.*, pp. 18–22. It is remarkable that Dr Caius, in his *Historia Acad. Cant.* (p. 124), should have represented this decree as *confirmatory* of the new method of pronunciation. This probably shews that, at the time when he wrote, no one any longer thought of calling the method in question.

[3] Cheke, *de Pronunt.*, p. 103. Ascham goes so far as to say that the decree 'omnem pene Graecae linguae perdiscendae ardorem in animis nostris funditus exstinxit.' *Epist.*, p. 75.

[4] *Ibid.*

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[1] *Johannis Cheki Angli de Pronuntiatione Graecae potissimum Linguae Disputationes cum Stephano Wintoniensi Episcopo, septem contrariis Epistolae comprehensae*, &c. Basileae, 1555. Gardiner's first letter was written *prior to his decree*, in the hope apparently of deterring Cheke before recourse was had to so extreme a measure. Mr Wordsworth (*University Studies*, p. 109, n. 4) has briefly summarised this correspondence.

[2] 'Vide, quaeso, apud nos in nostra dialecto, utrum osculum jam *Kusse* dices, vel *Kysse?* Quod exemplum ideo tibi propono, ut videas apud nos sonum litterae *υ* Graecae, quae antiquioribus et rudibus sonabat u, urbanitate quadam loquendi in sonum *ι* litterae extenuatum.' Cheke, *de Pronunt.*, p. 10. To this Cheke very happily rejoins: 'Sed ab antiquis ad nostra me transfers, et uno verbo Anglico totam Graecam linguam evertis.' *Ibid.* p. 84.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 168, 199.

[4] 'Diluenda sunt illa quae maxime videntur officere causae nostrae; quorum hoc videtur vel praecipuum, in quo etiam ego ipse testis esse citor, qui aliquando nescio cui amico in aurem dixerim me nusquam extra Cantabrigiam nostram nostrae pronuntiationi patronum invenisse.' Smith, *de Pronunt.* fol. 3. Gardiner more than once presses Smith's admission against Cheke, and to Dr Caius it always appeared a fatal objection: 'Hic itaque sic cogitabam apud me, cum nec Romae nec in universa Italia, imo vero cum neque in Germania, Gallia, neque Belgia, *nec alibi gentium quam in nostra Britannia* ullum unquam verbum de pronuntiatione illa nova ullave mentio aut significatio tum fuit, novam pronuntiationem alibi in usu non

Subsequent history of the controversy.

The testimony of Ascham undoubtedly implies that the chancellor's decree met with a certain compliance,—at least at the public lectures. But it is evident that the submission of the university was not of long continuance, for in the following year Gardiner found it necessary emphatically to repeat his prohibition, declaring that he would not submit to be 'deluded and contempned[1].' In 1545 we find him complaining that his decree, which he affirms had received the assent of the whole body, had been set aside with impunity[2]; while in 1554, when his authority had acquired fresh terrors with the Catholic reaction, he proceeded to enforce his determination by vigorous dealings with the recalcitrants[3]. But in a few years more the force of reason had prevailed, and the Erasmian pronunciation was generally adopted in England, until in turn superseded by the more recent method which now prevails[4]. Its adoption on the Continent was somewhat later[5], but the treatises of Mekerch, Beza, Ceratinus, and Henry Stephens familiarized scholars with the arguments in its favour and gradually obtained for it an almost equally general acceptance. The real service rendered by Smith in bringing about this important reform

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fuisse quam in Britannia certo scire licet.' *de Pronunt.* (ed. 1574), p. 3.

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I 406. Coelius, the editor of the correspondence between Cheke and Gardiner, denies that the former in any way submitted: 'Haud tamen ejus potentia territus, Checus rectissimo studio susceptam causam sibi esse deserendam duxit, *sed fortiter in ea persistendum;* illud cogitans, nihil esse veritate potentius.' *de Pronunt. a* 5.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I 426.

[3] *Ibid.* II 92.

[4] The precise differences between the Reuchlinian, the Erasmian, and the modern English methods are concisely described in a paper from the pen of the late W. G. Clark, in the *Journal of Philology*, I 98–108. He observes (p. 100) that long before the time at which Strype wrote (1721) the English pronunciation had superseded both the Erasmian and the Reuchlinian in this country.

[5] Ascham, writing to Cheke (Nov. 11, 1550), states that he has just heard Theodoric Lange lecture at Louvain, and that the lecturer 'sequutus est *in omni* nostram pronuntiationem.' *Epist.* 233. In writing, however, to Edward Raven, in the following February, he qualifies this statement and says that 'the reader, in *οῖ*, followed our pronunciation' (*English Works*, p. 355). As regards the Continent, Mr Clark observes: 'The change was the more easily made since in all countries the pronunciation of the consonants was nearly the same as that already employed both for Latin and for the vernacular tongues, while the Erasmian pronunciation of the vowels was the same as that already in use in France, and with the exception of *υ*, with that used in Italy and Germany. In England alone the anomalous pronunciation of the vowels in the native tongue presented an obstacle which did not exist elsewhere.' *Journal of Philology*, I 102.

has been somewhat unduly lost sight of by posterity; for to Cheke, in conjunction with Erasmus, the merit has chiefly been assigned[1].

Statute of 1544 for the matriculation of students.

That Smith's popularity had been in no way diminished by his advocacy of the new pronunciation of Greek, may be inferred from the fact of his election to the vice-chancellorship for the year 1543-4. His tenure of office was marked by one measure of more than ordinary utility,—the passing of a statute for the due matriculation and registration of students. Before this time, no other formality had been observed save that of an oath administered to all students above the age of fourteen by the head of the college or hall to which they belonged, whereby they pledged themselves to obey the authorities, preserve the peace, and defend the interests of the university. By the statute of 1544, the student was required to go before the registrary and give in his name, together with that of his tutor and that of his college, to pay the matriculation fees[2], and then, if of mature age, to take an oath to the following effect:

> The Chancellor *and Vicechancellor of the university of Cambridge so far forth as is lawful and right, and according to the rank in which I shall be as long as I shall dwell in this republic, I will courteously obey. The laws, statutes, approved customs and privileges of the university, as much as in me is, I will observe. The advancement of piety and good letters, and the state, honour, and dignity of this university I will maintain as long as I live, and with my suffrage and counsel, asked and unasked, will defend.*
>
> So Help me God and the Holy Gospels of God[3].

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[1] Mekerch (Haverkamp, *Sylloge Scriptorum*, etc. p. 30) mentions Erasmus and Cheke as the writers by whom he had been principally guided in his researches. So again Henry Stephens writes: 'Quidquid D. Erasmus, quidquid Joannes Checus scripserunt de hac controversia sonorum literariorum, primum est acceptum.' *Ibid.* p. 391. At Paris, the eminent Ramus appears to have been the first to introduce the new method, and he was followed by Lambinus (*Ibid.* 391–2). Stephens, who wrote his treatise in 1578, speaks of the new method as already prevalent in Gaul, Britain, and Flanders. *Ibid.*

[2] The various sums payable, according to the status of the individual, are enumerated in Cooper, *Annals*, I 414.

[3] *Ibid.* I 413–4. Among other good results from this measure is to be noted the fact that it rendered it necessary that the Registers at the different colleges should also be more systematically kept. The Registers of Admissions at St John's College all date from the following year, viz. 1545; while previously, even the register of the admissions of the fellows had been so neglected that professor

CHAP. I.

In the year 1542, the spoliation of the monasteries was turned to the advantage of secular education in the university in a somewhat remarkable manner. On the other side of the river, 'cut off,' as Fuller describes it, 'from the continent of Cambridge,' there stood an ancient house known as Buckingham College, its name having been derived from Henry Stafford, duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in 1483. The foundation of the house, however, dated as far back as the year 1428, when the Benedictines of Croyland, dissatisfied with the somewhat shiftless condition of those members of their order who sought to pursue their studies at the university, erected a separate building for their accommodation, in which monks repairing to Cambridge 'to study the canon law and the Holy Scriptures' might reside under their own rule[1]. This tenement was supplanted about half a century later by a more solid structure, the gift of the above duke, and thenceforth bore the name of Buckingham College[2]. Other Benedictine monasteries built additional rooms[3], while the society received from Edward Stafford, the son of Henry and third duke, a considerable endowment, and it is probable that the foundation of the college as a secular, or semi-secular society, dates from this period[4]. But in the year 1521 the chivalrous Stafford was executed on the charge

BUCKINGHAM COLLEGE.

A Benedictine foundation but open to the secular clergy and the laity.

Mayor, in his endeavour to complete the list from the foundation, describes his information as derived 'from bonds, required by statute to be given at admission in the reign of Henry 8,' or from 'a broken, imperfect register in the treasury,' or from 'the series of names, as they stand upon some old college books, or other papers.' Baker-Mayor, p. 284.

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I 178–9, 227. For some of the facts contained in the following account I am indebted to entries contained in a volume known as the 'Old Book,' preserved in the custody of the master for the time being of Magdalene College.

[2] 'Ei ante paucos annos, nullis datis possessionibus, ex opere lateritio initium dedit Henr. Buckinghamiae dux, unde Buckinghamiae Collegii nomen adinvenit.' Caius, *Hist. Acad. Cant.*, p. 77. Cooper (*Annals*, I 179, n. 3) appears to have overlooked this distinct assertion by Dr Caius.

[3] 'Nam Eliense monasterium unum cubiculum, alium Waldense, 3 Ramisense monasterium fabricarunt.' Caius, *Ibid.* p. 77.

[4] It is worthy of note that in a sheet contained in a copy of Caius' *de Antiquitate Cant.* presented by John Parker (son of the archbishop) to James I, now preserved in the British Museum, in which the arms of the different colleges are emblazoned with the dates of their respective foundations superscribed, the date assigned to the foundation of Magdalen is 1519. The same date is given by Carter in his *History of the University*.

of high-treason, and the endowment of the college along with his other estates was confiscated by the Crown[1]. There seems little doubt that the secular element in the college about this time was considerable. Cranmer, on resigning his fellowship at Jesus College after his first marriage, had supported himself by giving lectures here in theology[2]; it was here that Sir Robert Rede, the distinguished benefactor of the university, and lord chancellor Sir Thomas Audley were said to have received their education[3]; while the last prior of the house was Henry Holbeach, a Cambridge doctor of divinity and afterwards bishop of Lincoln[4]. It is to the presence of this secular element that we may probably attribute the exemption of the society from the operation of the successive acts for the dissolution of the monastic bodies, and the inclusion of its name with the names of the other Cambridge colleges which, by one of the provisions of the Royal Injunctions of 1535, were required to maintain 'two daily public lectures, one of Greek the other of Latin[5].'

The loss of the endowment received from Edward Stafford was now succeeded by the loss of the fees formerly paid by students from the monasteries, and the financial state of the college was such as to threaten its speedy dissolution. It was at this crisis that, to use the expression of Baker, the house was 'restored[6]' by the intervention of Sir Thomas Audley.

Sir Thomas Audley.
b. 1488.
d. 1544.

Among those who had urged on the overthrow of the religious houses none had taken a more active part in the work or had shared more largely in the spoil than that eminent statesman. Endowed with consummate tact and a commanding presence, he had achieved no ordinary political success and had acquired considerable wealth by a singular combination of talent, audacity, and craft,—the characteristics

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[1] Carter says the foundation had not been 'perfected,' and that the property consequently reverted to the Crown. *Hist. of the Univ.*, p. 290.

[2] 'Tho. Cranmer cum a collegio Jesu cessit matrimonii causa fit Praelector Theologiae in Coll. Buckingham.' Baker MSS., XXI 167; Harleian, 7048. I am unable to trace Baker's authority for this statement.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 20 and 80.

[4] *Ibid.* I 105.

[5] See author's *Hist. of the Univ.*, I 630.

[6] 'renovatum.' Baker MSS. VI 111.

He obtains extensive grants of the monastic estates.

of one who in the language of Lloyd 'was well seen in the flexures and windings of affairs at the depths whereof other heads not so steady turned giddy[1].' The offices of speaker of the House of Commons, chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster, lord keeper of the great seal, and lord chancellor of the realm had successively rewarded his untiring perseverance and real services. Among the first to profit by the plunder of the monasteries, he was also one of those who shared in its final distribution. In 1535, the priory of Aldgate with its estates—'the first cut,' as Fuller terms it, 'in the feast of abbey lands'—fell to his share, and was followed in 1536 by the bestowal of St Botolph's Priory at Colchester. But these splendid prizes were far from satisfying his cupidity[2]. He pleaded that he had been a heavy loser by the rebellion in the North and again by the cessation of the fees which in his capacity as chancellor he had formerly derived from the monasteries. When accordingly the wealthy abbey of Walden, with its large estates, was confiscated he begged boldly for the gift. 'In the besy world,' he says, in a letter to Cromwell, 'I susteyned damage and injury and this shal restore me to honeste and comodyte[3].' His representations were favourably heard by Henry, and in 1538, Sir Thomas, as possessor of the property, was raised to the peerage under the title of lord Audley of Walden. But the royal munificence was not yet exhausted, and in 1542 the priory of Crutched Friars at Colchester and Tiltey Abbey completed the intriguing statesman's magnificent reward. If ever the hope that the suppression of the monasteries might prove the gain of the universities was to be in some measure realised, it must be admitted that there was no courtier from whose aggrandizement the latter bodies had a better right to look for some advantage than the newly-created lord of Walden. He was moreover, when his years were estimated by the average of life in those days, already an old man. He had no male heir; and the Cam itself, as it stole onward through the abbey grounds at Walden, might serve to remind him of those ancient and impoverished foundations which rose on its banks in its remoter course, and in behalf of which his powerful influence had more than once been exerted[1]. We have no record of any specific appeal to him on the subject, but he was fully informed of the straitened condition of the university and of the existing desire for more colleges, and in the year 1542 we find him applying for the royal licence to change the name of Buckingham College to that of St Mary Magdalene and subsequently reconstituting the society as a college of the university endowed for the maintenance of a master and eight fellows.

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[1] *State Worthies* (2nd ed.), p. 73. Elsewhere the same writer describes him as one 'whose knowledge was as large as his authority, whose wit was equal with his wisdom, whose memory was strong and judgement solid.' *Ibid.* p. 72. See also Froude, *Hist. of England*, I 248. The 'Gray's Inn lawyer' mentioned by the same writer as making a happy rejoinder to the bishops' appeal to 'custom' (p. 247) was Sir Thomas Audley. Mr Froude assigns to him 'a middle place' among the contending interests at court. *Ibid.* IV 207.

[2] *Hist. of Audley End*, by Lord Braybrooke, p. 12. 'Every grant,' observes the noble author, 'which Sir Thomas obtained encouraged him to importune the king for further recompense.' *Ibid.*

[3] 'The charges of the rebellion and the occasion cost me xj^{c}. markes and above.'...'I have lost by capacyteez liberally and frely granted to relegeous persones of all the howses suppressid, of very ordinary ffeez anexid to my office above a M^{li}, and have it no recompens for it.' *Letters relating to the Suppression of the Monasteries*, p. 242.

Charter of foundation of MAGDALENE COLLEGE: Apr. 3, 1542.

Early statutes of the foundation, given Feb. 16, 1553-4.

Although however the college was reconstituted in 1542 and its charter granted by Henry, 'Ecclesiae Anglicanae et Hiberniae supremum caput,' it devolved on the executors of the founder (who died in April, 1544) to draw up the statutes, and it was not until the sixteenth of February, 1554, that these received the sanction of Philip and Mary—'Dei gratia Regis et Reginae Angliae[2].' The executors were Elizabeth lady Audley (the widow), Edward lord North, Sir Thomas Pope, knight, and Edmund Martin and Thomas Barber, esquires[3]. Of these, two at least were staunch Catholics[4], and when we take into consideration the date at which the statutes were drawn up, it is evident that, whatever might have been the founder's designs, the display of any decided preference for the 'new learning' would probably have proved subversive of the whole scheme. In marked contrast therefore to the statutes of Christ's College and St John's, the original code of Magdalene College is noticeable chiefly for what may be termed its more domestic character, and the evident design of the founder and his executors that the society shall be permanently to a great extent under the control of his heirs,—the successive owners of Audley End. They are to possess the sole right of appointing the master of the college, while the whole tenour of the statutes is carefully directed towards maintaining intact the master's authority. As regards the head himself, it is required that at the time of succeeding to the office he shall be about thirty years of age[1], 'a promoter of religion, virtue, and sound learning,' and that if not in holy orders he shall forthwith take the necessary steps for admission to the same. No statute recognises the contingency of his suspension or removal, while, on the other hand, he himself is invested with full power to eject from the college ('sine ulla mora aut appellatione') any of the fellows who may resist or refuse to obey his authority[2]. The stipend originally attached to the office was liberal, being, after that of the provost of King's and that of the master of St John's, the largest derived from a similar position among all the other foundations then existing in the university. No clause requires that he shall be resident, a fact which is partially explained by the provision made, notwithstanding the limited numbers of the society, for the appointment of a president. This officer is required to exercise a general supervision over the whole

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[1] In the *Epistolae Academiae* (I 184) there is a letter thanking him for his assistance in procuring for the university the remission of the payment of first-fruits and tenths (see *supra*, p. 12).

[2] *Documents*, III 346.

[3] In *Documents* and also in Cooper (V 258) the last two names are transposed, but in the original statutes, which by the courtesy of the present master of Magdalene I have been permitted to examine, the order is as I have given it. These statutes, besides other features of interest, are noticeable for having the names of each of the executors inscribed in full at the foot of every folio.

[4] Lord North was one of the Commission for the suppression of

Unusual powers vested in the master.

The President.

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heresy, 8 Feb. 1556–7 (Cooper, *Athenae*, I 232). On Sir Thomas Pope's well-known Catholic sympathies it is unnecessary here to dwell.

[1] 'Sit praeterea annos triginta natos *aut circiter*:' this somewhat singular expression has I believe been construed, in one instance, into liberty to appoint a master of the age of twenty-seven.

[2] *Documents*, III 348.

[3] 'Collegii praefectus pro unius anni commeatu quinquaginta duos solidos, pro stipendio quinque libras et octo solidos habebit.' *Documents*, III 357. Cf. Cooper, *Annals*, I 431–8.

body, to enforce the observance of the statutes, attendance at chapel, and attention to study.

Fellows and bible-clerk.

In elections to fellowships it is directed that no heir to property shall be eligible, and preference is to be given to those who are 'docti et pauperes' and intending to devote themselves to theological studies. Those not in priest's orders within three years from their election, are to be liable, at the discretion of the master, to forfeit their fellowships. Besides the fellows there is to be a 'bibliothista' or chapel clerk, who is to assist the officiating priest at divine worship[1].

Disputations and lectures.

It is directed that every fortnight there shall be disputations and 'problems' in the college chapel between the hours of five and seven, at which the president, the fellows and pensioners are all required to be present for the purpose of taking part. There are also to be daily lectures in hall between six and seven in the morning, but the detailed directions with respect to subjects which we find in the statutes of Christ's College and St John's are altogether wanting[2].

The endowment proves insufficient for the support of eight fellows as originally designed.

It was originally designed, as already stated, that in conformity with the charter of foundation the college should support a master and *eight* fellows[3], no restriction being imposed with respect to counties or place of birth. But the executors, on proceeding to draw up the statutes, found the revenues so far inadequate that they reduced the number to six, while in contemplation of any difficulty being subsequently experienced in maintaining even this limited number the society was empowered to suspend for a time elections to fellowships which might fall vacant[4]. It was afterwards found necessary so far to exercise the discretion thus conferred that the number of foundation fellows was further reduced to *four*, and we hence find that this last number is that which is usually spoken of as provided for by the original foundation of Sir Thomas Audley[1]. Before his decease, however, we find in the year 1543 the suppression of the monasteries resulting in another gain to the college. A fund had been bequeathed some years before, by one Hugh Dennis, to the priory of Shene 'for the finding of two priests to pray for ever for his soule and divirs other soules mentioned in his will[2].' But as the priory had been dissolved these conditions could no longer be fulfilled, and the heirs of Hugh Dennis accordingly obtained permission by Act of Parliament to commute the obligation imposed on them by the directions of the will for an arrangement whereby it was agreed that there 'should be given to St Mary Magdalene College in Cambridge for ever a yearly pension of £20 in money issuing out of his manor in Burleigh, whereof 20 nobles to be to the use of the college for ever, and the other 20 markes pension to be paid yearly to 2 such fellowes as the king shall nominate, which 2 fellows shall pray for the soules of King Henry the 7th and King Henry 8 and for the soules of Hugh Dennis and his wife and for all other soules mentioned in the will of the sayd Hugh Dennis[3].'

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[1] *Documents*, III 348–9.

[2] *Ibid.* III 350–1.

[3] *Ibid.* III 341.

[4] 'Praefectus et socii sint septem numero....Si tamen contigerit collegium in tantam decidere inopiam ut inde numerus hic praescriptus ali non potest; tum fundatrici dum vivit et post ejus mortem magistro et majori parti sociorum licebit sodalitia tunc temporis vacua in usum collegii ad tempus convertere.' *Ibid.* III 349.

Bequest of Hugh Dennis.

Bequests of John Spendluffe and Sir Christopher Wray.

In addition to these two 'king's fellows,' as they were termed[4], John Spendluffe, of Farlsthorpe in Lincolnshire, gave in 1584 lands 'to the value of £30 and upwards' for the maintenance of one fellow and two scholars; and in 1587 two fellowships were founded by Sir Christopher Wray. Other bequests for a like purpose were made, until, at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the number of fellowships amounted to 16 and the scholarships to 31.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I 404. Baker (MSS. IV 120) says, 'Lord Audley's foundation consisted of four fellowships and six scholarships;' in MSS. VI 111, he says however that Sir T. Audley '*ordinavit* unum Magistrum et octo Socios.' Dr Caius, writing in 1574, says 'Fundatio admittit unum magistrum et 8 socios, sed ex praediolo ne sufficit quidem quod alat quinque, poterit tamen cum placuerit bonis viris.' *Hist. Acad. Cant.* p. 78.

[2] 'Old Book' of Magdalene College Lodge, p. 43.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] But not, it will be observed, of royal foundation. In the year 1634 Charles I instituted enquiry in the belief that the latter was the case and that these two fellowships were 'in his owne absolute power to dispose of.' The society returned reply that the fellowships had been founded by 'one Hugh Dennis, Esq., the nomination only being with the king, and that both fellowships were at that time filled.' 'Old Book,' p. 117.

Alterations and additions introduced into the original statutes in the reign of Elizabeth.

It remains to observe that although early in the reign of Elizabeth, before that is to say the year 1564, many alterations and additions, some of which were of considerable importance[1], had been introduced into the original statutes, the directions with respect to the master's authority were repeated only with greater fulness and force[2],—a feature which would appear satisfactorily to prove that the special and peculiar powers attached to the mastership of this foundation have throughout been regarded as in conformity with the design of the founder.

Interference of the Crown in elections to masterships.

It is about this time that we begin to find the interference of the Crown with elections to the masterships of colleges, as seen in the appointments of Dr Day and Dr Taylor at St John's, becoming the rule rather than the exception, and however indefensible in principle, it admits of no question that this undue exertion of the royal prerogative was sometimes attended with beneficial results. At a time when party spirit ran high, a conflict within college walls was often thus averted, which would otherwise have given birth to bitter and long-enduring dissension in the society. Certainly no

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[1] 'In as muche therefore as the said statutes are allredye appointid perusid and also correctid by suche judgmente as the said Executours and I (whom it pleasid God to appointe for the time beinge and my children hearafter as proper heires unto the sayd L. Awdeleye) have thought meet and conveniente' etc. *Letter from the duke of Norfolk* (the son-in-law of the founder) *to the master and fellows*, Jan. 24, 1564. *Documents*, III 344–5. These additions or alterations (for in some instances the words are inserted over an erasure) illustrate the transition from the Marian to the Elizabethan era; *e.g.* we find in the statute *de qualitate Magistri*, over an erasure, 'aut coelibem *aut maritatum* esse pro suo arbitrio permittimus' (see *Documents*, III 348); while in that *de Electione Sociorum*, a distinct paragraph (covering an extensive erasure) declares no one to be eligible 'qui Regis auctoritatem post Christum supremum ex conscientia non agnoverit, qui canonicas Scripturas Patribus ac Conciliis humanis omnibus non anteposuerit' (*Original copy of Statutes*).

[2] The principal additions which point to an extension of the master's prerogative (1) enjoin that any fellow who shall disobey or resist his authority shall forthwith be expelled by him; (2) vest the election of the President in his hands; (3) permit the time of the election to fellowships to be altered at his pleasure; (4) forbid that any fellow shall hold a benefice without his special consent; (5) allow votes to be promised before the time of elections to fellowships, *if he so will;* (6) give him, in addition to *two votes* on every occasion, the casting vote whenever the votes are equal; (7) place in his hands the supervision and arrangement of the exercises and disputations. *Documents*, III 348–50.

Dr Parker appointed by the Crown to the mastership of Corpus Christi College, Dec. 4, 1544.

happier instance can be cited than that whereby in 1544 the fellows of Corpus Christi were induced to acquiesce in the election of Dr Parker as their head. His able administration of Stoke College constituted one of his chief recommendations, while the impending dissolution of that college was in itself an argument in favour of his claims to other preferment[1]. The royal letter to the fellows describes him as 'a man, as wel for his approved learning, wisedom, and honestie, as for his singuler grace and industrie in bringing upp youth in vertue and learning, so apte for the exercise of the said roome, as is thought very harde to finde the like for al respects and purposes'.[2]

His election to the vice-chancellorship, 25 Jan. 1545.

The election to the mastership took place in December, and on Sunday, the 25th of the following January, 'at iii of the clock,' Parker was elected to the vice-chancellorship in succession to Smith. The election was carried by a triumphant majority, and John Mere, the registrary, 'a hearty lover' of the university[3], in communicating the result to Parker at Norwich, does not attempt to conceal his satisfaction. He states that it was 'a very great house,' the number of regents being ninety-eight, and of this number the voting papers shew that seventy-nine votes were given for Parker, five for Ridley, eight for Standish, and six for Atkinson[4]. It was probably felt that at this juncture the appointment was of more than ordinary importance; and we find, indeed, that all Parker's discretion and tact were needed in connexion with an occurrence which soon after placed him in a position of some difficulty between contending parties.

College plays.

The acting of plays was a form of amusement which had long divided opinion in the universities. At Paris we find the austere Gerson interdicting their performance and stigmatising such recreations as 'ludi stultorum;' at Cambridge, however, they were at this time a practice recognised by the

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[1] Parker's efforts on behalf of the college only postponed the evil day, and it was eventually dissolved in 1547. Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. I. c. 6.

[2] *Ibid.* Append., No. v.; *Parker Correspondence*, p. 17.

[3] He was a King's man, and also filled the office of esquire-bedell. Cooper, *Athenae*, I 174; *Parker Correspondence*, p. 19; Masters, *Hist. of Corp. Chr. Coll.*, Append. no. xxv.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 18.

Sanctioned and encouraged at this period in the colleges at Cambridge.

authorities and encouraged by statutory enactments,—penalties even being sometimes imposed on those who refused to bear their part[1]. The amusement and interest which they excited was in no way diminished by the fact that they were frequently the medium through which one party asserted its own views and satirized those of its opponents. In the Christmas week of 1536 the performance of the *Plutus* of Aristophanes at St John's College, with the new Greek pronunciation, had given early indication of the coming reform. But the favourite weapon with the Reformers at this period, was the 'mystery,' or religious play, a form of dramatic entertainment which is to be traced in England as far back as the Norman Conquest[2]. Among the producers of this literature, Thomas Kirchmeyer (or Nao-Georgus) holds in the sixteenth century a conspicuous place. He had been educated at Tübingen, at the time when that university was inspired by the presence and teaching of Camerarius, and his attainments as a Greek and Latin scholar were of a high order. He had however embraced Calvinistic views, and while himself a vigorous assailant of the Papacy had been compelled in turn to flee by Lutheran intolerance. He appears to have conceived also an admiration for the Stoic philosophy, and his published translations of such authors as Dion Chrysostom, Epictetus, and Synesius, shew that his sympathies were with a school of thought which had, in those days, but few followers or admirers. But it was by his dramatic composi-

Thomas Kirchmeyer. *b.* 1511. *d.* 1563.

His translations and dramatic compositions.

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[1] A statute of Queens' College of the year 1546 directs that any student refusing to take part in the acting of a comedy or tragedy in the college, and absenting himself from the performance contrary to the injunctions of the President shall be expelled from the society. Fellows and scholars on the foundation, not being bachelors of theology, are to be fined, for like contumacy, a sum of 5*s.*: it is also directed that the expense incurred in getting up and exhibiting a comedy or tragedy shall be defrayed by the President from the common chest. Baker MSS. xxxii 274–5. By a later form of this statute it would appear that the performances were sometimes private, sometimes open to the whole university (*Documents*, iii 54). For a clause from the statutes of Trinity College see Wordsworth, *University Life*, p. 188, where for '1535' read 1560. Much of the importance attached, at this period, to the acting of plays by students, may I think be attributed to the precepts of John Sturm of Strassburg, of whom I shall hereafter have occasion to speak.

[2] Ward (Prof.) *Hist. of English Dramatic Literature*, i 86. Professor Ward observes that 'literary terminology must distinguish between the miracle-play as primarily of literary, and the mystery as primarily of religious, i.e. liturgical origin.'

tions that Kirchmeyer was chiefly known to his contemporaries, and a Latin tragedy which he published in 1538, under the title of *Pammachius*, acquired an almost European fame. It is an unsparing satire of the abuses and crimes of the Papacy. Pammachius is an imaginary Pope, a contemporary of the emperor Julian, who, weary of the simplicities of the true faith, begins to hold unhallowed communication with the sophists,—of whom Porphyry, by a slight anachronism, is selected as a representative. The result of their consultations is that Pammachius resolves on transferring his allegiance from Christ to Satan. Christ thereupon, in his divine displeasure, commands that Satan shall be unloosed, and be permitted for a time to work his will on earth. Pammachius and Porphyry straightway offer to become the liegemen of Satan on condition that the former receives a portion of the new kingdom. This being granted, Pammachius expels the imperial Caesar from the Church and deposes him from his throne. The latter subsequently comes to terms with his conqueror, but it is upon rigorous conditions, and Satan in his exultation at the pontiff's victory, erects a trophy. At this crisis the divine permission is given to the apostle Paul and to Truth to revisit earth, and a terrible conflict ensues, of which the issue is still undecided when the drama closes[1].

His *Pammachius.*

Its extensive popularity.

This rude caricature of papal history, as seen through Calvinist spectacles, is also made the vehicle for a series of invectives against the whole body of Romish ceremonies and observances, and consequently attained to considerable popularity among the Reformers. John Bale, the author of the *Scriptores Britanniae,* deemed it worthy of translation. It is however due to Kirchmeyer to admit that though his play abounds with imputations and insinuations of all kinds, it never descends to blasphemies and foul scurrilities such as characterise Bale's own efforts in the same kind of composition[1].

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[1] In the collected edition of his dramatic compositions, published at Wittenberg in 1542, from whence I have derived my knowledge of the play, there is prefixed to Pammachius a dedication to Cranmer, wherein the vices of the papal system are severely animadverted upon. Strype, who does not appear to have seen the play, very inadequately describes it as 'an interlude, wherein the popish manner of Lent fastings and the ceremonies were exposed' (*Life of Parker*, bk. I. c. 5). The author himself, in the 'Prologus,' much more nearly describes the scope of the composition when he says, 'In summa, papatum suis coloribus depinximus.'

The play performed in Lent, 1545, at Christ's College.

It says more for the zeal than the charity of the members of Christ's College that they selected *Pammachius* for a dramatic performance and the season of Lent (1545) for its production. The authorities gave their sanction to the selection, and even granted a sum of nearly twenty nobles for the expenses of bringing out the play, although before it was rehearsed they had the prudence to revise the text and expunge some of the more offensive passages. Gardiner, who had his informants in every college, soon heard of what had taken place, his intelligence on this occasion being received through Cuthbert Scott, a young fellow of Christ's, who on the accession of queen Mary was rewarded for his staunch Catholicism by being promoted to the see of Chester. The chancellor was at this time probably in a more than usually suspicious state of mind. His plot for the overthrow of Cranmer had just been signally foiled; Dr London had recently died a miserable death in Fleet Prison; and Parliament had effectually interposed to mitigate the action of the Six Articles Bill. He at once sent down peremptory instructions to Parker to report on the whole matter. The latter instituted enquiries the result of which was to vindicate the performers from some of the heavier charges: it was clear that the performance had not taken place without due sanction, and it was certain that the play itself had been to a certain extent expurgated. No one who was present, Parker said, as far as he could learn, had professed himself in any way scandalised by what he had heard[2]. His report was far

Gardiner informed of the performance by Cuthbert Scott.

His remonstrance and enquiries.

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[1] See particularly, Bale's *Comedye concerning thre lawes*, published in the same year as *Pammachius*. Bale had been educated at Jesus College, but was at this time in exile with his wife and family in the Low Countries. Cooper, *Athenae*, I 226.

[2] Lamb, *Cambridge Documents*, I 49. It cannot, I think, be quite by accident that Parker's reply is dated 'this good frydaye,' but the early Reformers omitted no opportunity of shewing their contempt for the observance of Lent. Bale, in his *Vocacyon to the Bishoprick of Ossory*, tells us that his 'comedy' of *John the Baptist* and his 'tragedy' of *God's Promises* were acted by the youths

from satisfying Gardiner, who wrote again, requiring that further enquiry should be made, and that all the Heads and doctors of the different faculties should assist in its prosecution. He urged that if some passages of the play had been omitted, this only proved more clearly the deliberate intent with which the remainder had been uttered. He affected to look upon the whole matter as touching upon the king's authority as Head of the Church, and finally warned Cambridge not to abuse her ample privileges, with respect to which, he declared, she was more favoured than Oxford, lest 'ther opinion shulde be confermed which not many yeres past have laboured to prove in bokes prynted in englyshe that the universities be the corruption of the realme[1]'.

It does not appear that the chancellor derived much satisfaction from the report of the assembled Heads and doctors, nor indeed from a perusal of the expurgated copy of *Pammachius* which was sent for his inspection. In a third letter he expressed his disgust at the whole composition, and also his general dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the university at large. His missive was followed up by a warning letter from the Privy Council,—designed apparently quite as much to shield Scott from the consequences of his unpopularity as to enforce the chancellor's mandate,—John Crane, a junior fellow of Christ's who had taken a leading part in the performance, was bound over to appear when called for, and here the matter would seem to have terminated[2].

Action of the Privy Council.

Act for the Dissolution of Colleges.

But before the close of the year the peace of the university was again disturbed by a far more important event,—the passing of the 'Act for the Dissolution of Colleges.' The alarm in both universities now rose to the highest point. It was well known that the courtiers had already cast longing eyes on the landed endowments of the colleges, and that Henry himself was scarcely able to withstand their greed and importunity, especially when their claims were urged, as was not unfrequently the case, on the ground of distinguished

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upon a Sunday at the market cross of Kilkenny. See Warton, *Hist. of English Poetry*, III 78–9.

[1] Lamb, *Cambridge Documents*, p. 51.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 54–57.

service to the state[1]. Not a few at both Cambridge and Oxford began to predict that the Leighs and the Leightons would shortly again be seen in their midst, and that King's College and Cardinal College would ere long share the fate of Glastonbury and the Charterhouse. It was at this juncture that the advantage of possessing such representatives of their interests as Cheke and Smith was forcibly brought home to the university. Even the dullest conservative, who had been wont to look upon these two eminent men as only fantastic troublers of calm waters, could not but acknowledge that genius and originality had their uses when he found them potent to ward off the hands of the despoiler from his own table, his fellowship, or his prebend. In the preceding year, Cheke had been called away from Cambridge to act as tutor to prince Edward, an appointment, as Ascham truly describes it, 'full of hope, comforte, and solace to all true hartes of Englande[2].' About the same time, Smith received the appointment of clerk to the queen's council. The duties of his office do not appear to have rendered it necessary for him altogether to absent himself from Cambridge, and Walter Haddon in the same year describes him as infusing life and animation into every branch of academic study, and being like St Paul 'all things to all men,' in order that all might benefit by his endeavours[3]. He was however frequently at court, and appears to have gained considerable influence over both the invalid and irritable monarch and his

Advocacy of Cheke and Smith on behalf of the university.

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[1] This, according to Parker, who was present when the words were spoken, was Henry's only excuse for conduct which really admitted of no justification:—'that he could not but wryght for hys servantes and others doyng the service for the realme in warys and other affayres.' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 60; Cooper, *Annals*, I 431. Ascham when pleading with the Protector Somerset a year or two later, on behalf of St John's College, skilfully exposes the shallowness of this plea: 'Intelligimus multos privatos viros ex benignitate regum magnas divitias consequutos esse. Optime factum, hoc modo excitabuntur reliqui ut reipublicae serviant. Verum si utilitatem quae proficiscitur ex plurimis ingeniis optime institutis cum unius hominis opera comparare velis, facile cernes quantum nos honeste petere, et quantum tu juste tribuere, non nobis, sed reipublicae potius debes.' *Epist.* p. 296.

[2] *Toxophilus* (ed. Arber), p. 78.

[3] 'D. Smithus conserit inter nos litteras omnis generis, jus civile docet, ad philosophiae causas accedit, medicos etiam tentat novos nostros, exemplo D. Pauli fit omnibus omnia, fructum ut afferat omnibus.' Haddon, *Epist.* p. 166.

Appeal of the university to queen Katharine.

new consort, the virtuous and benevolent Katharine Parr. To both him and Cheke the university now addressed an impassioned appeal for aid[1], while at the same time a more formal petition was placed in Smith's hands, addressed to the queen, soliciting her advocacy of their interests with the king[2]. The evidence is such as to leave little doubt that it was to Smith's exertions that Cambridge, at this juncture, was indebted for its escape from imminent peril. A commission could not indeed be altogether averted, but he dexterously contrived, under the plea of relieving the university from heavy and unnecessary expense, that it should not be saddled with the cost of an enquiry conducted by any of the court officers, but that the proposed task of reporting on the revenues of the colleges and the manner in which they were expended, should be confided to some of its own members whose experience and character would afford a guarantee of their efficiency and good faith. We can imagine the sense of relief which must have been experienced throughout the university when it was known that the commissioners appointed were Parker, Redman, and Mey, men with respect to whom the language of the royal commission, describing them as of 'notable vertue, lerning, and knowledge[3],' might well be recognised as conveying no empty compliment.

Appointment of a commission, Jan. 16, 1546.

General results of their enquiry.

The commission was issued on the 16th of January, 1545-6, and the enquiry of the commissioners was concluded before the spring of the same year. Its result, if not altogether satisfactory, was at least well calculated to move the compassion of the intending despoiler. It exhibited fifteen distinct foundations, for the most part but poorly endowed, and with the one exception of the new college of St Mary Magdalene embarrassed by the insufficiency of their revenues to meet their ordinary expenditure. King's College and St John's alone shewed an annual income of more than £500; at Peterhouse, where the income was but £138, the expenditure was £50 in excess; Queens' College and Michaelhouse were the only foundations which could furnish a fairly satis-

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[1] Ascham, *Epist.* 223–4.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I 430 *b*.

[3] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 58.

Interview between the commissioners and the king.

factory balance sheet[1]. Parker, who with the other commissioners and some of the courtiers was present at Hampton Court when Henry perused the report, has left on record in his own handwriting the royal comments and the royal decision. As the king glanced down the parchment, he was fain to admit that he 'thought he had not in his realme so many persons so honestly maynteyned in lyvyng bi so little lond and rent'. When he enquired the reason why nearly all the colleges seemed involved in an expenditure so much exceeding their revenue, he received for reply that 'yt rose partly of fynes for leases and indentures of the fermours renewing ther leasys, partly of wood salys[2].' Thereupon he significantly observed that 'petye it wer these londes shuld be altered to make them worse,' 'at which wordes,' says Parker, 'som wer grieved for that they disapoynted *lupos quosdam hiantes.* In fine we sued to the Kinges Majestie to be so gracious lorde, that he wolde favour us in the contynuance of our possessions such as thei were, and that no man by his grace's letters shulde require to permute with us to gyve us worse.' Then Henry smiled and put forward the plea to which we have already referred,—of the necessity under which he found himself of rewarding the servants of the state. But he added, says the narrator, that 'he wold *put us to our choyce wether we shulde gratifie them or no,* and bad us hold our owne, for aftyer his wryting he wolde force us no furder. With which wordes we were wel armyd and so departed[3].'

Rumours of a new college.

The averting of despoliation had not been the only result of Smith's eloquent pleading with Katharine. In her reply

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, I 431–8.

[2] This sentence is partially explained by Mr Froude's statement that, in anticipation of dissolution, the lands belonging to some foundations 'had been granted away in leases upon lives, the incumbents securing their personal interests by fines' (*Hist. of England*, IV 193). In the visitation of Trinity Hall in 1549, it was found that the society, in alarm at the proposed amalgamation of their foundation with Clare Hall, had granted 'three fraudulent leases' to 'three of the yong felowes.' *State Papers*, Dom. Edwd. VI, vol. VII. See also Cooper, *Annals*, II 23. Fuller implies that the rentals of college lands, like those of the monasteries, had not been raised in proportion to the general rise of prices at this period. *Hist. of the Univ.* (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 235.

[3] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 60; *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 35–36.

Q. Katharine's letter, Feb. 26, 1546.

to the university, she intimated that it was her lord's desire rather to advance learning and 'erecte new occasion thereof, than to confound those your ancyent and godly instytutions[1],'—a vague assurance, indeed, especially when proceeding from royal lips, but destined in this instance to a splendid realisation.

Demolition of the buildings of the Franciscans.

Before two months had elapsed, the long-coveted buildings of the Franciscans, with their stately church and the surrounding cloisters, were seen falling before the hammer of the workman, not however to furnish plunder to the courtier but to serve as material in the erection of a magnificent royal college. On the ground adjacent to King's Hall and Michaelhouse foundations were dug and walls begun to rise, the commencement, it was rumoured, of a more imposing edifice than had ever before graced the university[2].

Surrenders of Michaelhouse and King's Hall: Oct. 29, 1546.

A few months later it became known, that the master and fellows of Michaelhouse and the master and scholars of King's Hall had, for the furtherance of the same object, been called upon to surrender their respective houses into the royal hands. At the same time, the society of Gonville Hall was summoned to surrender (in return for an annual pension of £3) the ancient building known as Fiswick's Hostel[3], which stood on the northern limits of the proposed site[4].

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[1] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 71; Strype, *Memorials*, vol. ii. pt. i. c. 16.

[2] 'A particular Survaye made the 20th of May, anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi 38, of the late dissolved House of the Grey Freers within the University of Cambridge, as hereafter followeth, that is to say: The Church and Cloyesters with all other the Houses thereupon bilded bine defaced and taken towards the bilding of the King's Majestie's New College, in Cambridge, and therefore valued.

'The Soyle whereof with the Orchard, Brewhouse, Malthouse, Millhouse, and Garden, within the Wallis thereof bine yerely worth to be letten foure Pounds six Shillings and eight Pence sterling.

> 'Vis. et Examinat. per me Ro. Chester, Supervis. Domini Regis ibidem.'

Cole MSS. xlvi 228.

'June 30: 5th of Edward vi.

'"At the Freres: 8 stooles for masons to hewe stone off; a roofe tymbre over the Hall at Freres, lying in a store house......Three sowes of lead, of which one lieth where ye Church stode, etc." This shows to what use the Grey Freyers House was converted, viz. towards the building of Trinity College.' Baker MSS. xxxiii 137.

[3] Founded in 1393 by William Fiswick, beadle of the university,—the term 'Physick Hostel' being a corruption of his name. Here 'young scholars belonging to Gonvill Hall were first instituted.' Blomefield, *Annals of Gonville and Caius College* in *Documents*, ii 370; see also ii 353–4. The only trace (Mr Aldis Wright informs me) now existing of the annual pension of £3 is a quit rent of 10*d*. still annually paid by Trinity to Caius College.

[4] Hence the conceit of Fuller, that Trinity College was 'so called, not

Foundation of TRINITY COLLEGE: Dec. 1546.

And on the 19th of December, 1546, the royal letters were granted for the foundation of a college of literature, the sciences, philosophy, good arts, and sacred theology; consisting of one master and sixty fellows and scholars[1], to be called 'TRYNITIE COLLEGE, within the towne and universitie of Cambrydge, of Kynge Henry the Eights foundacion[2].'

The college a notable illustration of the modern, as opposed to the mediaeval, spirit.

No Cambridge foundation and probably no academic institution in Europe furnishes so striking an example as does Trinity College of the change from the mediaeval to the modern conception of education and learning. It rose on the ruin of the monasteries. For many a long year after, the Franciscan precincts exhibited only a wide expanse of orchard ground, whereon a few outbuildings were all that remained of the stately structure which had once moved the admiration of the passer-by. If it were asked to what uses the former fabric had been converted, men pointed to where, scarcely a hundred paces distant, a new and noble college met the view[3]. In its endowment that college illustrated yet more fully the process of the great revolution, an illustration which, it deserves to be noticed, may still be traced in a somewhat remarkable manner in the extensive church patronage possessed by this society.

This particularly observable in the form of its existing church patronage.

It is a fact familiar to the student of the history of these times, that, in the gigantic system of impropriations which had long been going on, the monasteries had been largely enriched by the application to their own uses of the great

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only because dedicated to God, One in three persons, but also because made by King Henry the Eighth, one of Three Colleges.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 83.

[1] The enumeration as given in the Charter of Dotation (*Documents*, III 367) does not distinguish between fellows and scholars; Baker (MSS. XI 324) conjectures that the last ten 'at least' were only scholars. 'According to Dr Richardson's MS. Register,' says Dyer, 'there were also forty grammar scholars, a schoolmaster, and an usher.' *Privileges*, II 77.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, I 444.

[3] Fragments of very fine early Gothic tracery and some Norman mouldings were found in the course of a reparation of the chapel in the present century, and are now in the Master's garden. The present Master, to whom I am much indebted for criticism of the above account, says, 'I have no doubt they came from the despoiled "Freres,"—at any rate the later fragments' (Letter of April 4, 1880). Mr J. Willis Clark informs me that he has come to the conclusion that although the chapel was probably begun in 1554–55, it was probably not until 1557 that the work began to make any real progress.

tithes paid by the church lands which formed part of their endowment, which were thus often, to quote the expression of Hallam, 'diverted from the legitimate object of maintaining the incumbent to swell the pomp of some remote abbot[1].' In no case do these tithes appear to have been restored, at the dissolution of the monasteries, to the Church; instead of enriching the monastery, they were simply applied to enrich the Crown or the courtier. On the present occasion Trinity College stood in the position of the courtier, and like him seems to have recognised no obligation to restore the great tithes to their ancient use; nor indeed, it must in justice be added, is there any probability that such a course would have been looked upon as in harmony with the royal founder's design[2]. But even in the general corruption then prevalent, there were those who could not shut their eyes to the anomaly involved in the spectacle of a college designed mainly for the education of the clergy deriving its chief revenues from the impropriation of church livings. 'The fyrst parte of reformacion,' said the high-minded Lever at Paul's Cross, 'is to restore and geue agayne all suche thynges as have bene wrongfullye taken and abused.... Why dyd God cause the abeyes to be destroyed, but for papystycall abuses? And why shoulde not God plage the vnyuersityes and byshops kepynge and meddelynge wyth improperacions, that bee the same papysticall and deuilish abuses[3]?' It is however certain that little discretion had been left to the authorities of Trinity College in this matter. In the very same sermon, Lever distinctly implies that the blame of these impropriations rested almost solely with the courtiers, and he makes reference to some daring act of malversation on their part whereby, it would seem, property representing 'many hundred pounds' of the royal bounty had been diverted from the new foundation, to which, in consequence, the impropriate tithes offered almost the only remaining source of revenue[1]. It is thus that in the long list of livings to which Trinity College presents, no *rectorial* living appears as derived from monastic church property[2]. The comparatively few rectories to which it has acquired the right of presentation, were either derived through King's Hall or Michaelhouse, as previously appropriated to those foundations, or else were bestowed on the society at a period subsequent to the Reformation[3]. In this

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[1] *Const. Hist. of England* (ed. 1869), I 77.

[2] The Charter of Dotation expressly declares that the master and fellows are to hold the estates 'adeo plene libere et integre ac in tam amplis modo et forma prout ultimi abbates, etc......habuerunt.' *Documents*, III 384–5.

[3] 'A sermon preached at Paules Crosse.' Dec. 12, 1550. Lever, *Sermons* (ed. Arber), pp. 124–5.

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[1] 'Was it not a godly and charitable prouysion of the Kynge to geue vnto the vniuersity......manye hundred pounds to the foundacyon and ereccion of a newe Colledge? And was it not a deuilishe deuyse of you to tourne all thys the Kinges bountuouse liberalitye into improperacions of benefices, whyche be papysticall and vncharytable spoyles of most necessarye prouysion for pore paryshes?...He that sette the eares, shall he not heare the sorowfull complaynt of pore paryshes, agaynst you that haue by improperacions clene taken awaye hospitalitye, and muche impared the due liuynges of Gods mynysters, the peoples instructoures and teachers?...He that fashioned the eie, doth he not beholde howe that the beste landes of abbeyes, colleges and chaunteries be in youre handes, *and euyll improperacions conueyd to the Kyng and to the univuersities and byshopes landes?*' [?'handes'] *Ibid.* p. 124. See, for an able discussion of the whole question, bishop Kennet's treatise, *On the Impropriation of Vicarages*. Burnet, long afterwards, spoke of this grievance as 'the great scandal of our English Reformation.' 'Our fault,' he says, 'is, that at the dissolution of the monasteries restitution was not made to the parish priests of what the popes had sacrilegiously taken from them.' Burnet-Pocock, Preface to vol. II, p. 15.

[2] A comparison of the church patronage of Trinity with that of St John's will at once suggest the very different conditions under which the respective rights of these two colleges were acquired. The *Cambridge Calendar* gives the former as comprising *sixty-five* livings, of which only *ten* are rectories; the latter as comprising fifty-one livings, of which the rectories are *thirty-eight*. A complete enumeration of the rectories, churches and advowsons bestowed on Trinity College by Henry VIII will be found in Cooper, *Annals* I 445-451. In the college statutes of 1560 an endeavour was made in some measure to compensate the despoiled parishes by providing that students born in these localities should have the preference, *ceteris paribus*, in elections to fellowships, see *infra*, p. 142.

[3] Thus the advowson of Fakenham was given by Edward III to King's Hall, 12 Edw. 3; that of Orwell was bought by Michaelhouse. Hervey de Stanton (see vol. I 234) bought the perpetual advowson of Cheadle; that of Grundisburgh was purchased by Michaelhouse. Reepham was acquired by exchange for the advowson of North Runcton, which was given to the college in 1623, by Thomas Hope, rector. The advowson of Dickleburgh was given to the college in 1681 by Dr George Chamberlayne. A third turn of the advowson of Guisley was given to the college in 1667 by Sir Thomas Strickland. Gilling was bequeathed by Mr Pigott, the rector, who died in 1812. The advowson of Loughton was given in 1678 by Francis Crane. That of Papworth Everard was given by Dr Duport in 1674. In the cases of Enfield and Shudy Camps, the great tithes had already been impropriated by Sir Thomas Audley and Sir Thomas Darcy before the king acquired them and gave them to the college.

As regards the impropriations retained by the college, Mr W. Aldis Wright, the bursar (to whose courtesy the author has been indebted for manner however the revenue of the college, derived mainly from what had originally been the revenue of the Church, was brought to a magnificent total which greatly exceeded that of any other foundation in the university[1].

The spirit, so alien from that of mediaeval ecclesiasticism, which characterises the whole conception of the new society, found expression even in the royal charter, wherein the illustrious founder is described as one 'divinely appointed for the purpose of bringing the pure truth of Christianity into the realm and repelling the nefarious and enormous abuses of the Roman papacy[2].'

No Oxford men on the foundation.

It is a fact which Cambridge may regard with just pride, that although Wolsey at the foundation of Cardinal College deemed it for the advantage of the society that it should be largely composed of Cambridge men, not a single Oxford name appears on the list of the original foundation of Trinity. On the other hand it is a fact which Trinity can admit without humiliation, that, with the design that the college should from the first include a due proportion of the best talent of the university, not a few of its first members were from St John's[3]. To St John's, Trinity was indebted not only for its first three masters, but also for three of the best Greek scholars then to be found in Cambridge,—Nicholas Carr, who in the following year was appointed to the Regius professorship; Robert Pember, who was forthwith installed as first Greek reader in the college; and John Dee, who appears to have acted as assistant Greek reader, but who is better known to posterity by his able reform of the Julian Calendar. Among other noteworthy names are those of William Glynn

Debt of Trinity to St John's.

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some of the foregoing particulars), writes: 'I think this explains how it is that such a large proportion of our property (over £30,000 a year) is in Tithe Rent Charge. We are, I believe, much larger holders of tithe than any other college, and so far have suffered from the malversation of the courtiers. The property is, in this respect, the same as it was when it came to us at the foundation of the college.' (Letter of Feb. 9, 1880.)

[1] The total revenues amounted to £1678. 3*s*. 9½*d*., liable to certain deductions amounting to £38. 3*s*. 9½*d*.

[2] *Documents*, III 365.

[3] 'Yea, S. Johnes did then so florish, as Trinitie College, that princely house now, at the first erection was but *colonia deducta* out of S. Johnes, not onelie for their master, fellowes, and scholers, but also, which is more, for their whole both order of learning and discipline of maners.' Ascham, *Scholemaster*, p. 162.

of Queens', the lady Margaret professor; John Young, of St John's, the ablest of Bucer's opponents and afterwards master of Pembroke; and Ottiwell Holinshed, a cousin of the historian. To John Redman, who for the preceding four years had held the mastership of King's Hall, was assigned the honour of presiding over the new society. Any claim which he might have derived from his former office probably appeared slight when compared to that which could be urged from his acknowledged personal merits,—his genuine yet judicious sympathy with the new school of learning, his extensive attainments, and his dignity and weight of character. The selection was eminently happy; and for six years—years of no ordinary difficulty and disquiet,—he continued to rule the college, winning, according to high testimony, the regard of many and the respect of all[1].

The first master of the college.

It may be looked upon as beyond question, that the great majority of those who were thus summoned to form and guide the new society, were among the most learned and enlightened members of the university of that time, and also favourable to the principles of the Reformation. Something of triumph and much of hope were doubtless the predominant feelings with which they entered upon their fresh cares and responsibilities; while both to them and to Cambridge at large the new foundation could scarcely but have seemed an enduring memorial of the victory of the new learning and the new faith over Romish doctrine and mediaeval institutions. We shall however perhaps more justly estimate the significance of the circumstances if we look upon them as representing a natural law rather than as affording occasion for party exultation. The history of the external fabric of Trinity College may well be regarded as symbolising a deeper change. In the transfer of the stones which had once

Sentiments with which the Reformers regarded the new foundation.

Considerations which point to a more tolerant interpretation of the event.

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[1] '—societatem hanc omnium cum approbatione per sexennium pene integrum administravit, et suis charus quibuslibet venerabilis.' Baker MSS. XI 309. See the remarkable letter of John Young to Cheke, translated by Foxe (Foxe-Townsend, VI 271–4),—sent by the writer after hearing Redman's declaration of his religious views upon his death-bed; it clearly proves Redman to have possessed in a very high degree both discernment and moderation in his acceptance of the principles of the Reformation.

formed part of the ancient friary to build the walls of the new college, we may recognise no inapt illustration of the relations of the modern learning to the effete monasticism. The zeal, the love of letters, and the self-devotion, wherewith, three centuries before, the followers of St Francis of Assisi had quickened and renovated the religious impulses of Europe had doubtless not been in vain. Nor had the spirit in which those virtues took their rise become extinct; it had but passed away from the monastery and the friary to identify itself with other modes of thought and other institutions. That the Reformer of the sixteenth century, with his temper embittered in a fierce and deadly struggle, and his mental vision bounded by the intellectual horizon of his age, should have failed to discern this philosophic fact can in no way surprise us. Still less could he foresee the extension and latitude of interpretation that belief and doctrine would afterwards find in the college which he had helped to form,—that there learning, with canons of criticism to him unknown, would lay no sparing hand on much that he most revered,—that there science would discover principles and enunciate new laws which would subvert his conception of the universe. Neither in the past could he trace, nor in the future could he presage, the all-importance of that principle whereon the vitality of such institutions depends and whereby alone their influence over the minds of men can be effectually maintained,—the freedom and the ability to modify their own organization with the changes of its environment, and thus preserve it in harmony with the highest intellectual activity of the age. Wisdom indeed may pitch her camp at nightfall, but she ever moves onward with the dawn. The theories formulated in one generation become the traditions of the next, and it may be the obsolete prejudices of a third. They are often ultimately abandoned,—not necessarily as altogether erroneous, but because superseded by more adequate conceptions of the truth.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FOUNDATION OF TRINITY COLLEGE TO THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH.

Condition of the university in the first year of Edward VI.

THE changes which followed upon the accession of the young king must, at first sight, have seemed to give good promise that the well-wishers to learning would now at length find full scope for their designs. Gardiner, proving contumacious, was committed to the Fleet and there underwent a short term of imprisonment. He was succeeded in the chancellorship by the duke of Somerset, the lord protector of the realm and guardian to the king, well-known as a patron of the arts and of letters and a warm supporter of the Reformation. The university charters and privileges were confirmed, although not without involving the community in exorbitant expense. The fear of dissolution and confiscation was for a time dispelled; and while colleges, chantries, and grammar schools elsewhere throughout the land fell a prey to the despoiler, and Parker pleaded in vain for his beloved college at Stoke and Ascham deplored the imminent ruin of Sedberg, none of the Cambridge foundations (Trinity excepted) suffered material injury or loss.

Testimony of Walter Haddon to its prosperity.

To a superficial observer, indeed, the university now began to wear an aspect of undeniable prosperity. 'Never,' said Walter Haddon, at the academic Commencement of 1547, 'do I remember to have seen it more affluent or more thronged[1].' Among other signs of a revival, the re-appointment of 'taxors,' in the preceding October, is noted by Dr Peacock as one of the earliest[2],—although the measure may perhaps have been rendered imperative by the occurrence of fresh disputes between the university and the town. It certainly seems strangely at variance with Haddon's assertion, that an examination of the registers shews that the number of those admitted to the degree of B.A. during the six years of Edward's reign was but slightly larger than that of those admitted during the preceding six years[3],—the period, as already noted, of the greatest depression. Not less apparently incompatible with his tone is the fact that the testimony of those contemporaries who were best informed with regard to the actual condition of the university and best able to estimate the tendency of the influences there prevalent, is uniformly expressive of grave dissatisfaction. It so happens that we are in possession of three independent pieces of evidence with respect to the state of Cambridge during the reign of Edward VI, each the deliberately recorded impression of one who, from his recognised position in the university and his intimate knowledge of its affairs, was exceptionally well qualified to pronounce on its general condition at this period.

Apparent contradiction between the assertion of Walter Haddon and other evidence.

Testimony of Ascham in 1547.

Of these three observers, the first in order of time is Ascham, who, writing in 1547 to Cranmer, takes occasion to give him some account of the actual condition of the university[4]. A large number of the students are, he says, absorbed in theological controversy. It was the time when Albert Pighius of Utrecht, the assailant of Luther and of

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[1] See *infra*, p. 96 n. 2. It illustrates the habitual unfairness of Anthony Wood that, with this explicit assertion before him, he did not hesitate to bring forward the statement of Haddon with respect to the deserted state *of the schools* as proof of the condition of *the whole university*. See Wood-Gutch, II 80. Sir William Hamilton has followed in Wood's track and exaggerated his misconception. See his *Dissertations and Discussions*, p. 415.

[2] Peacock, *Observations*, etc., p. 26 n. 2; Cooper, *Annals*, I 441. The office was finally abolished by Sir John Pattison's award, 31 Aug. 1855.

[3] The aggregate number admitted during the academic years 1542–3 to 1547–8 was 191; during the years 1548–9 to 1553–4, 196. Baker MSS. XI 42.

[4] Ascham, *Epist.* bk. II, no. li; Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer*, bk. II, c. 6.

Bucer[1], was reviving with considerable argumentative subtlety the dark and apparently interminable controversy concerning predestination and free will,—a question with respect to which, Ascham cannot but think, theologians would do much better in accepting once for all the masterly decisions of Augustine. As regards scriptural studies in general, he reports that the authority of the great African Father is still paramount. The classical authors receive also a large share of attention. In philosophy, Plato and Aristotle are most studied, with a certain attention to the philosophical writings of Cicero; in history, Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon; in poetry, Homer, Sophocles, and Euripides. But whatever direction their intellectual activity may take, he says, they one and all cannot but be sensible of the irreparable loss they have sustained in Cheke's departure,—their only consolation being the thought that their loss is the State's gain. There are however two more general evils which are seriously impeding the advancement of learning in the university. Of these the first consists in the fact that, from causes which he does not attempt to assign, men of mature years and attainments, who might stimulate the younger students by their example and guide them by their influence, are no longer to be found in their midst. The second is, that most of those who now come up to the university are mere boys ('pueri'), the sons of wealthy parents, who are never willing to undergo the toil involved in gaining full and solid knowledge of a subject, but are satisfied with superficial and elementary acquirements. And hence, he goes on to say, the university is exposed to a twofold detriment: first, in that the mental growth of its students is never suffered to come to maturity, but 'is mown long before a harvest can be reaped'; secondly, in that the hopes of the poorer students, who would probably

His account of the tendencies of theological and classical studies in the university.

Two causes which chiefly hinder the advancement of learning.

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[1] Quidam, et hi sane multi, insano tamen judicio, immensum quantum Pigio tribuunt.' *Epist.* p. 218. Bucer, however, admitted the ability with which Pighius treated the question, and Peter Martyr at Oxford bestowed considerable pains on the attempt to refute his arguments. Pighius was not only condemned by Protestants, but also found his way into the *Index* of the Inquisition. See Schmidt (Dr C.) *Peter Martyr Vermigli, Leben und ausgewählte Schriften*, pp. 113-7; also Ascham's *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), p. 226.

give their whole time to study, are excluded by 'these drones who usurp their places.' 'For talent, learning, poverty, and discretion avail nothing in the college, when interest, favour letters from the great, and other irregular influences exert their pressure from without[1].'

Testimony of Latimer in 1549.

It was about two years from the time when Ascham wrote, that Latimer, in a sermon before the king, gave expression in more general terms to the same complaint. According to his statement, what at that time constituted, according to the prevalent opinion, the chief function of the university,—the education of a learned clergy,—seemed likely altogether to fall into neglect. 'There be none now,' he says, 'but great men's sons in colleges, and their fathers look not to have them preachers.' Those who studied divinity were only just sufficient to supply the colleges with lecturers[2], 'for their livings be so small and victuals so dear that they tarry not there, but go everywhere to seek livings, and so they go about.'

Testimony of Lever in 1550.

In the following year, the complaint of Latimer was urged with yet greater boldness and plainness, in a sermon at Paul's Cross, by Thomas Lever, who, in 1551, succeeded to the mastership of St John's. A man of fearless though humane and gentle spirit, the esteem in which he was held for his disinterestedness and moderation enabled him to plead the cause of his university with exceptional force[3].

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[1] 'Ingenium enim, doctrina, inopia, judicium, nil quicquam domi valent, ubi gratia, favor, magnatum litterae et aliae persimiles extraordinariae illegitimaeque rationes vim foris adferunt.' *Epist.* p. 220. The only interpretation of which Ascham's language admits is that at St John's the statute of 1545 with respect to attainments at admission (see vol. I 625) was practically disregarded.

[2] 'Alas! what is that? It will come to pass that we shall have nothing but a little English divinity that will bring the realm into a very barbarousness and utter decay of learning. It is not that, I wis, that will keep out the supremacy of the bishop of Rome.' *Sermon before K. Edward*, Apr. 6, 1549; Latimer-Corrie, I 179.

[3] Lever is described by Baker as 'a man of as much natural probity and blunt native honesty as the college ever bred, a man without guile or artifice, that never made court to any patron or for any preferment, one that had the spirit of Hugh Latimer......And yet though his sermons be bold and daring and full of rebuke, it was his preaching that helped him to his preferment, the men at court being either afraid of him, or his rebuking the courtiers having procured him reverence with the King.' Baker-Mayor, p. 130.

The courtiers worse than the monks.

His plaintive description, on this same occasion, of the condition of the poor students of St John's has already come under our notice[1]. He roundly declared that, viewed as a despoiler, one courtier was worse than 'fifty tun-bellied monks.' 'If,' he said, directly appealing to the courtier class, 'ye hadde any eyes ye shoulde se and be ashamed that in the great aboundance of landes and goods taken from abbeis, colleges and chauntryes for to serue the kyng in all necessaryes and charges, especially in prouision of relyefe for the pore, and for mayntenaunce of learnynge the kynge is so dysapoynted that bothe the pore be spoyled, all mayntenance of learnynge decayed, and you only enryched[2].' All that the young king and his royal father could do for the universities, the preacher admitted they had done. The privileges of both Oxford and Cambridge had been confirmed; exemptions had been granted to both bodies from tithes and first-fruits; new chairs had been munificently endowed; at Cambridge a splendid college had been founded. 'Howbeit,' continued the intrepid orator, 'all they that have knowen the vnyuersitye of Cambryge sence that tyme that it dyd fyrst begynne to receyue these greate and manyefolde benefytes from the kynges maiestye, at youre handes, haue juste occasion to suspecte that you haue deceyued boeth the kynge and universitie, to enrych youre selves. For before that you did beginne to be the disposers of the kinges liberalitye towards learnyng and poverty, there was in houses belongynge vnto the vnyuersyte of Cambryge, two hundred students of dyuynytye, manye verye well learned: whyche bee nowe all clene gone, house and manne, young towarde scholers and old fatherlye doctors, not one of them lefte: one hundred also of an other sorte that hauyng rych frendes or beyng benefyced men dyd lyue of thymselves in ostles and innes be eythe gon awaye, or elles fayne to crepe into colleges, and put poore men from bare lyuynges[3].' From the

Disappearance of the studious class, both young and old, from the university.

Danger of the grammar schools.

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[1] See Vol. I 368 n. 2 and 370–1.

[2] Lever, *Sermons* (ed. Arber), p. 120. For comparison between monastic appropriation of tithes and that carried on under the Reformers, see a remarkable piece of contemporary criticism in Collier-Lathbury, v 507–8.

[3] Lever, *ibid.* p. 121.

universities the preacher passed on to the grammar schools, 'founded of a godly intent to brynge vp poore mennes sonnes in learnynge and vertue.' On this subject he had already dilated at greater length in a sermon preached before the king in the preceding Lent, when the case of Sedberg school furnished him with a forcible argument[1]. The dangers by which that foundation was menaced afford a striking illustration of the position of such institutions at that time. Situated in the extreme north, it supplied a want which could not be denied, for no other school existed within forty or fifty miles. Nor could any argument for its overthrow be drawn from its actual condition: the buildings were excellent and there was an endowment of land for the master's maintenance. From six to eight of the scholars went up yearly to St John's, where there were no less than eight scholarships appropriated to the foundation[2]. If such institutions were to be sacrificed, it was felt that the efficiency of the universities could not fail to be seriously impaired, if indeed they could continue to exist. It is not surprising therefore that the authorities of St John's College should have exerted themselves to the utmost to avert from Sedberg the fate with which it was now threatened, and successive appeals to the chancellor of the university, to Sir Anthony Denny, and the Marquis of Southampton plainly indicate the extent to which Cambridge felt itself involved in a common danger[2]. Hope and despondency alternate in their letters. In March, 1549, Ascham writing to Sir Anthony Denny (an old fellow-collegian), addresses him as one who had not only rescued Sedberg from its impending fate but had effectually secured it against spoliation in the future[3]. But a few months later the prospect again became clouded; and Lever, when he preached before King Edward in 1550, spoke of the school as already an institution of the past.

Case of Sedberg.

Importance of such foundations to the universities.

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 81; Baker-Mayor, p. 575.

[2] Baker-Mayor, pp. 371–2.

[3] 'Nam quod scholam nostram Sedbariensem jam nutantem, imo dilapsam et plane desperatam, vigilantia et industria tua assidua tam mirabili modo recuperaveris,—non modo superiorem fundorum venditionem impediendo verum etiam diligentissime praecavendo ne in simile posthaec periculum deveniat,' etc. Ascham, *Epist.* 331.

The foregoing evidence, it must be admitted, goes not a little way towards justifying the assertion of Huber, that up to this time the Reformation had inflicted on both Oxford and Cambridge 'only injury, both outward and inward[1].' Nor were the evils and abuses which form the subjects of complaint of that merely temporary character which might enable us to look upon them as consequences inseparable from a period of revolution and disorganization. On the contrary, they constitute for the most part the very features which throughout the century and long after that time represent the influences that most seriously prejudiced the interests of learning at both the universities. We shall accordingly be sufficiently justified in endeavouring here to ascertain more fully their precise nature and effects.

Evils and defects to which the foregoing evidence appears to point.

The complaints then of Ascham, Latimer, and Lever, concern, it will be seen, in the first place *the general condition of the university;* in the second, *the character of its studies.* Under the former head the main facts which they deplore are (1) the irregular exercise of patronage; (2) the gradual disappearance of the non-collegiate or, as it is now termed, the unattached element from the student body; under the latter, (1) the want of men who by virtue of their recognised ability and mature experience might stimulate and guide the younger students; (2) the injurious influence of theological polemics on genuine study.

1. The irregular and unjust exercise of patronage.

Among the many lessons of history few are more emphatically enforced than that which teaches that the sudden and irregular acquirement of wealth by any one class in a nation is generally attended by great social demoralization. Of this the England of Edward VI affords a memorable example. The aristocracy of the realm had become rich by the plunder of the monasteries, but their riches so far from stimulating their liberality had in most instances only fostered avarice. The love of money became a characteristic of the courtier class, and they themselves, in the words of Ascham, while 'profuse in promises were parsimonious in bestowal[1].' In relation to the universities, this vice appears to have operated in a twofold manner. First, the wealthy sold their patronage, and vacant masterships, fellowships, and scholarships were too often filled up by those who could afford to bribe most largely or who could command those other irregular influences to which Ascham above refers. In the next place, the selfishness inseparable from avarice exhibited itself in indifference towards the poor. In order to avoid an expense which they could well afford, rich parents would make interest to gain admission for their sons on foundations designed exclusively for poor scholars, thus 'putting,' to quote the expression of Lever, 'pore men from bare liuings.' 'In times past,' said Latimer in his sermon *Of the Plough*[2], 'when any rich man died in London they were wont to help the scholars at the universities with exhibitions...... When I was a scholar at Cambridge myself, I knew many that had relief of the rich men in London; but now I can hear no such good report, and yet I enquire of it and hearken for it. Charity is waxen cold; none helpeth the scholar nor yet the poor; now that the knowledge of God's Word is brought to light, and many earnestly study and labour to set it forth, now almost no man helpeth to maintain them[3].' How deeply this double evil had infected the whole college system, may be gathered from the testimony of William Harrison, written in the latter years of the century, who thus sums up his account of the original design of these foundations and its culpable perversion :—'They were erected,' he writes, 'by their founders at the first, *onelie for poore mens sons*, whose parents were not able to bring them up unto learning: but now they have the least benefit of them, by reason the rich doo so incroch upon them. And so furre hath this incon-

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[1] *English Universities,* I 284.

Further evidence from Latimer.

Corroboration from Harrison, circ. 1586.

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[1] 'Nec me fugit quam esse solent omnes aulici ad pollicendum largi et prolixi, ad praestandum tamen tenaces et restricti.' Letter to Redman, *Epist.* p. 205.

[2] Latimer-Corrie, I 60–61.

[3] Compare the very similar complaint of Melanchthon a few years before: 'Quid quod in multis locis, *etiam ubi emendatae sunt ecclesiae*, nunc negliguntur studia litterarum, nemo opitulatur pauperibus scholasticis, fame necantur pii et docti sacerdotes, et eorum coniuges et parvi liberi. Quare aliquanto post et his defuturi sunt idonei pastores,' etc. 'Decl. de Officio Principum,' *Corpus Reform.* XI 437.

uenience spread it selfe, *that it is in my time an hard matter for a poore man's childe to come by a fellowship* (*though he be neuer so good a scholar, and woorthie of that roome*). Such packing also is used at elections, that not he which best deserueth, but he that hath most friends, though he be the woorst scholar, is alwaies surest to speed; *which will turne in the end to the ouerthrow of learning.* That some gentlemen also, whose friends haue been in times past benefactors to certeine of those houses, *doo intrude into the disposition of their estates, without all respect of order or estatutes deuised by the founders, onelie thereby to place whome they thinke good* (*and not without some hope of gain*), the case is too euident: and their attempt woulde soone take place, if their superiors did not prouide to bridle their indeuors[1].' The danger which was already menacing the universities, that instead of representing first of all the centres of the highest intellectual culture of the nation they would become rather the fashionable resort of the youth of the wealthier classes, was largely increased by the fact that the unattached students were fast disappearing from their midst. German theology and German learning were predominant in the lecture-rooms, but the organisation of both Oxford and Cambridge was more and more diverging from that of other Teutonic seats of learning, as the university system of education became superseded by that of the colleges[2]. The attractions held out by such foundations as Christchurch, St John's, and Trinity, could not indeed be denied. Peter Martyr at Oxford[3] and Martin Bucer at Cambridge alike express their admiration at the comfort and the discipline that characterized these institutions and the liberal provision made for

2. Disappearance of the 'unattached' or poorer class of students from the university.

Comfort and security of college life.

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[1] *Description of England* (ed. 1586), ed. Furnivall for New Shakspere Society, 1877, pp. 76–78. The passage does not occur in the earlier edition of 1577.

[2] An attempt made at Marburg in 1529 to introduce the college and tutorial system of instruction appears about this time to have resulted in corresponding failure. [See Koch (Dr C.) *Gesch. d. akadem. Pädagogiums zu Marburg*, p. 11.] Perhaps the English and German universities may, to some extent, be considered to have eventually adopted the system best suited to the genius and habits of the two peoples.

[3] Harrison (*Description of England*, ed. Furnivall, p. 71) speaks of Peter Martyr as having been 'astonished at the large liuings and great revenues' of Oxford.

the students; no college on the Continent, the latter declared, could compare to them[1]. It was perhaps an almost inevitable result that this domestic comfort should tend to render the collegian less assiduous than the student of former days in his attendance at the schools and at the lectures of the professors. Walter Haddon, when addressing the university at the Commencement of 1547, contrasts the overflowing numbers of the whole body with the deserted aspect of the schools, and cannot forbear from making the latter feature the subject of serious remonstrance. He states that the attendance at the university lectures had become so small that professors were sometimes to be seen addressing themselves to a single auditor[2]. As regards the disputations in the schools, he urges that the mental powers of the ancient philosophers were all disciplined by similar public contests, that public ought always to outweigh private duty, and that consequently the schools have a prior claim to the college hall or chapel. Nothing, he feels assured, had been further from the late king's design in founding Trinity College, than that the collegians should use it as 'a hiding place in which to remain wrapt in private meditations[3].' Four years later, we find him returning with increased emphasis to the subject, and affirming that unless there were soon some reform the term 'Common Schools' would become altogether a misnomer

The schools become almost deserted.

Haddon's testimony and remonstrance.

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[1] 'Tam enim ditia et bonis legibus instituta collegia, cujusmodi in utraque regni academia tam multa extant, nullae habent in reliqua Europa vel academiae vel ecclesiae.' Bucer, *Script. Anglic.*, p. 61. The language of Justus Lipsius towards the close of the century is equally emphatic; he speaks of the college as 'pulchrum inventum et quod in Anglia magnifice usurpatur: neque credam in orbe terrarum simile esse, addam et fuisse. Magnae illic opes et vectigalia: verbo vobis dicam? unum Oxoniense collegium (rem inquisivi) superet vel decem nostra.' *Lovanium*, p. 100.

[2] 'Admonet me vestra celebritas, admonet hoc tempus, admonet ante omnia hic locus in quo insisto, vobiscum ut agam ne deseri has scholas sinatis et quasi privatas relinqui, quas nomine publicas, beneficiis publicis, institutione publica, doctorum et artium, majores nostri ad publicam utilitatem totius reipublicae fundaverunt. Quae tot modis pervulgatae sunt, quarum tam multiplex ratio communitatis est, eas nolite pati in hac solitudine jacere qua jam diu obsoluerunt. *Nunquam affluentior academia fuit, nunquam numerosior mea memoria quam nunc est, nunquam desertiores hae scholae fuerunt, nunquam magis solitariae. Nam ad tantas angustias et ad tam insignem paucitatem redacti sunt, ut vix singulis magistris relicti sint singuli auditores.*' *Lucubrationes*, pp. 11–12.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 15.

and those ancient structures would have to be called the 'professors' haunts[1].' Within another five years we find Dr Caius indulging in a like complaint[2], and if we bear in mind that, at a time when the system of examinations was in its infancy and triposes were unknown, these dialectical contests afforded the only means whereby the merit of collegians on different foundations could be openly tested and compared, Haddon's remonstrances must be admitted to have been far from unreasonable.

Overflowing numbers but fewer real students.

The foregoing evidence, it will be noticed, serves also in a large measure to explain the apparent contradiction between his assertion as to the large aggregate number of the students and the small numbers of those proceeding each year to their bachelor's degree. It is a somewhat significant fact, that in the same oration as that in which he deplores the deserted state of the schools he dwells with complacency on the many youthful representatives of noble houses, such as those of Rutland, Maltravers, Howard, Cecil, Northampton, Suffolk, Russell, North, Warwick, Sidney, who about this time were gracing the university with their presence, and who, he implies, were in many instances actuated by a genuine love for learning[3]. It is however certain that they rarely proceeded to their degrees[4], and by his own admission, the prevailing symptom in the university was that of indolence in study, and this spirit, he adds, was beginning to infect even the colleges[5]. His testimony is supported some six years later by that of an equally high authority, a Regius professor and staunch Catholic in the reign of queen Mary,

The university becomes largely patronized by the young aristocracy.

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[1] 'Languori nimium nos ipsos dedimus et ignaviae, scholas in solitudine relinquimus et vastitate, quas cum majores nostri communes nominari voluissent, propter libere commeantes in illis ultro citroque litteras, nostra desidia sic contractae sunt, et tam insignem ad paucitatem reciderunt, *ut quorundam professorum certae sedes, non universitatis communes scholae posthaec nobis cognominandae sint.*' 'Cantabrigienses: sive Exhortatio ad Litteras.' *Ibid.* p. 112.

[2] *Historia*, p. 92.

[3] 'Ex hoc generoso nobilitatis ardore non unus aut alter se nobiscum conjunxit, sed integrae aliquot propemodum familiae nostram in academiam infusae sunt, et discendi causa nostros ad coetus se aggregaverunt.' *Lucubrationes*, p. 122; see also pp. 123–8.

[4] It is evident that it was this feature which drew forth the strictures and warnings of Martin Bucer; see *infra*, p. 138. Mr Furnivall, in his *Education in Early England* (pp. xxxi–iii), has, I think, been somewhat misled by the evidence on this point.

[5] *Lucubrationes*, p. 112.

—the eminent Nicholas Carr[1],—and again, at a very short interval, in a memorable passage of his *History*, by that of Dr Caius. It was in the year 1558, that, after a long absence from Cambridge, this distinguished benefactor of the university stole a short respite from the labours of his London practice, to revisit the scenes of his youth and there found the college which bears his name[2]. After making due allowance for his Catholic sympathies and his somewhat censorious temper, we cannot but conclude that the Cambridge of 1558 must have presented in many respects a striking contrast to the Cambridge of Ascham and Cheke. The poor, modest, diligent student of former times, with narrow means but lofty aims, rising before dawn to commence his studies, living on scanty fare, reverently doffing his cap in the streets and courts to the grey seniors, among whom he often found his best friend and counsellor, had disappeared. Dr Caius, as he passed along unrecognised and unaccosted, saw only other manners and other men[3]. He missed, he tells us, the dignified elders of former times, proceeding with sedate countenance and stately mien to the disputations in the schools, attended by the chief members of their respective colleges each in his distinctive academic dress, and preceded both going and coming by heralds[4]. The undergraduates no longer respectfully saluted

Important testimony of Dr Caius in 1558.

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[1] 'Pauci qui magistrorum opera discipuli, vix reperiuntur qui discipulorum assiduitate delectantur magistri.' *de Scriptt. Britt. paucitate*, etc. f. 2.

[2] 'Cum medicinae studiis ac operibus et olim Patavii et jam *multis annis* Londini detentus, subinde Cantabrigiae studiorum meorum parentis recordationem retentam animo sed remissam temporibus revocaveram, incesseratque cupido invisendi dulcia musarum veteris academiae limina et recognoscendi grata per juventutem scholarum exercitamenta, anno salutis humanae 1558, a medico munere intermissionem faciens, velut postliminio quodam Cantabrigiam concesseram; quo cum perveneram mirum quantam dum aberam metamorphosin, quantam rerum omnium mutationem factam animadverteram.' *Historia*, p. 3. This statement from his own pen seems to me altogether to contradict the assertion in Cooper (*Athenae*, I 312) that Dr Caius practised at Cambridge during the interval between his return from Padua and the founding of Caius College, for which indeed I have not been able to discover any authority.

[3] 'Etenim nova personarum, nova rerum omnium facies erat, novi mores, novus habitus, novus vultus et pronunciatio, nova denique docendi, discendi, et disputandi forma. Et ne omnes commemorem (sunt enim prope infinitae novitates) nec ipse cuiquam, nec mihi quisquam fere notus fuit.' *Historia*, p. 3.

[4] ...'magno comitatu omnium, omnis ordinis hominum sui collegii ho-

Decline of studious habits and prevalence of dissipation among the students.

their seniors from afar and made way for them in the streets; many seemed to have altogether discarded the long gown and the cap. Their pocket money, he learned, was no longer spent on books, their minds were no longer given to study, but both alike devoted to dress and the adornment of their chambers. They wandered about the town frequenting taverns and wine shops; their nether garments were of gaudy colours; they gambled and ran into debt. Expulsions, he was informed, were not infrequent; and he expresses his regret that a good old rule has become obsolete, which inflicted upon any college or hall that received into its society a student who had been banished from another house a penalty of forty shillings[1]. He hears that the students complain loudly that the generous patrons of learning of former times no longer exist; but, he takes occasion to observe, it is first of all necessary that the requisite merit should make itself apparent, whereas many students only bring discredit on the university and load their patrons with shame[2].

Dr Caius' complaint confirmed by Harrison.

The indictment which we have condensed from Dr Caius' somewhat diffuse Latin is confirmed at a considerable interval of time by the homely English of Harrison, who tells us of the undergraduates of his day, that 'being for the most part either gentlemen, or rich mens sonnes, they oft bring the universities into much slander. For, standing upon their reputation and libertie, they ruffle and roist it out, exceeding in apparel, and hanting riotous companie (which draweth them from their bookes unto another trade). And for excuse, when they are charged with breach of all good order, thinke it sufficient to saie, that they be gentlemen, which grieueth manie not a litle[3].'

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nestati, ad scholas......praecedentibus et deducentibus praeconibus procedebant, singuli suis habitibus et alia decenti veste, pro conditionis gradusque sui ratione induti.' (*Ibid.* p. 92.) Dr Caius is here, of course, speaking of Cambridge as he recollected it. The *praecones* are the esquire-bedells who proclaimed '*Alons, alons*, goe masters goe goe.' See Vol. I 353.

[1] The *bene decessit* question seems to have arisen more than once in later times. See Wordsworth, *Univ. Life*, pp. 60, 573, 577; Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Coll.* p. 196.

[2] Caius, *Historia*, pp. 94–96.

[3] *Description of England* (*u. s.*) pp. 77–78. This passage also does not occur in the edition of 1577. Harrison was a student at Cambridge in 1551 (Cooper, *Athenae* II 163); and it seems to be open to question

Absence of leaders of recognised attainments and ability.

Departure of Smith and Cheke.

Walter Haddon an unequal successor.

It can hardly be doubted that the decline, thus amply attested, of the studious spirit among the younger members of the university was closely connected with the fact to which both Ascham and Lever refer, that no worthy leaders were now forthcoming who by their attainments and example might stimulate others to honourable exertion. The brilliant little band of scholars of which Cheke and Smith had been the leaders was broken up. In the year 1547, the former took his seat in Parliament for Bletchingly and shortly after became permanently attached to the royal court; while the latter, in the same year, went to reside in the Protector's family and in the month of December was presented to the provostship of Eton. Walter Haddon, who in 1551 succeeded Smith as Regius professor of the civil law, declared in his inaugural address that no such misfortune had ever before befallen the university as this double bereavement[1]. As an accomplished Latinist and perhaps as a dexterous controversialist, Haddon might appear not unworthy to succeed his former tutor, but in nearly every other respect his powers and attainments strike us as being of an inferior order. Even his Latin style reflects far too faithfully the affected refinements and forced conceits of the writers of the Silver Age, while his professional lectures, of which we have yet to speak more fully, give no evidence of that extended knowledge of the subject or grasp of its true significance which alone could avail to restore the studies of the civilian to their rightful place as a recognised branch of academic learn-

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whether the impression he is here recording is that of his own time or that derived from later accounts. In either case, his agreement with Dr Caius is remarkable. The Protestant universities of Germany exhibit at least an equal decline in discipline. Musaeus, professor of theology and rector of the university of Jena, stigmatised Wittenberg as 'foetida cloaca Diaboli;' while the celebrated Walter in a letter to Bullinger, says that 'in Marburg the rule of morals is such as Bacchus would prescribe to his Maenads and Venus to her Cupids.' See Hamilton, *Dissert. and Discussions*, p. 497.

[1] Nunquam hujusmodi tenebrae studiis inductae sunt, nunquam plaga tam vehemens omnibus disciplinis invecta est. Checum antea videramus, socium in omni laudis genere Smithi nostri a nobis ad aulam evocatum. Quae suspiria! qui gemitus!' Then, as the university had begun to resign itself to its loss and 'ad Smithum se quasi firmissimum quendam murum acclinasset,' Smith also was snatched from them! *Lucubrationes*, pp. 62–66. See also Ascham, *Epist.* pp. 215–220.

ing. In the departure of Ascham, Cambridge sustained another loss scarcely inferior to that of Cheke or of Smith. In the year 1550 he left England for Germany, and though he continued to hold the office of public orator for four years longer[1] his visits to the university from this time were short and only at long intervals. It was, in fact, in the example that many of the leading men themselves gave of converting academic offices into sinecures that an undeniable precedent was afforded for the very evil which they unfeignedly deplored. But such instances as Ascham, retaining his public oratorship while resident abroad,—Cheke, appointed successively to the provostships of Eton and King's while officiating as royal tutor and immersed in state business,—Ridley, still holding his mastership of Pembroke while bishop of Rochester and then of London,—were probably looked upon as the most defensible examples of this abuse. If absent themselves from the university, they were present in spirit, ever watchful of its interests and often rendering it substantial service. Far more flagrant instances were such as that of Gardiner's long rule of Trinity Hall, while at a distance he plotted against the academic interests by espousing the cause of retrogression or faction, or Grindal's three years' tenure of the mastership of Pembroke unmarked by a single visit to the college[2]. To the example thus set we may with justice partly attribute the gradual disappearance of the 'old fatherly doctors' to which Lever refers,—a complaint which is further illustrated by the fact that in the year in which his sermon was delivered the only instance of the conferring of the degree of doctor in any of the faculties is that of the admission of Martin Bucer, a foreigner, to the degree of D.D.; while in the following year not a solitary instance occurs[3].

Departure of Ascham.

Non-residency of heads.

The degree of doctor but rarely taken.

It may perhaps appear that this want, so generally felt

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[1] This practice on the part of an important functionary was checked by one of the Injunctions of 1549, when it was ordered that the university orator should not go away without having previously obtained the consent of the vice-chancellor,—that in his absence he should leave a competent substitute,—while a formal grace was necessary if his absence exceeded three months in the whole year. Lamb, *Documents*, p. 140.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 471.

[3] *Degree Book*, No. III in Registrary; Baker MSS. XI 43–44.

Cambridge and the first English Prayer Book.

The services of the compilers not available for university instruction.

and deplored, contrasts somewhat singularly with the fact that the first edition of the English Prayer Book was the work almost exclusively of Cambridge divines. We can imagine that many a Cambridge 'clerk,' on that memorable Whit Sunday of 1549, when the new service was first used in the churches throughout the land, must have been conscious of a not unreasonable pride in the thought that of its thirteen compilers all but one were men who had been educated at his own university. But while their labours thus redounded to the credit of Cambridge, the divines who had rendered this signal service to the Church were engaged in other spheres of activity than those of academic teaching. Cranmer, Day, Goodrich, Skip, Holbeach, Ridley, and Thirlby were presiding over their respective dioceses. Dr Mey was largely employed on various commissions. Taylor, Heynes, and Cox were engaged in similar duties. Dr Redman, who was elected a second time in the July of the same year to the Margaret professorship, was the only one of the number whose services were at the command of the university. On the retirement of Eudo Wigan from the Regius professorship of theology he had been succeeded by Madew. But Madew, though zealous for the Reformation, disliked the disputatious spirit that now began more and more to characterize the supporters of the Protestant doctrine[1], and as master of Clare Hall and vice-chancellor found another employment for his energies. No theologian of sufficient authority and ability to guide the community at large seemed forthcoming from the ranks of the younger men.

Polemical theology begins seriously to affect genuine study.

In this growing dearth of able teachers at home, it is not surprising that Cranmer should have looked for help to the Continent, and he and Melanchthon were now in frequent correspondence. The latter had at this time just given a notable pledge of his desire to reconcile contending parties by his public assent to the *Interim*[2], and of both him and

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[1] Ascham, *Epist.* p. 288; Baker-Mayor, pp. 125–6.

[2] A concession in which Melanchthon stood almost alone. Bucer, according to Burnet, told the Elector of Brandenburg that the Interim was 'nothing but downright popery, only a little disguised.' Burnet-Pocock, II 164–5.

Cranmer it may be said that their best efforts and fondest aspirations were now directed to the attainment of religious peace and unity among the several Protestant communions. Unfortunately they were exceptions to the prevailing spirit and tendencies of their age, and it was beyond the power of either to control the overwhelming current of passion, prejudice, and bigotry which was converting the universities into camps of rival schools of theology, and almost every scholar into a polemic. At no period indeed in the history of the Church has the controversial spirit assumed a more repulsive form or been attended by more baneful results. To find its parallel it would be necessary to go back to the Arian controversy of the fourth century, or that which divided the Realists and Nominalists in the fourteenth[1]. The broad grounds on which the earlier Reformers had vindicated their position, and in connexion with which they had won so considerable a victory, were gradually almost lost sight of in a series of interminable disputes respecting isolated doctrines. The Eucharist, justification by faith, predestination and free-will, and the personality of Christ were each made the subjects of speculative refinements asserted with a vehemence and adhered to with a tenacity too often proportioned to the doubtfulness or absence of any explicit teaching in the Scriptures themselves. It will not be irrelevant to our main enquiry if we here turn aside briefly to mark the working of this sinister influence in those continental schools from whence Oxford and Cambridge alike derived no small portion of their theological bias.

The Protestant universities of Germany.

University of Marburg, f. 1527.

It was in the midst of those same tranquil regions where, long centuries before, St Boniface had reared the monastic walls of Fulda as a bulwark of the Latin Church and the papal power, that the university of Marburg was founded in

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[1] Unfortunately the warnings afforded by the past were altogether lost sight of in a system of theological study in which Church history found no place. Von Raumer (*Gesch. d. Pädagogik*, I 318) notes that even in the time of Luther and Melanchthon dogmatic theology and exegesis were the only subjects taught by the professors of theology at Wittenberg, both Church history and pastoral theology being entirely neglected. It was not until the year 1624 that any attempt was made to introduce the former subject. Grohmann, *Annalen der Univ. zu Wittenberg*, II 77.

1527, to become a stronghold of their sturdiest foes[1]. Like Trinity College, it rose on the ruins of the monasteries,—its chief endowment being from the revenues of a suppressed Dominican convent. For a time, it appears to have been the aim of the new community to mediate between the contending sects. It was graced by the presence and aided by the counsels of Melanchthon; and the conspicuous ability of its professors attracted students from all quarters of the Empire[2]. But Marburg was unable to escape the all-prevailing contagion, and before long became a noted arena of contention between the Lutherans and Philippists. At last, in 1607, the former party quitted the university and founded the neighbouring university of Giessen, and the little state of Hesse Cassel became the seat of two learned communities, in each of which the pursuit of knowledge was altogether subordinated to sectarian theology, while fierce mutual jealousies impaired the efficiency and reputation of both[3].

Jena, Wittenberg and Leipzig.

Jena was scarcely more fortunate. Founded in 1548 by that great champion of Lutheranism, John Frederic 'the Magnanimous,' the Elector of Saxony, during his imprisonment at the hands of the Emperor, it was designed from the first to be a school of Protestant doctrine[4], and along with Leipzig, where Alane now filled the chief theological chair, became the scene of interminable disputations[5]. Wittenberg shared the same fate, and Grohmann, its painstaking historian, while emphatically lamenting its misfortune, takes occasion to give, in the following anecdote, an illustration of the extent to which not merely the academic peace but academic propriety were sometimes endangered by these polemical brawls:—

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[1] The object with which these new universities in Germany were founded,—'um mehrere Lehrer und Vertheidiger des neuen Lehrbegriffs zu bekommen' (Justi und Mursinna, *Annalen d. Deutschen Univ.*, p. 446),—cannot have failed considerably to favour the developement of the polemical spirit. See on this point, Meiners, *Gesch. d. Hohen Schulen*, II 204–8; Dorner, *Hist. of Protestant Theology*, II 1–10.

[2] Some account of its professors will be found in Strieder, *Hessischen Gelehrten-Geschichte*.

[3] Justi und Mursinna, *u. s.* p. 451.

[4] —'durch deren Gründung man lediglich die Ausbreitung der protestantischen Lehre zu befördern suchte.' *Ibid.* p. 323.

[5] Alles verzerrt sich in eine kleinliche Polemik, die ganze theologische Literatur dient ihrem Interesse, überall ein lauernder Verdacht, der auf jedes unbedachte Wort fahndet, ein schmähliches Schauspiel, so urtheilte der Katholicismus, und Gottes gerechte Strafe für die lutherische Apostasie. Die meisten dieser Kämpfe drehen sich um Wittenberg, als die Hauptstätte des lutherischen Protestantismus.' Frank, *Gesch. der Protest. Theologie*, I 92; see also Häberlin, *Reichsgeschichte*, VIII 160–169.

Experience of Schlüsselberg at Wittenberg.

'When the famous Schlüsselberg[1]', says our authority, 'was a student at Wittenberg, he presented himself in 1568 before one Windsheim for admission to his master's degree. Windsheim thereupon asked, whether he had been correctly informed that at gatherings of the students Schlüsselberg had accused the professors of the university of Calvinism and abused them for their theological perversion. Schlüsselberg exculpated himself, but at the same time intimated that all was not right as regarded the orthodoxy of the professors and readers, and that he was prepared to make good his charge. A council was forthwith convened, and Schlüsselberg was summoned to attend and there make his confession of faith. And now listen,' says Grohmann, who continues his account in Schlüsselberg's own words, 'and now listen to what followed: "Hereupon Dominus Casparus Peucerus asked me and said, 'Hark ye, you follower of Flacius[2], I learn that you look upon me as a Calvinist and profaner of the sacrament; tell me thus much to my face, and prove that I am a teacher of false doctrine.' Thereupon I replied that I *did* hold him to be an unbelieving Calvinist and profaner of the sacrament, and was ready to make good my belief out of his own *Praelections*. Thereupon he became angry beyond all measure, called me a Flacian knave, and begged the Rector to give him permission to stand up in order that he might box my ears. I however said that I was no Flacian knave, but an honourable man, and did not care whether a Calvinist praised me or reviled me. If he wanted to dispute with me, he must bring forward arguments derived from God's own Word. Thereupon he exclaimed, 'What, my fine fellow (*du schöner Vogel*), is any one going to dispute with a Flacian knave like you!' And then turning to his colleagues, he said, 'My dear colleagues, is not this sad and astonishing? How shall we excuse ourselves with men of discernment, if we allow it to go forth that a young coxcomb (*lecker*) like this is allowed thus to reproach us to our faces?'" As the result, Schlüsselberg was banished for ever from the university, the sentence of his expulsion being couched in the following unambiguous terms,—*Nunc anathema etiam pronuntiamus ac te tanquam diaboli vivum organum totis pectoribus exsecramur*[1].

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[1] A zealous Lutheran and author of the *Haereticorum Catalogus* (Frankfurt, 1597–9)—'das Arsenal,' as Frank terms it, 'zu diesen nachreformatorischen Streitigkeiten.' *Gesch. der Protest. Theologie*, I 93.

[2] Flacius Illyricus, whose name was also Matthias Francowitz, a correspondent of Matthew Parker, and the principal author of the *Centuriae Magdeburgenses*.

This disputatious spirit productive rather of discord than of the establishment of doctrine.

Nothing again can produce a more melancholy impression than to note the proofs that continually present themselves, that this bitter sectarianism and untiring contentiousness, so far from tending to the establishment of doctrine rather gave rise to fresh schisms and new doubts and uncertainties. In the year 1581 the professors of theology at Leipzig, Wittenberg, and Jena held a solemn consultation. They had before them the several formularies wherein the teachers of the different sects had sought to define the orthodox tenets of their respective communions,—among others the Wittenberg *Grundfest*, the *New Catechism*, the *Exegesis*, and the Dresden *Consens*. They condemned them one and all, appending to each decision the special grounds on which it was founded[2]. Such formal efforts were however of little avail to allay the strife, and for more than a hundred years, from the death of Melanchthon to the year when Thomasius first lectured at Leipzig, the universities of Northern Germany, their intellectual vigour absorbed and wasted in unceasing and sterile controversy, exhibited few signs of healthy vitality, and none of progress[3].

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[1] *Annalen der Universität zu Wittenberg*, von J. C. A. Grohmann (1801), I 153 5.

[2] See *Fragstück und Antwort, oder erklerung der Theologen in den dreien U. zu Leipzig, Wittenberg und Jena, von den Wittenbergischen Grundfest, Newern Catechismo, Exegesi, Dresnischen Consens, sammt anderen sacramentirischen dergleichen Schrifften. Allen fromen Christen zur Warnung in Druck gefertigt.* Dresden, 1581.

[3] Döllinger, *Die Universitäten sonst und jetzt* (ed. 1871), p. 15. He makes an exception in favour of Helmstädt, where Conringius, in the first half of the 17th century, exercised a more genial influence. Dr Henke, however, in his able work, *Georg Calixtus und seine Zeit* (1853–6) candidly admits that at this period the history

Contrast presented by Louvain.

Flourishing condition of this university in the latter half of the century.

The triumph afforded to the Catholic party by the spectacle of these dissensions among their foes is a familiar tale, and already the Romanist was beginning to contrast the controversial turmoil of the Protestant universities with the comparatively serene atmosphere of those schools where the ancient doctrine was still maintained and taught. Invigorated for a time by the skilful teaching of the Jesuits, the Catholic universities were the scene of a learned activity which commanded the respect even of their Protestant opponents. Englishmen to whom Oxford and Cambridge no longer afforded a friendly reception on account of their religious convictions, mostly sought Louvain. The 'Belgian Athens,'[1] though scarcely yet at that height of reputation which it enjoyed in the days when the brilliant erudition of Bellarmine attracted new-comers from all parts of Europe, was already second only to Paris in numbers and in fame. In its numerous separate foundations and general organization,—it possessed no less than twenty-eight colleges[2],—it closely resembled the English universities; while its active press afforded those facilities to the author and the controversialist of which Cambridge at this period was altogether destitute[3]. A tranquil air pervaded the whole city, which with its pleasant gardens, orchards, and green fields interspersed with groves and woodland, might well seem no unfitting retreat for the Muses[4]. The university moreover

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of Lutheran theology 'beinahe zu einer Geschichte der deutschen Universitäten wird' (see vol. I. pp. 4–8). The lives of many of the professors of theology, as contained in Henning Witte's *Memoriae Theologorum* (Frankfurt, 1674), with the lists appended to each Life of their several literary productions, afford a melancholy proof of the extent to which the energies of really able men were expended in this not merely fruitless but absolutely pernicious labour.

[1] So styled by Justus Lipsius in his *Lovanium*, iii. 1.

[2] In the same work (ed. 1605) there is a map shewing all the public buildings and colleges, together amounting at that time to 84 in number.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 85.

[4] 'Hic intra muros libera prata, vineae, horti spatiosi, agri, pomaria, campi, dumi, saltus, pascua, parvae silvulae, parva nemuscula, ut merito hanc sedem et domicilium optimarum artium delegerint majores nostri. Habet enim scholam, qua non sit alia secundum Parisiacam numerosior neque ornatior.' Barlandus, '*Cat. insign. Oppid. Germaniae inferioris*,' quoted by Andreas, *Fasti*, p. 219. 'Credite mihi, multa gymnasia, multas academias, multa musarum domicilia vidi, sed rara sunt ac prope nulla quae cum hac illustrissima sede ac veluti arce sapientiae vel

extended its welcome to all branches of academic learning, and medicine, the civil law, and the canon law were alike taught and studied within its walls. No degrees in Europe stood so high as guarantees of general acquirements. Erasmus records that it was a common saying, that 'no one could graduate at Louvain without *knowledge, manners* and *age*[1]'. But more especially it prided itself on a certain stately science of theology, derived from a reverential study of the Fathers and the Councils, and expounded in authoritative and solemn tones which sometimes fell not ungratefully on ears deafened with the ceaseless wrangling of Wittenberg or Leipzig[2]. Here more than one Oxford professor, in times adverse to Catholic belief, found not only a refuge but a sphere of labour; and here Nicholas Sander composed his treatise *de Visibili Monarchia*[3].

Character of its theological school.

Cranmer's admiration of the German Protestant theology.

It may fairly be urged in Cranmer's defence, that when he sought to bring the English universities into closer contact with the theologians of the Continent, he could not possibly have foreseen the deplorable excesses to which the stimulus hereby imparted to controversy would afterwards give rise. His admiration of the Swiss school of divinity was moreover unbounded, and the eminent foreign doctors assembled under the roof of Lambeth Palace, formed a circle with whom he was never weary of discussing the most mooted theological questions of the day[4]. More than once an endeavour was made to induce Melanchthon himself to come over,—but this was not to be; in Martin Bucer however he found a man of like spirit, and scarcely inferior reputation. Fagius and Tremellius were Hebrew scholars of no small

Foreign divines in England.

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auditorum multitudine vel doctorum celebritate vel loci ipsius commoditate comparari possunt.' Bellarmine, *Concio xx Lovanici habita;* Andreas, *Fasti*, p. 221.

[1] Sir William Hamilton speaks of the examination at Louvain for a degree in arts as 'the best example upon record of the true mode of such examination, and, until recent times, in fact, the only example in the history of universities worthy of consideration at all.' He has translated from Vernulaeus the order and method of this examination. *Dissert. & Discussions*, Append. III.

[2] 'Ad haec, *non in vanis argumentis tempus conterentes*, sed in ipsis litteris divinis, in patribus ecclesiasticis, et iis, quae ad rationem vitae faciunt, versantes.' G. Moringus in *Vita Adriani* VI; quoted by Andreas, *Fasti*, p. 220.

[3] Andreas mentions Thomas Harding, Regius professor at Oxford, and Richard Smith, Peter Martyr's assailant. *Ibid.* pp. 54–56.

[4] Strype, *Mem. of Cranmer*, bk. ii, c. 13; Schmidt, *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, p. 78.

attainments. Peter Alexander, a French refugee from Arles, compiled while resident with the archbishop, a new volume of 'Sentences,' designed to exhibit more faithfully than the ancient text-book the tenour of the patristic teaching on the doctrines most in question between the Lutherans and Rome. Dryander, or Francis Encinas, was a noble Spaniard who, having embraced the Reformed faith, came from Germany especially recommended by Melanchthon, and taught Greek for a short period at Cambridge. Utenhoven of Ghent was a scholar to whom all the chief theologians of Switzerland and Strassburg were personally well known. Peter Martyr, Ochin, and Cavelarius were divines who, though not of German birth, faithfully reflected the spirit of the German Reformation.

PETER MARTYR.
b. 1500.
d. 1562.

It was in September, 1548, that Peter Martyr arrived in England, where, after a six months' sojourn with Cranmer, he was appointed to the Regius professorship of theology at Oxford[1]. He was followed about a year later by Martin Bucer, who forthwith received the corresponding appointment at Cambridge. Their arrival in the two universities was thus nearly coincident with the very important change in the academic constitution brought about in each by the new statutes of Edward VI,—a code which resulted in a transformation scarcely less complete than that inaugurated by Cromwell. At Cambridge, the new statutes continued to be in force (save for one brief interval) until the statutes of Elizabeth[2] of 1570, and will consequently well repay a brief examination of their distinctive features.

MARTIN BUCER.
b. 1491.
d. 1551.

STATUTES OF EDWARD VI, April 1549.

The statutes of Edward VI were given to the university on the eighth of April, 1549, though not actually promulgated until a month later, during which interval another visitation of the university took place, which lasted until the fourth of July. The visitors appeared bringing with them the new Code, which was partly designed to assist them in framing additional statutes[3]; and before they left, these

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[1] See *Petri Martyris Vermilii Florentini Vita, per Iosiam Simlerum, Tigurinum,* in the *Scrinium Antiquarium,* vol. III, 1752; Strype, *Memorials,* bk. i, c. 15.

[2] Those given to the university of Oxford, and which were almost identical in character, remained in force until the enactment of the Laudian Statutes. Ayliffe, *Present State of Univ. of Oxford,* I 187.

[3] Dean Peacock (*Observations,* etc.

CHAP. II. and INJUNCTIONS of the VISITORS, July, 1549.

additions, under the name of Injunctions, were likewise given to the academic body. The statutes and the injunctions alike deserve the description given by Dr Peacock, as being 'brief, distinct, and reasonable,' characteristics which the ability and good sense of the visitors would naturally lead us to look for. Bishop Goodrich, bishop Ridley, Sir William Paget, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Cheke, Dr Mey, and Dr Wendy, were one and all men who, while fully perceiving the defects of the ancient statutes, which in the royal letter are justly designated as 'antiquated, semi-barbarous, and obscure,' were little likely to have recourse to violent innovations or unduly partial reforms.

New statutes respecting duties of lecturers on

In the new Code the customary times and forms for taking degrees were retained, but the alterations in the different courses of study were numerous and important. The four Barnaby lecturers and the Regius professor had their subjects and times of lecturing newly defined. Some were required to lecture four, and others five, days a week[1]. The old Terence lecture was changed to one on rhetoric, and the lecturer, as was also the case with the teachers of medicine and dialectics, had to commence his discourse in the schools at seven in the morning. The lecturer on philosophy was enjoined to supplement his labours on Aristotle by readings on Pliny or Plato. The text-books of the lecturer on medicine were to be Hippocrates and Galen. The 'mathematics' of that day included cosmography, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, in which several subjects Mela, Pliny, Strabo, and Ptolemy,—Tonstall, Cardan, and Euclid, were the text-books prescribed for the several professors' use.

Rhetoric,

Philosophy,

Mathematics,

Dialectics,

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p. 36) represents the Visitors as themselves the authors of the new Code, that this however was not the case is evident from the preamble: 'Qui ut id facilius facere possint visum est nonnullas leges in hoc volumen conscriptas quas nos in vestrum maxime commodum tulimus illis dare *ut vobis tradant ut antiquatis semibarbaris vestris et obscuris statutis et propter vetustatem jam plerumque non intellectis* regiis deinceps legibus et nostro latis auspicio pareatis.' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 123; see also p. 109. These statutes are signed by E. Somerset, Willm. Sainctjohn, J. Russel, Arundel, Thomas Southampton, Willm. Paget, Wingfield, Willm. Petre, T. Smith. The Statutes thus represent the new Code which the visitors brought with them; the Injunctions, the additions which, after conferring with the academical authorities, they deemed it desirable to make.

[1] Lamb, *Ibid.* p. 124.

The professor of dialectics and rhetoric was to use the *Elenchi* of Aristotle, the *Topica* of Cicero, Quintilian, and Hermogenes. The professor of Greek was to lecture on Homer, Demosthenes, Isocrates, and Euripides, or some other classical author, and at the same time to give instruction in grammar and syntax. The Hebrew lecturer was to limit himself to the Hebrew Scriptures, and the grammar of the language. The professor of law was not only to interpret the Pandects and the Codex, but also 'the ecclesiastical laws of our kingdom which we are about to set forth,'—an allusion to a project on which Cranmer had set his heart, and which afterwards found expression in the abortive *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*[1].

Greek,

Hebrew,

Law.

The ancient *trivium* was completely recast, grammar being altogether discarded and Jesus College being the only foundation where it was permissible to give instruction in the subject. In its place 'mathematics' appear as the initiatory study for the youth fresh from school[2]; they were to be succeeded by dialectics, and this again by philosophy. Further instruction in philosophy, perspective, astronomy and Greek took the place of the subjects of the old *quadrivium*, or bachelor's course of study; while the master of arts, after the time of his regency had elapsed, was required, unless intending the study of law or medicine, to devote his attention solely to theology and Hebrew[3]. Bachelors of divinity were required to hear a theological lecture daily; to respond once and dispute twice in theological questions; and to preach twice in Latin and once in English in St Mary's Church. It was not until the student had attained to the full-blown dignity of doctor, that the decision as to whether he should or should

New courses of study for undergraduates, bachelors, masters of arts and bachelors of divinity.

Further study discretional on the attainment of the degree of doctor.

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[1] An attempt to furnish a body of canon law adapted to the English Church. Hallam mentions the tradition that it was the production of Cheke and Haddon (*Hist. of Literat.* II 32). This, however, is denied by Strype, who says that Haddon did nothing more than correct the Latinity (*Mem. of Cranmer*, bk. i, c. 30) and that the volume was the result of a commission, in which Cranmer took the leading part, and 'the work and words were mainly Cranmer's own.' See also *Ibid.* bk. ii, c. 26; Perry, *Hist. of Church of Engl.* pp. 174–5; and Dr Cardwell's Preface to reprint of edition of 1571, published in 1850.

[2] 'Recens venientem a ludo literario primum excipiant mathematica.' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 125.

[3] 'Magister artium sedulus erit theologiae atque hebraicae lectionis et quotidianus auditor: quibus rebus

not continue to add to the stores of knowledge acquired during his twenty or eighteen years' course of study was confided to his own discretion[1]. A large number appear to have generally decided this question in the negative, but their conduct, as we shall shortly see, was regarded with much concern if not actual disapproval by the Mentors of the university.

Disputations in the different faculties required to be regularly held.

The contentious spirit was very far from having died out with the scholastic philosophy, and in all the faculties, but especially in theology, disputations were regularly enjoined[2]. Both the Protector and Cranmer appear to have been firmly persuaded that no better weapon could be found against Catholic error in the universities than these time-honoured ordeals of the schools, and it was now enacted that theological disputations should be held every alternate Thursday from one to four[3]. In all cases the respondent was bound to affix three theses, three days beforehand, to the doors of the public schools[4].

Statutes relating to elections to office, period of regency, &c.

A considerable innovation on the former mode of electing the chancellor is presented in the requirement that this officer shall henceforth be chosen in open scrutiny by the whole body, both regents and non regents; while the election of the vice-chancellor, proctors, and taxors is vested in the regents alone[5]. The period of obligatory regency imposed upon masters of arts was extended to three years[6]. With the evident design of holding out encouragement to those who might resolve upon taking holy orders at a period of life somewhat later than that in which the choice of a profession was then usually made, it was enacted that students entering the university after the age of twenty-four and passing through a three years' course of study in arts, and four in theology, should be admitted bachelors of divinity without the intervention of a degree in arts[7]. Some of the

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annorum quinque dabit operam.' *Ibid.* p. 126.

[1] *Ibid.* p. 126.

[2] The disputations in mathematics, dialectics, and natural philosophy were to be held on Thursdays, Fridays, and *Sundays* between the hours of one and three. *Ibid.* p. 128.

[3] 'Themata dubia sacrae scripturae loca sint vel ex illis ducantur.' *Ibid.* p. 130.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.* pp. 132–3.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 141; see *supra*, p. 50.

[7] *Ibid.* p. 140. This enactment, and that relating to the period of

ancient ceremonies, such as public processions at *exequiae* and on other occasions, were forbidden; and the form of worship at the university church and in the college chapels was brought into conformity with the new liturgy.

The powers of the Heads not augmented.

The alterations in the statutes did not tend to augment the powers of the masters of colleges. 'No provisions,' observes dean Peacock, 'were made affecting the mode of election or the constitution of the *caput senatus*, and in one or two instances only do the Visitors appear to recognise the heads of houses or hostels as forming a distinct body in the academical commonwealth[1].'

Statutes relating to College discipline.

The regulations laid down with respect to the general discipline of the student body are of a kind which evidently imply that the complaints that have come under our notice of too great a laxity were not without foundation. Fencing schools and dicing taverns are especially forbidden[2]; no one is to be appointed *Dominus ludorum*[3] at Christmas in the colleges; tutors are required to see that their pupils do not wander about the town; card-playing, though permitted at Christmas, is declared unlawful at all other seasons of the year.

Visitation of the Colleges.

The details of the visitation of the colleges, which extended over a period of two months, have been preserved to us in a quaint and interesting though not altogether accurate contemporary account[4]. The statutes of most of the older foundations were revised and amended[5]; while those which were left unaltered, were of course no longer valid on those points where they were in conflict with the new code.

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regency, are among the Injunctions appended by the Visitors. It was, more properly speaking, a re-enactment of an ancient statute (*Stat. Ant.* 107), which dean Peacock rightly suggests had been originally designed for the benefit of monks and friars. See his *Observations*, etc., p. 37, note 5; and Append. A. to the same work, p. xlvi.

[1] *Observations*, etc. p. 38.

[2] 'Nulla gladiatoria aut lanistaria schola nec taberna aleatoria intra hoc oppidum Cantabrigiae sit aut frequentetur.' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 139.

[3] An office better known as that of lord of misrule or abbat of unreason. See a large collection of references on this subject in Cooper, *Annals*, I 112, n. 1.

[4] Lamb, *Documents*, pp. 109–120.

[5] *Documents*, II 96, 184; III 88–89; Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 238; Peacock, *Observations*, p. 36; Baker-Mayor, pp. 126–7. Baker says that 'the colleges that took them up most time were Peterhouse, Jesus, and Clare Hall.'

Disputations in honour of the Visitors.

The Eucharist was the chief question propounded for disputation.

The sanction given by the new statutes to the holding of disputations was further emphasized by the presence of the Visitors at a series of these dialectical encounters, in which Madew, Glyn, Alban Langdale, Thomas Sedgwick, John Young, and Thomas Parker of Trinity took part. Controversy, at this time, had ceased to revolve round the doctrine of predestination, which had given place, as a topic of theological interest, to the Eucharist. Peter Martyr writing from Lambeth to Bucer, in the preceding December, tells him that there was so much contention on this question that 'every corner was full of it;' it was discussed, he says, daily by the bishops in the House of Lords[1].

Departure of the Visitors.

No protest made against their legislation: except by Ascham, who urges that masters of arts should be permitted to continue the study of languages or of the sciences, on account of the valuable subsidiary aid which a knowledge of these subjects renders to the professions.

At last, on the fourth of July, the Visitors took their departure. The narrative supplies us with a glimpse of my lord of Ely proceeding to the river to repair by boat to his cathedral palace, and accompanied as far as Jesus Green by the other Visitors,—of Cheke mounting on horseback with his wife on their way to Huntingdon,—and the rest dispersing to their different homes[2]. On the following day the Injunctions which the Visitors had appended to the statutes were read by the junior proctor in the senate-house. The whole code could hardly have failed to run counter to the views and prejudices of many, but with one solitary exception, there is no record of any dissatisfaction having been openly expressed. That exception was Ascham, who was then abroad, but who, writing from Brussels to Cecil in the following March, did not hesitate to express his regret that non-regent masters of arts should have been required to restrict their studies to the subjects of one or other of the three professions, to the exclusion of further classical or scientific acquirements. 'For if,' he writes, 'som be not suffred in Cambrige to make the fourth ordre, that is surlie as thei list, to studie the tongues and sciences, th' other three shall nayther be so many as thei shold, nor yet so good and perfitte as thei might. For law, physick, and divinitie need so the help of tonges and sciences as thei can not want them, and yet thei require so a hole man's studie, as he may part with no tyme to other lerning except it be at certayn tymes to fetch it at other men's labor. *I know Universities be instituted onelie that the realme may be served with preachers, lawyers, and physicions,* and so I know likewise all woodes be planted onlie eyther for building or burnyng; and yet good husbandes, in serving, use not to cut down all for tymbre and fuell, but leave alwaise standing som good big ons, to be the defense for the newe springe. Therfore if som were so planted in Cambrige, as thei shold neyther be carryed awaye to other placese, nor decaye there for lack of living, *nor be bownd to professe no one of the three, but bond them self holie to help forward all,* I belive, preachers, lawyers, and physicions shold spring in nombre, and grow in bignes, more then commonlie thei do[1].'

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[1] *Zürich Letters* (1st series), p. 469. 'Der grosse Bruderkrieg in der evangelische Kirche,' says Gustav Frank, 'brach aus über das Mahl der Bruderliebe.' *Gesch. d. Prot. Theol.* I 46.

[2] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 120.

Peter Martyr at Oxford.

If, as appears most probable, Peter Martyr entered upon his professional duties at Oxford in March, 1549, he arrived there before the Edwardian Statutes had been put in force,—this, according to Wood, having been on the fourth of the following June[2]. Both Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer were from Strassburg, and both had quitted that city at a time when theological animosities were at their height. Each has been the subject of almost unqualified praise from writers of the Reform party, although an attentive consideration of the main features of their respective careers is suggestive of no slight difference of character. If we may credit Simler, Peter Martyr's Lutheran biographer, this difference manifested itself in the spirit in which they now set forth to their new spheres of labour. Peter Martyr, from the first, declared his intention of proclaiming at Oxford without reserve the doctrine of Zwinglius respecting the Eucharist; while Bucer, with that moderation which belongs to his whole conduct as a Reformer, and who himself did not accept that doctrine in its most literal sense, urged the expediency of not insisting too strongly on views which could not fail to divide opinion and

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[1] Ellis, *Letters of Eminent Literary Men*, p. 16. Ascham uses the new style, dating his letter March 24, 1553.

[2] Wood-Gutch, II 100.

Character of Peter Martyr.

Disputations on theological questions enjoined at the universities.

Fierceness of the controversy at Oxford.

might probably excite fierce opposition[1]. Peter however adhered to his first purpose; and in the different tempers in which these two eminent theologians proceeded to the two universities we may perhaps find a partial explanation of the difference in the receptions there accorded them. It is not easy indeed to study the portrait of Vermigli, as painted by Holbein, without inferring that in the character of the original the combative element must have been present in a marked degree. Very different from the gentle and pensive features of Melanchthon are those of the Oxford professor, in whom the massive underjaw, brawny neck, and resolute air recall rather the physiognomy of Luther[2]. But whatever might have been Peter Martyr's personal desire and intentions, we know from his own testimony that the necessity of submitting the doctrines he proclaimed to the test of scholastic disputations was one from which he could not escape. He speaks of the Edwardian Statutes as imposing in this respect a new burden upon the university; both in the schools and in college the obligation to take part in public disputations was one which could not be evaded. 'I am,' he says, 'compelled to be ever contending with antagonists, and those of a most pertinacious kind[3].' The result was profitable neither for learning nor for religion; and whether we adopt the version of the story preserved by Strype or that retailed by Anthony Wood[4], the evidence alike points to scenes of uproar and fierce contention of a kind to which modern academic experiences in England present no parallel. Mr Froude does not hesitate to attribute to this theological feud the subsequent popular revolt in the two counties of Oxford and Buckingham[1].

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[1] Strype, *Memorials*, Vol. II, pt. i, c. 15.

[2] The portrait, in excellent preservation, is to be seen in the National Portrait Gallery in the South Kensington Museum.

[3] —'accessit *ex legibus modo latis* a regia majestate, huic academiae novum onus. Quippe decretum est, ut frequenter *publicae disputationes de rebus theologicis habeantur*, hoc est alternis hebdomadis, quibus mihi praecipitur, ut et intersim et praesim. Deinde in hoc regio collegio ubi dego, singula quaque septimana, theologicae disputationes agitantur, quae cum ad illas audiendas omnibus aditus pateat, identidem publicae dici possunt, hisque sum constitutus pariter, atque aliis censor. Est itaque *cum adversariis perpetuo luctandum*, et quidem pertinacissimis.' Peter Martyr to Bullinger, June 1, 1550: Burnet-Pocock, III ii No. 6.

[4] Strype (*Life of Cranmer*, bk. ii. c. 14) derives his account from Peter Martyr's biographer, Josias Simler (*Scrinium Antiquar.* vol. iii); Wood, from Parsons the Jesuit. The difference of the two narratives, while evidently dealing with the same facts, is a remarkable proof of the lengths to which party-spirit could be carried in these times.

Martin Bucer at Cambridge.

It was in a different spirit and with more satisfactory results, that Bucer accepted the invitation of Cranmer to occupy the chair of theology at Cambridge. He had discharged at Strassburg for more than twenty years the double function of minister to the Protestant church in that city, and professor in its rising school,—a school which had however not yet attained to the rank of a university[2]. Emphatically a man of peace, he was distinguished by his untiring efforts in the cause of religious concord, and has not inaptly been designated the father of that benevolent organization which up to our own day has striven with but indifferent success to form among the Protestant Churches of Christendom a bond of union resting upon a purely Scriptural basis[3]. His endeavours did not fail to gain for him the common reward of the religious peacemaker,—the antipathy of the zealot. Luther designated him a 'Klappermaul,' and the Strassburg theologians generally an 'assembly of wild beasts;' while the Zwinglian party, on the other hand, suspected him of Lutheran tendencies, and styled him the great Reformer's 'cardinal *a latere*[4].' To such an extent, indeed, was theological jealousy excited against him, that it became necessary that he should leave the city[5]. It was at this juncture that an

His pacific disposition.

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[1] *Hist. of England*, IV 415.

[2] Strassburg acquired the right of conferring degrees in arts and philosophy in 1566, and was raised to the rank of a university of all the faculties in 1621 by Ferdinand II. But the 'Promulgatio' conferring the latter privileges speaks of the school as 'optime constituta florensque, sed privata' for thirty years before the earlier date. *Promulg. Acad. Privil. Ulter.* Strassburg, 1628.

[3] 'Heute gilt er als der erste berufene Vertreter der evangelischen Union.' Tollin, *Servet u. d. oberländischen Reformatoren*, I 71. Luther, at Marburg, reproached both Bucer and John Sturm with unscriptural teaching concerning the Trinity and the personality of Christ. Röhrich, *Gesch. d. Reformation im Elsass*, I 346. 'Butzer's Friedensliebe,' says Frank, 'war oft nahe daran, seine Ueberzeugung zu nivelliren.' *Gesch. d. Prot. Theol.* I 63. Böhmen, however, observes that this spirit of moderation made him much esteemed in England. *Acht Bücher von d. Reform. in England* (1734), p. 273.

[4] Frank, *u. s.* I 60.

[5] Cranmer writing to invite Bucer to England, Oct. 2, 1548, says 'te in tua urbe verbi ministerio vix diutius praeesse posse scribis.' Bucer, *Script. Anglicana*, p. 190.

He is compelled to leave Strassburg and is invited by Cranmer to England.

asylum was offered to him in England[1], where his name was already widely known and respected. He had written against Gardiner on the question of clerical celibacy, and in learning had shone confessedly the superior[2]; while still more recently his services as joint compiler with Melanchthon of the *Consultation*[3] of archbishop Hermann,—the model on which the first English Prayer Book was to a great extent framed—had come prominently before the chief divines of Cambridge. The university and its leaders were also well known to Bucer by report. He was intimate with Alane, now professor at Leipzig, and on one occasion the two had fallen in with Gardiner, when the latter was travelling in Germany. To Bucer that was an ever memorable interview. They had discussed together the chief theological questions of that day, and as Gardiner waxed warm in defence of the doctrine of transubstantiation, the veins in his hands started up, in such fashion, the placid German was wont to aver, as he had never seen in man before[4]. It must have been with something of relief that he now learned that his former antagonist was little likely again to confront him, for Gardiner's unyielding dogmatism on the same question at home had just led to his recommittal to prison,—this time to the Tower,—where he remained until the accession of queen Mary. From Gardiner therefore there was nothing now to fear. Madew at Cambridge retired from the professorial chair in favour of the illustrious foreigner; a stipend which, when compared with those of ordinary German professorships appeared magnificent, was attached to the office[5]; and on the 15th of November,

Bucer, Alane, and Gardiner.

Bucer succeeds Madew as Regius professor of theology.

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[1] Peter Alexander writing to Bucer by Cranmer's request, says: '—quoniam a senatu Argentoratensi te dimissum esse, nullumque amplius Argentinae tibi manendi locum dari, quidam illis significarant.' He encourages him to accept the invitation to England, 'ingrata deserta Germania' and 'excusso pede pulvere.' *Ibid.* pp. 191–2.

[2] *Responsio ad duas Epistolas Stephani Episc. Wintoniensis de Coelibatu Sacerdotum et Coenobitarum.* Strassburg, 1547.

[3] A translation of this into English had appeared shortly before Bucer's arrival in Cambridge. See *A simple and religious Consultation by what means a Christian Reformation, and founded on God's Word, may be begun among men.* 18mo. London, 1548.

[4] 'Ut venae in manibus, quod in nullo unquam homine vidi, subsilirent, et tremerent, quoties audiret a nobis quod offendebat.' Quoted by Strype, *Memorials*, Vol. II, pt. i, c. 8, p. 107.

[5] It was £100 per annum. 'The ordinary salary tripled,' observes Fuller, 'as well it might, considering

1549, Bucer, accompanied by his friend Paulus Fagius, who had been appointed professor of Hebrew, arrived in Cambridge. He was shortly after formally recommended by royal letter to the university as 'a man of profounde lernyng and of godly life and conversation[1];' was forthwith admitted to the degree of D.D., and on this occasion delivered his inaugural oration.

His inaugural oration.

A touching simplicity and unfeigned humility pervaded the new professor's address. Advanced in years and in infirm health,—to quote his own self-depreciatory expressions, *senis, morbidus, inutilis, peregrinus,*—he stood before the assembly as one who preferred no other claim to their attention than that derived from past services to the cause of evangelical truth. So diffident, indeed, did he express himself of his personal merits, that nothing but very cogent arguments would have induced him to accept the degree with which he had been honoured. Certain leaders of the university (*academiae gubernatores*), however, had urged upon him overwhelming considerations:—it would aid him in the maintenance of order and discipline in the divinity school,—it would lend support to the academic recognition and approval of the talents and industry of the studious,—his own opportunities for rendering assistance to the school would be augmented,—and finally, many pious men throughout the kingdom would be influenced by the verdict thus passed by so illustrious a university on the value of his ministry[2]. Although containing much judicious counsel and elevated sentiment, the discourse offers to our notice but one passage of much significance, namely, that in which he emphatically insists on the necessity of students being required to proceed

He enjoins the maintenance of a proper standard in examinations for degrees.

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his worth, being of so much merit; his need, having wife and children; and his condition, coming hither a foreigner, fetched from a far country.' Fuller (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 244.

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 45–46.

[2] ...'id non nihil ad conservandum scholae hujus ordinem et disciplinam. Tum etiam ad confirmandam publicarum illarum de studiosorum ingeniis et diligentia, attestationum et comprobationum authoritatem, etc.... Praeterea me, hoc gradu suscepto, scholae hujus commoditatibus posse amplius inservire. Denique non deerant qui contenderent ministerio meo istud tam illustris academiae de eo judicium, pondus tamen aliquod apud non paucos in hoc regno pios homines esse habiturum,' *Script. Anglicana*, p. 185.

to their degrees and to pass a satisfactory examination. There were universities where degrees were to be bought for money; if Cambridge, he observes, should follow this example, all confidence in her discipline and the chief resource in the maintenance of authority would alike be lost. Then the ruin of the whole community would not be far off,—ruin such as, he attests, had already befallen not a few of the universities of Germany[1]. A passage in the *de Regno Christi*, a treatise which he dedicated to the young king, as a new year's gift for 1550, is also of some importance. He there expresses his opinion that the colleges are amply endowed for the work of educating the clergy, but he cannot refrain from expressing his surprise at the number of fellows who are permitted to remain on the different foundations, and who are, he says, nothing better than so many monks or friars, growing old in indolence and excluding needy and deserving students. He sternly exhorts those who have finished their course of study, and are not willing to enter upon the active service of the Church, to relieve the colleges of their presence,—*collegia quam primum liberentur*[2]. It is accordingly evident from this noteworthy criticism, that to the evils above described, of scholarships and fellowships filled up through favour with a class for whom they were not designed, and the death of efficient leaders, we must add the existence of an abuse which has generally perhaps been held to be a feature of a later period. The presence of the slothful and incapable was an evil no less to be deplored than the absence of men of eminent worth and merit. Ability, energy, and high purpose, it is evident,

He elsewhere remonstrates with indolent senior fellows.

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[1] 'Si enim, remissa *examinationis* atque judicii justa severitate, parum idonei in magistrorum et doctorum ordinem et locum evehebantur per ejusmodi prava atque irreligiosa judicia et abjecta testimonia, primum academiis ipsis fides abrogatur et imminuitur authoritas, omnisque illarum gubernatio in manus sensim dilabitur eorum qui nec honestarum artium studia nec morum sustinere valent aut volunt disciplinam. Itaque academiae brevi omnino desolantur et evertuntur: *id quod permultis in Germania academiis accidisse cernitur.*' *Script. Anglic.* p. 186. This passage certainly implies that examinations for degrees were in force when Bucer came to Cambridge and therefore at a period earlier than that which Huber conjectures, viz. 'between the periods of the Edwardian and Elizabethan statutes.' *English Univ.* I 314.

[2] *Script. Anglic.* p. 61.

could then as now command a market in the world at large; while the corresponding defects could nowhere more effectually be screened from observation than in the retirement of a college. On this point the testimony of Harrison is again of considerable value as bringing before us more definitely a state of things which Bucer could indicate only in general terms. After informing his readers that the complete course of theological study necessary for the degree of D.D. occupied some eighteen or twenty years, Harrison goes on to complain that 'after this time and forty years of age, the most part of students doo commonlie giue ouer their woonted diligence[1], and liue like drone bees on the fat of colleges, withholding better wits from the possession of their places, and yet dooing litle good in their own vocation and calling.' 'I could rehearse,' he says, 'a number (if I listed) of this sort, as well in the one universitie as the other. But this shall suffice insted of a larger report, that long continuance in those places is either a signe of lacke of friends, or of learning, or of good and upright life, as bishop Fox some time noted, who thought it sacrilege for a man to tarrie anie longer at Oxford than he had a desire to profit[2].'

His complaint supported by the testimony of Harrison.

But in Bucer's path, as in Peter Martyr's, there waited the demon of disputation. The secret adherents of the Catholic party in the university were numerous and vigilant. They had given, it is true, a formal assent to the new doctrines, and so far as solemn oaths could be looked upon as evidence, were loyal subjects of the crown in matters both civil and ecclesiastical[3]. But beneath this external com-

His controversy with Young, Perne, and Sedgwick.

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[1] By the Statutes of 1549 doctors of divinity, 'after so much labour undergone, and so many dangers and examinations' were permitted to decide for themselves whether they would continue their studies or not. Lamb, *Documents*, p. 126.

[2] *Descript. of England* (ed. Furnivall), pp. 80–81.

[3] James Pilkington, afterwards bishop of Durham, who on a subsequent occasion styles Young 'one of the pertest lustye yonge princockes' of this party, severely animadverts on this dishonesty of the Catholic members of the university at this period: 'Alle the time of blessed kinge Edwarde they taught, they preached, they subscribed, they swere and beleued all thys that they now deny. As oft as they had anye liuinge in anye college of the universities, *as oft as they tooke degree in the scholes*, as oft as they tooke any benefice, and when they were made priests or byshoppes, so ofte they sweare and forsweare all that nowe they denye.' *Of the cause of burning Paul's Church* (quoted in Baker-Mayor, p. 144).

pliance they but half concealed their dislike of the Reformed faith and enmity to its teachers. Foremost among this class were John Young, whose name has already come before us as that of one of the original fellows of Trinity,—Andrew Perne, a fellow of Queens' College, whose unblushing readiness to change his professed belief according to the doctrines most in favour with the civil power, afterwards became a byeword in the university,—and Thomas Sedgwick, who in the following reign was appointed Margaret professor. By these three, Bucer was challenged to a public disputation,—the subjects proposed for argument being (1) the complete sufficiency of the canonical Scriptures as a guide to saving faith,—in other words, the whole theory involved in the doctrine of a *disciplina arcani;* (2) the immunity of the one true Church from error; (3) the Lutheran doctrine of justification. A disputation was held, and as at Oxford, though in less scandalous fashion, the university was thrown into confusion by the heat and bitterness of the contending parties. Bucer was accused of teaching what was heterodox; while he, in turn, accused his antagonists of malice and misrepresentation[1]. It was during a short lull in the strife, that longing probably for a little sympathy and counsel, he repaired for a few days to Oxford to see his old friend Peter Martyr. On his return, he found that Young had commenced a series of lectures in avowed antagonism to his teaching, in which, in defiance of all decorum, he was himself openly disparaged and ridiculed. The controversy was renewed, although Bucer vainly endeavoured to prevail upon his opponents to have recourse to the more deliberate process of writing. His proposal was evaded, and as a last resource he found himself compelled to apply to the vice-chancellor and heads in order that the contest might, if possible, be brought to a close by another public disputation; but in the default of evidence we are unable to ascertain whether this proposition was ever carried into effect[2].

John Young lectures in opposition to Bucer.

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[1] Collier has very clearly pointed out the disadvantage under which Bucer lay in the discussion, owing to his extreme Lutheran tenets. 'He is,' he says, 'very much embarrassed in the dispute, lies unguarded, and miscarries not seldom in his defence.' Collier-Lathbury, v 385–7.

[2] Strype, *Mem. of Cranmer*, I ii cc. 14 and 24; *Life of Grindal*, I i, App. no. 1; Bucer, *Script. Anglic.* pp. 711–862.

Death of Paulus Fagius.

The damp air of the fens appears to have often proved peculiarly unsuited to the German constitution, and Fagius, who at the time of his arrival in Cambridge had been suffering from fever, was carried off within ten days after. Bucer's health now also began to give way, and in February, 1551, he followed his friend and fellow-countryman. His dying hours were soothed by the assiduous care of the duchess of Suffolk, whose two sons, the young lords Henry and Charles Brandon, were at that time studying at the university, and had been placed under his especial instruction. Another watcher by his couch was the eminent John Bradford, a student who at the age of thirty-seven had abandoned the law for divinity, and whose subsequent life, writings, and heroic death, attested the genuineness of his religious convictions[1].

Death of Bucer: Feb. 28, 1550-1.

No professor certainly ever taught at Cambridge for so brief a period, and yet left behind him so deep an impression as did Martin Bucer of his services, virtues, and attainments. He was honoured by a tomb in St Mary's Church, and party faction and old animosities seem to have been for a brief space forgotten around his grave. The funeral procession, composed of the whole university, headed by the vice-chancellor, and large numbers of the burgesses headed by the mayor, amounted to some three thousand persons. 'The chief master workman,' said Parker, who preached the sermon, 'has been taken from us!' and he could only interpret their loss as evidence of the Divine displeasure[2]. Walter Haddon, upon whom, as public orator, it devolved to deliver the funeral oration, compared his departed friend to the most eminent Fathers of the Church in the excellence and range of his spiritual and mental gifts[3]. 'I doubt not,' wrote Cheke from Westminster, on the receipt of the intelligence, 'I doubt not but the

Respect paid to his memory.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 127. Bradford had been elected to a fellowship at Pembroke, for which he considers it worthy of mention, 'neither I, nor any other for me, did ever make any suit: yea there was a contention betwixt the master of Catherine-hall and the bishop of Rochester, who is master of Pembroke-hall, whether should have me.' *Letter to Father Traves*, Foxe-Townsend, VII 284.

[2] Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 29.

[3] 'Augustini fuit in illo acumen, Hieronymi linguarum varietas et doctrina, disciplina Cypriani, Ambrosii authoritas, Origenis scientia, Chrysostomi in docendo perspicuitas, Bernardi integritas in vita.' He holds that Bucer was one 'quem ad Apostolorum ordinem aggregare possumus.' *Lucubrationes*, pp. 87–89. Haddon was one of Bucer's executors.

king's majesty will provide some grave learned man, to maintain God's true learning in his university, yet I think not of all learned men in all points ye shall receive M. Bucer's like, whether ye consider his deepness of knowledge, his earnestness in religion, his fatherliness in life, his authority in doctrine[1].' The best scholars of the university composed elegies in honour of the deceased, and strewed them on his tomb,—compositions which drew from John Sturm at Strassburg a pathetic acknowledgement of the grateful tribute which had been paid to his lost friend in a foreign land[2]. A donation from the university to the widow, and another from the Crown, further attested the prevailing feeling[3]. While long after, when exaggerated sentiment was less likely to find place, another public orator gave expression to the permanent sense of the community, when he declared that the religious life of the whole university had been quickened by Bucer's teaching, while his removal had been followed by a corresponding decline[4].

Deaths of lords Henry and Charles Brandon: 16 July, 1551.

Among those who had contributed verses in Bucer's honour had been his two young noble pupils. They were students of rare promise, and had made attainments remarkable for their age. But within a few months of their good teacher's death, the sweating sickness broke out at Cambridge, and the hasty removal of the two youths to a distance from the area of infection[5] failed to avert the danger with which they were menaced. They died on the same day and in the course of the same hour, and with them the dukedom of Suffolk became temporarily extinct[6]. Even in those times, when the span of life was so often shortened by unlooked for or violent ends, the spectacle of ingenuous virtues and youthful promise, of tried ability and signal usefulness thus prematurely cut off, arrested the attention and cast a gloom over the minds of even the most thoughtless[1]; and the prayer against pestilence and sudden death, in that grand litany which Bucer's piety had helped to frame[2], must have carried with it, for a time, a sad significance as it rose in the precincts where he had been laid to rest.

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[1] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 44.

[2] '—placet mihi pietas vestrae gentis, placet doctrina et orationis genus.' Sturm to Ascham. Ascham, *Epist.* p. 386.

[3] *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 46-47.

[4] 'Oratio Achworthi in restitutione Dom. Martini Buceri et P. Fagii.' Bucer, *Script. Anglic.* p. 937.

[5] They were conveyed to the bishop of Lincoln's palace, at that time at Buckden; 'Many in Cambridge died of this sweating sickness, patients mending or ending in twenty-four hours.' Fuller (ed. Prickett and Wright), p. 246. Mr. Froude describes it as 'the most mortal of all forms of pestilence which have ever appeared in this country.' See his description, *Hist. of England*, v 15–16.

[6] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 105. Their portraits by Holbein (Chamberlaine's *Holbein Heads*) are remarkable for their combined expression of innocence and intelligence.

The Civil Law.

The year preceding Bucer's death had seen the removal of one of yet wider fame—the illustrious Alciati, by whose efforts mainly the study of the Roman law had been redeemed from extravagancies and puerilities such as those which characterized it in the days when Poggio and Valla satirized the stolid disciples of Accursius, Baldus, and Bartolus[3]. In his hands, and those of Zasius of Freiburg, the juristic lore of Bologna and that of *Nova Roma* were first combined[4], the scholarship and learning of the Renaissance for the first time employed to elucidate the obscurities of the Codex and the Pandects. Philology and history now poured new light upon the page which the labours of the later commentators had too often only perplexed and darkened; the vast tomes of the mediaeval teachers, wherein, as Haddon asserted, Scaevola or Papinian would have been unable to recognise his own laws[5], were consigned to deserved obscurity; and the

Alciati and Zasius.

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[1] 'God's wroth, I trust, is satisfied in punishing divers orders of the realme for their misordre, with taking away singuler men from them, as learning by Mr. Bucer, counsell by Mr. Denny, nobilitie by the two young Dukes.' Ascham to Cecil, 12th Jul. 1552; see also his *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), p. 220.

[2] The English Litany, as is well known, was chiefly taken by Cranmer from that of Hermann von Wied, who had been assisted by Bucer in its preparation. At the same time, Bucer was not altogether satisfied with the English Prayer Book, and issued a series of criticisms on points of detail, which are ably discussed by Collier, who however speaks of his dissertation as wearing 'a noble air of freedom and integrity.' Collier-Lathbury, v 388–408.

[3] See Vol. I 360 and 419–20.

[4] Savigny considers that we have the first specimens of the new method in two treatises by Alciati belonging to the second 'decennium' of the sixteenth century. *Gesch. d. römisch. Rechts*, VII 510. 'Nur sind es zwei Männer, welche als Stifter und Führer der neuen Schule angesehen werden können: Alciat in Italien und Frankreich, Zasius in Deutschland.' *Ibid.* VI 421.

[5] 'Totum nostrum jus Accursianorum faecibus oblitum erat, usque eo, Papinianus si revivisceret, aut ex saeculo priore Scaevola, leges ipsi suas non agnoscerent.' Haddon, 'Exhortatio ad Litteras,' *Lucubrationes*, p. 117. See also 'Oratio quam habuit cum Cantabrigiae legum interpretationem ordiretur.' *Ibid.* pp. 77–78.

new civil law, like the new Aristotle, acquired fresh dignity as a study in proportion as its affinities to the institutions and history of civilization stood more plainly revealed.

Introduction of their method at Cambridge.

We have no definite information as to the channel through which Alciati's method first became known in England, but it is not improbable that its acceptance was largely aided by the lectures and writings of Ludovicus Vives, who had studied law at Louvain and afterwards taught it at Oxford. His able treatise, the *de Causis corruptarum Artium*, was widely known and much admired in this country, and in the seventh book he had exposed with his usual vigour the defects which belonged to the national exposition of the civil law[1]. A reform in which theological considerations were but remotely involved could be dispassionately discussed on its own merits by enlightened scholars of all parties, and in the present instance Gardiner and Smith were completely in accord[2]. The former, who at one time acted as examiner of candidates for the degree of bachelor of laws in the schools[3], appears to have stoutly supported the introduction of the new method at Cambridge and to have finally carried the day in spite of strenuous opposition[4]. Unfortunately, however, just as old prejudices had been overcome, the whole study began to enter upon new conditions which foreboded its speedy and complete extinction. In the universities of Germany, as in those of Italy, where it was protected by its imperial associations, the civil law maintained its ground without difficulty; even at Wittenberg, Marburg, and Jena, the chairs were regularly filled and the

Gardiner and Smith.

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[1] Vives, *Opera* (ed. 1555), I 426–435.

[2] It is highly probable that this ground of sympathy and agreement was the cause of the remarkable leniency with which Smith was treated by Gardiner during the reign of Mary. See Strype, *Life of Smith*, p. 50.

[3] A. D. 1523–4. "All commencers in civil and canon law required to satisfy Dr. Gardener." Grace Book: Baker MSS. XXXI 182. Smith himself speaks of Gardiner as 'in hac disciplina exercitatissimus.' *Oratio secunda de Ratione Studii Iuris Civilis*, *Ibid.* XXXVII 403.

[4] The facts are preserved to us in one of Cheke's letters to Gardiner, but I have been unable to discover any further details on the subject: 'Cantabrigiae cum ipse juris civilis studium repurgares, et a quibusdam glossematariis animos studiosorum sapienter avocares, tamen in magnam hominum offensionem incurrebas, et non sine magna disceptationum contentione tam honestum propositum conficiebas.' *de Pronuntiatione*, p. 47.

Circumstances prejudicial to the revival of the study in England.

lectures fairly attended[1]. But in England its intimate connexion with the canon law, now abolished, seemed likely to involve it in the same fate; while the growing importance of the common law seemed not less likely to deprive it of all practical value. Already the practitioners of the latter profession, whose numbers were yearly multiplying, regarded with undisguised contempt the waning ranks of those who continued to devote themselves to a laborious acquirement, which, while demanding no ordinary toil and vitiated by so many defects of treatment, seemed likely before long altogether to disappear from the category of useful or remunerative learning. The universities, on the other hand, could not but regret the gradual abolition of a code whereby, in any difficulty, it had been customary to interpret their own statutes, as well as the diminution in their influence which would necessarily result if degrees in civil law were no longer to be required as a passport to professional advancement[2]. The growing jealousies of the two schools sometimes broke out into open feuds, and Wriothesley found himself compelled in 1547 to resign his office of chancellor in consequence of a preference which he had somewhat incautiously displayed for civilians over students at the Inns of Court[3].

The appointment of Smith to the chair of the Regius professorship augured well for a revived interest in the study at Cambridge. His conspicuous ability could always command a respectful audience; while his knowledge of the subject had been, as we have already noted, increased by his sojourn at Padua, where he had listened to Accorambonus and Rubeus, and by visits to nearly all the universities of France, where he had come under the influence of Alciati[4].

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[1] Foerstemann, *Album. Acad. Viteberg.* ann. 1502 to 1560.

[2] Dyer, *Privileges*, II 168. The degree of D.C.L. or LL.D. became the necessary passport to the College of Advocates at Doctors' Commons (incorporated 1768); this requirement was however abolished in 1856. See Sir Robt. Phillimore's *Commentaries upon International Law*, I lxiii.

[3] Froude, *Hist. of England*, IV 234.

[4] '...cunctas prope totius Galliae academias perlustrarim...et penetrarim in Italiam ut famosissimos orbis doctores, viva (quod aiunt) voce jura docentes audirem.' Smith, *Oratio prima de Ratione Studii Juris Civilis*, Baker MSS. XXXVII 418. 'Laudabo et Zasium et Alciatum, duo clarissima jurisprudentiae lumi-

That eminent reformer, driven from his native land, had accepted a chair of civil law at Bourges. His teaching there had been attended with brilliant success and his views were now fast prevailing wherever such studies were still pursued in France. In two orations which he delivered at Bologna in 1537 and 1539 he has left on record his estimate of the different schools of interpreters who, up to his own day, had been most distinguished by their labours in the same province: Azo and Accursius in the thirteenth century,—Baldus and Bartolus in the fourteenth,—and the yet more mechanical and stolid school of later times, among whom he found his most determined opponents. Of these, he humourously compared the first to the dogs who dared only to lap the waters of the Nile as they ran along its banks, so sparing did they appear of *glosses* when compared with their successors. But even Baldus and Bartolus had kept their passion for commentating within certain bounds and had been content not to make one single passage a peg whereon to hang an exposition of every difficulty[1]. It had been the practice, he informs us, in those times to postpone for the greater leisure of the vacation difficulties which demanded a specially minute elucidation. These subsidiary lectures were known as 'repetitions.' But now-a-days, exclaimed Alciati, we have nothing but repetitions; the lecturers know no limits and exercise no discretion, but appear to think that if they leave a single difficulty unexplained they have been unfaithful to the performance of their duty, although the explanation of that difficulty might often have been far better reserved for another occasion. It thus not unfrequently happened that the lecturers in the schools would devote a whole year to the exposition of one or two laws, and the

Alciati's account of the method of interpretation which he sought to abolish.

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na, quorum libri testantur eos in humanitatis disciplinis nec parum nec infeliciter esse versatos.' *Ibid.* Their works are to be seen in the catalogue of his library at Hill Hall in 1566. Strype, *Life of Sir T. Smith*, pp. 274–7.

[1] Compare the very different language of Melanchthon a short time before Alciati's reforms had made their way in Germany: after quoting Cicero's glowing praise of Servius, he says,—'Hanc ipsam laudem quam Servio tribuit Cicero, doctores probatissimi magno consensu tribuunt Bartolo.' 'Decl. de Irnerio et Bartolo' (? 1537), *Corpus Reformat.* XI 355.

real work of studying the Codes was left to the unassisted diligence of the student[1].

Smith's Inaugural Address.

Such was the main purport of the views which Smith, not long after his return in 1541 from the Continent[2], endeavoured to impress upon his hearers in two addresses delivered in his professorial capacity at Cambridge. He seems in the first address to have sought to win the sympathy of his audience by alluding to his own experiences. At first sight, he admits, nothing is more uninviting than the study of the law, and he ingenuously confesses that, for his own part, when he had gone abroad after being appointed professor, his distaste for his new duties had been such that he had secretly prayed that, in the event of not being able to overcome his aversion, he might be relieved by death from the necessity of undertaking them[3]. These feelings, however, had given place to others more worthy of his position, until at last he had come to look forward with impatient expectation to the time when he should address his Cambridge audience. But as he now stood before them, he was troubled by two reflections: first, that he could no longer meet his old Greek class; and secondly, that, in the discharge of his new duties, he must look for little favour from those civilians to whom nothing but what was purely technical seemed deserving of notice in their studies. And yet, if they only observed how often the lack of classical learning had misled Accursius and Bartolus, who were wont to cite the veriest fictions as true and genuine history, they would soon perceive their own error. It had been his endeavour to guard against a like mistake by indulging in a range of reading embracing not only logic,

He confesses his original aversion to the study of the law.

Value of classical learning in the study.

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[1] 'Oratio Bononiae habita,' 1537; *Opera*, IV 863-7. Savigny, *Gesch. d. römisch. Rechts*, III 547. He cites also the testimony of Panzirolus (bk. ii, c. 4): 'eo deventum est, ut hodie aliqui vix quinque jura singulo anno interpretentur; scio etiam aliquos, qui circa unius tituli rubricam duos menses insumpserunt.'

[2] The precise date of these addresses does not appear, but as, in the second, he refers to Sir William Butts as still living, they must have been delivered prior to Nov. 17, 1545. See Cooper, *Athenae*, I 87.

[3] '...quodque frequentibus repetebam votis eo tempore cum ejusdem studii causa mare transfretavi, ut si perpetuo qualis mihi tum videbatur gravis odiosaque disciplina ista legum futura esset, mors me opportuna quam primum humanis eximeret.' Baker MSS. XXXVII 414.

His own reading.

rhetoric, and philosophy, but also ancient and modern history; and, did time permit, he could point to more than six hundred passages from the Pandects which demanded all these subjects for their complete elucidation[1]. He knew that it was insinuated by some that the amount of attention that he had given to the study of the law itself was insufficient, but he could assure them that so far back as the time when he first became a member of the Senate, he had purchased copies of the Digest and the Code together with the chief works of Alciati, Zasius, and Ferrarius. On these he had bestowed all his leisure hours, and when he found that there was no one at Cambridge who could give him that assistance in the study which he required his perplexity and despondency had been extreme[2].

His pursuit of the study abroad.

On his appointment to the Regius professorship he had repaired to the Continent and had there visited nearly all the French universities and had listened to the most famous doctors of Italy. He had thus acquired, he would not say a knowledge of the subject equal to that of the Italian and French professors, but at any rate their form and method of instruction[3]; while his notes of lectures and annotations on the whole *Corpus Civile* would attest the extent of his reading. He was gratified to observe how eagerly the students had repaired to his lecture; they must only not expect that he would desert philosophy, for law and ethics were twin sisters. He would ask of them that for one year, on each *dies legibilis*, they would give him two hours,—one for lecturing and another for repetition,—and that they would also devote an equal amount of time to attending the course of some other praelector in the same subject[1]. He forewarned them that the difficulties inherent in the study were not slight,—the conciseness of the original text was often puzzling, and new legal terms had since been introduced. He had himself, when learning Greek, cosmography, astronomy and oratory, managed to get on without an instructor; but when he began to study civil law he had found that a guide was absolutely necessary, so vast was the extent of the field. No efforts would be wanting on his part, but he hoped that his class would not fail to attend other lectures; such had been his own plan and he had found his labours greatly lessened thereby.

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[1] 'Etsi stomachum mihi fecerint, citabo ex his Pandectis plusquam sexcenta loca in quibus aut medicorum aut philosophorum aut oratorum atque poetarum testimonia citantur, aut ea ponuntur, quae sine harum rerum cognitione non possint intelligi.' *Ibid.* XXXVII 415. Compare the statement of Vives; 'Ignorata sunt verba Graeca, quorum frequens est mentio, quum in toto corpore juris civilis tum potissimum in Codice, et ex eo tribus postremis. Multa citata ex Homero et Demosthene, et aliis Graecis penitus omissa, in quibus erat vis sententiae legis: pro quorum expositione unum illud dictum arbitrabantur sufficere: Non potest legi, quia Graecum.' *Opera*, I 431.

[2] 'Nam statim postquam in senatum hujus academiae co-optatus sum, certumque nescio dicere si paulo etiam antea, certe circiter id tempus, et Pandectarum quinquaginta illa volumina et Codicem a bibliopolis emi, quibus Alciati quaedam ac Zasii, Ferrariique adjunxi opuscula. Haec in turba numeroque meorum librorum posita, meo more carptim, quando me satietas aliorum studiorum cepisset, tanquam fastidii condimentum, ad caeteram varietatem lectionis aspersi.' *Ibid.* p. 418.

[3] '...illud imprimis reportasse ut et minus posthac de hoc tanquam immenso et inextricabili studio desperem, et Italorum Gallorumque sinon doctrinam et eruditionem at saltem tradendi formam et modum intelligam.' *Ibid.*

His proposed plan of tuition.

The study a difficult one and the aid of a tutor necessary.

In his second oration[2], delivered on the ensuing day[3], we find Smith dwelling on the more general advantages of the study. He appeals to the ambition of the students and refers to the numbers whom he has known who 'have gone up from this little Cambridge of ours' (*ex hac nostra perexigua Cantabrigia egressi*) and, by devoting themselves to the energetic pursuit of the profession of the civilian, have come to be deemed worthy of serving the State in the most important negotiations. As instances, he names Gardiner, Thirleby, and Dr Butts,—the last of whom he styles 'the refuge of all students and the chief guardian and ornament of this university[4].' He passes a high encomium on the liberality and discernment in encouraging letters shewn by king Henry, who, he states, had been heard to complain of the dearth of able lawyers. On the importance of legal studies to divines he holds it unnecessary to insist. While severely censuring the 'barbarism' characteristic of the learning of many of the papal lawyers, he takes the opportunity of paying a some-

Smith's second address.

The civil law the road to fame and preferment.

His tribute to the skill and eloquence of the common lawyers.

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[1] '...et duas modo mihi concedatis horas, unam audiendae, alteram repetendae lectionis, totidemque cuicunque alteri juris praelectori velitis accommodare.' *Ibid.*

[2] 'Oratio secunda, de Dignitate Legum atque Utilitate Studii Juris Civilis.' Baker MSS. XXXVII 400–413.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 430.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 403.

what notable compliment to the eloquence and vigour of thought not infrequently exhibited in the English common law courts. When away from Cambridge in the country, he says that he has often had arguments with these common lawyers, who, although acquainted only with 'our barbaric and half-Gallican laws' and wanting altogether in the polite culture and training of the universities, had often astonished him by the skill and ease with which they unravelled each knotty question, and by the force and dexterity with which they upheld their own opinions or refuted those of others. Neither in dialectical skill nor in true eloquence could he pronounce them deficient. Another passage, equally characteristic of the scholar and the genius as distinguished from the mere academic pedant, is that wherein he ventures upon the praises of his native tongue, declaring that where its use was marked by precision and purity it might compare even with the Latin for beauty and force of expression. He concludes by again enforcing upon his hearers the varied interest of legal studies when properly pursued, and reminds them that even scholars like Valla and Politian had found their *copia verborum* considerably enriched by the study of the Digest.

His praise of the English language.

The study of the Code and the Pandects useful to the classical scholar.

Smith's efforts meet with but poor success.

But notwithstanding Smith's conspicuous ability and the energy with which he devoted himself to his new task, Nicholas Carr informs us that 'there were but few who evinced much approbation, still fewer who professed to devote themselves to the pursuit of the study, and scarcely any who adopted it as their vocation[1].' From the year 1544 to 1551 only one graduate proceeded to the degree of LL.D., and only eight to that of bachelor of laws[2],—the solitary doctor being Walter Haddon himself, who succeeded Smith as Regius professor in the last-named year and vainly employed all the resources of his ornate Latinity to kindle some enthusiasm for the study in the minds of his hearers[3]. The

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[1] 'Qui cum diserte jus civile interpretari solitus sit, pauci erant qui probabant, pauciores qui se illi studio deditos simulabant, prope nulli qui discendi laboribus permanerent.' Carr, *de Scriptt. Britt. paucitate, etc.*, f. 14.

[2] Baker MSS. XI 37–42.

[3] 'Cui qui successit meus familiaris, ingeniosissimus vir, Haddonus, sic ad hanc scientiam juris se applicavit,

It is proposed to found a College of Civil Law.

Instructions to this effect to the Visitors of 1549.

lack of competent jurists began however to be a source of real inconvenience to the government, for the diplomatic service and the consultations of the Privy Council alike required, from time to time, the aid of the civilian[1]. When accordingly the royal commissioners came down to Cambridge in 1549, their attention had already been directed to the languishing condition of the study and they were empowered to use every means for its revival[2]. For this purpose they were especially instructed, after the precedent set in the foundation of Trinity, to dissolve one or more of the existing colleges and 'to found and erect a College of Civil Law, and to endow the same with the lands, tenements, hereditaments, and goods of the colleges so dissolved, and to prescribe statutes for the fellows in the same until such college should be fully established under the Great Seal; and to provide annual pensions for the masters, fellows, and scholars of the dissolved colleges[3].'

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ut eandem majore quam is [Smithus] laude eloquentiae cumularit.' Carr, *u. s.* f. 14. Haddon appears to have officiated as reader in civil law for three years before his promotion to the professorship, and, according to Ascham, had some success. The latter writing to king Edward on behalf of the university in order to urge Haddon's claims on the royal notice, says: 'munus profitendi juris civilis nunc vacuum est; cujus scientiae praeclaram doctrinam, tanto ingenio, eruditione, et assiduitate, *frequentissimo hominum concursu, Gualterus Haddonus hoc triennium apud nos tradidit,* ut nihil prius universi nos una voce a Majestate tua contendamus quam ut hoc docendi munus huic doctissimo viro conferatur.' Ascham, *Epist.* p. 299. In a letter to the Privy Council written at the same time and with the same object, he says, 'Schola juris civilis apud nos conticescit.' *Ibid.* p. 300. Haddon's overflowing audiences could not have lasted very long.

[1] 'And we are sure ye are not ignorant how necessary a study that study of civil law is to all treaties with foreign princes and strangers, and how few there be at this present to do the king's majesty's service therein.' Somerset to Ridley, June 10, 1549 (see *infra*, p. 136).

[2] 'Et quoniam studium juris civilis non solum jam aliquot annos deferbuisse in academia nostra Cante: verum etiam propemodum extinctum esse nobis indicatum est, praecipuam vobis omnibus curam et sollicitudinem imponimus, ut quibus poteritis viis ac modis illud excitetis et amplificetis. Cui studio, ut possitis amplius mederi et fructu laboris ac diligentiae juventutem in illud accendere, plenissimam ac summam authoritatem per absolutam et regiam nostram potestatem vobis concessimus: duo vel plura collegia in dicta universitate propter eam causam dissolvenda, et ex illis sic dissolutis et aliis locis idoneis eos qui videbuntur ad illud studium aptos et accommodatos in unum collegium juris civilis nostra auctoritate et nomine fundandi et coadunandi.' Baker MSS. xiii 175.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, ii 25. A precisely similar scheme was proposed for Oxford, where All Souls was designed to be the law college of the university. See Wood-Gutch, ii 97–98.

Proposed amalgamation of Clare Hall and Trinity Hall.

The foundations marked out to subserve this design were Clare Hall, where the mastership was held by Roland Swinbourne, a Catholic in his sympathies, and Trinity Hall, still nominally ruled by Gardiner, although he himself was a prisoner in the Tower[1]. Smith's varied public duties appear to have prevented his being present in Cambridge during the Commission[2], but he watched with lively interest the progress of a scheme of which there can be little doubt that he was a chief promoter, and intelligence on the subject was regularly transmitted to him by William Rogers, a fellow of Queens' College, and registrary to the Commission.

At Trinity Hall no objection is offered.

In a letter written by Rogers on the 15th of May, we have his first circumstantial report. No opposition is anticipated on the part of Trinity Hall. 'All the felowes there,' he writes, 'are well contented to the kniting of their howse and Clare Hall together, and take it to be, as it is in deed, a great furtherance to their studie and proceeding in the lawes.' It was otherwise, however, at Clare Hall. The master and fellows of that ancient and religious house were all theologians and felt but little disposed to see their students in divinity compelled to give place to civilians. Something moreover of the old hostility between the two schools, such as actuated Holcot and Richard of Bury[3], still prevailed in the university; while it is probable that neither Ridley nor any of the members of Clare fully understood the far more defensible ground on which the advocates of the study of the civil law now rested their claims, or the far more rational method in which the study itself was pursued. Already, at the previous Sturbridge fair, rumours of the impending dissolution had reached the ears of the society, and they had sought to forestall the commissioners and to protect their own interest by conduct exactly resembling

Strenuous resistance at Clare.

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[1] It will be seen how completely the following narrative refutes Fuller's account of the scheme, the failure of which he attributes to Gardiner's opposition. Fuller (ed. Prickett and Wright), pp. 242–3.

[2] His name appears as that of one of the Commissioners for the visitation of the university, and is among those of the signataries to the Edwardian Statutes but not among those who signed the Injunctions. Lamb, *Documents*, pp. 123, 146.

[3] See Vol. I 211.

The society seek to forestall the despoilers.

that of the monastic bodies. They had agreed to sell the college plate and to divide the proceeds among themselves. 'Since the Visitors coming to Cambridge,' writes Rogers, 'their library hath been utterly spoiled, not a book left saving *a few old law books* and certain other worthe nothing. All the Doctors with many goodlie books gone to the value as is esteemed of £15 or thereabouts.' The plate and 'trinkets abroad in the house' had been conveyed away so fast, that he expresses his belief that 'unless thei be kept under lock and key clene from them there will not be one disshe nor any thing els left within these two daies[1].' As regarded the surrender of the house itself, they had but one phrase,—*Neque do, neque repugno,*—they recognised the royal authority but they pleaded the obligation of their fellowship oath. "I see the King's majesty's pleasure," saith the Master, "and I desier the king to take his pleasure without my consent. For my part I will never give up the howse neither by seale, consent, nor otherwise. To depart I am content at your Lordshipps commandment, if ye shall so command me, and will after claim no manner of interest, title, or right to the howse. But to give it up with my voice, surely I will not[2]." The fellows, while declaring that it was not their intention actively to resist the royal pleasure, also intimated, for the most part, that the proposed change would be without their consent and would involve their departure from the college[3].

'Neque do, neque repugno.'

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[1] Among the plate was probably the celebrated 'Poison Cup' of which the College still retains possession. See *Specimens of College Plate*, by J. J. Smith; *Camb. Ant. Soc. Publ.* Vol. I, no. 8.

[2] *State Papers (Dom.) Edw.* VI, Vol. VII, nos. 10 & 11. Swinbourne was subsequently expelled by the Visitors on the 17th of June. Lamb, *Documents*, p. 113.

[3] The following are some of the subscriptions: 'Iff yt shall please the Kyngs majesty to dyssolve thys hous of Clare Hall, I shall be contentyd *to departe out of the College* before the dissolution of the same, not consentyng unto yt.' JOHN HOPPER. '*My conscience is not pacyfied to consent to the dissolution of the college*, saving my obedience to the Kyngs majesty, per me, EDWARDUM BARKER.' 'I, Thomas Hiskyns, fellow of Clare Haule, as an obedient subject to the Kyngs Majesty, am content to gyve place to hys authoryte in the dissolutyon of the college of Clare Haule, *though my consent be not agreeable to the same, by reason of my othe to my college.* By me THOMAS HESKYNS.' 'I am noone of those that do hynder the Kyng's proceedings, in any godly purpose, *and therefore I wyll goe my way.* By me, CHRISTOFER CARLEL.' These and other details, transcribed by Baker from 'a loose sheet of paper and half sheet,' Feb. 21, 1681, when he

Ridley intervenes on behalf of Clare.

His letter to Somerset: May 18, 1549.

His objections to the scheme.

It was at this juncture that bishop Ridley, though himself one of the commissioners, came to the aid of the distressed society. At a meeting of the Commission he expressed his opinion that, in the face of such decided opposition, they were not competent to carry out the scheme without further instructions; nor can there be much doubt that he had originally sympathised but little with the design. This protest he followed up by a letter to Somerset, in which he more plainly stated it as his view that it was 'a very sore thing, a great sclander to them that shal presently hear of the matter, a dangerouse example to the world to cum, to take a college founded for the study of goddes word, and to apply it to the use of students in man's lawes.' He compared Clare College to Naboth's vineyard. He recalled to mind the number of pious and learned men whom it had educated,—especially Latimer. Alexander had spared a city for Homer's sake. Latimer, he urges (an amusing illustration of the Reformation spirit), 'far passes by that poete;' and he beseeches the king to spare Clare College for Latimer's sake[1].

His correspondence on the subject with Somerset.

Ridley to Somerset: June 1, 1549.

Somerset to Ridley: June 10, 1549.

In the mean time, it had been whispered to the Protector that 'Ridley's barking,' as it was contemptuously termed, had stopped the whole scheme, and Somerset appears to have addressed to his friend a somewhat sharp remonstrance. This drew from Ridley a circumstantial apology, in which he explained that, prior to being nominated a commissioner, he had not been made privy to the proposed measure, which consequently took him completely by surprise; but that all that he had really done in the matter had been to express his doubts of the competency of the commissioners to enforce the execution of their instructions without the consent of the master and fellows of Clare College[2]. To this Somerset replied in a letter, dated the tenth of the same month, wherein he could not forbear from expressing a wish that the Visitors should 'not be scrupulous in conscience, other-

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was but 25 years of age, have been preserved solely through his industry. See Baker MSS. II 161-2.

[1] *State Papers, u. s.*

[2] Burnet-Pocock, II ii 347–350.

wise than reason would.' He did not however refuse to argue the whole question and adduces some substantial reasons in support of the royal design: the plan was no hasty or crude conception, for it had been proposed in the preceding reign, 'as Sir Edward North,' he says, 'can tell:' the number of civilians had been considerably lessened by the society of King's Hall (which was 'in a manner all lawyers canonists'), being made 'a college of divines'; then again on other foundations, such as King's, Jesus, and Queens', civil law fellowships, contrary to the late king's Injunctions, had been converted into divinity fellowships, 'all which together,' he affirmed, made 'a greater in number than the fellows of Clare Hall be;' 'necessity compelleth us also to maintain the science:' he concludes with reminding Ridley of the grave consequences that may result from his example[1].

Rogers to Somerset: June 15, 1549.

The effect of this letter is to be seen in another from Rogers, who, writing to Smith five days later, reports that Ridley has at last assented to a policy of compulsion[2]. The latter's submission came however too tardily and much to the regret of his fellow-commissioners he was recalled[3]. On the other hand, it is evident that the bold resistance of the authorities at Clare was ultimately successful, for although Swinbourne was compelled to cede the mastership to Madew, the proposed scheme of amalgamation was silently abandoned, though that of a college of civil law was for some time longer still entertained[4].

The scheme ultimately abandoned.

Circumstances adverse to the success of the study in England.

But the difficulties under which the study now laboured could not be overcome. Its more scientific treatment presented no attractions to the great majority of those by whom it had once been so ardently cultivated as a stepping stone to political advancement, while the prevailing theological influences were distinctly unfavourable to a branch of learning long associated with the rejected pretensions of the papacy. Martin Bucer, when calling the attention of king Edward to the confused condition in which the English law was suffered to remain, and suggesting that it should be codified and epitomised, and even partly thrown into the form of mnemonic verses to assist youthful learners, makes no reference whatever to the studies of the civilian[1]. 'The civil law,' writes Nicholas Carr, a few years later, 'is despised and contemned, and even where the study still survives it is pursued for the most part in a corrupt fashion[2].'

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[1] Burnet-Pocock, II ii 351–2.

[2] 'But thei' [the Visitors] 'say that if that thing may be done while he is here the rest will be more easie for them after his departure.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Edw.* VI, Vol. VII no. 33.

[3] Lemon, *State Papers, Edward* VI, p. 15. Ridley's name, however, appears as that of one of the signataries to the Injunctions; but in the preamble to the statutes of Trinity (Nov. 8, 1552), where the names of the Commissioners of 1549 are given, his name is *erased* (see next page, note 3). It is also absent from the Form of Oath imposed June 1, 1553, the signataries to this document being otherwise the same, viz. Goodrich, Cheke, Mey, and Wendy (Lamb, *Documents*, p. 164).

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, II 58.

ORIGINAL STATUTES of TRINITY COLLEGE, Nov. 8, 1552.

The labours of the Visitors in 1549 had not terminated with their departure from Cambridge. Trinity College had hitherto been without any more definite code than that furnished by the general injunctions which they had issued for the regulation of the colleges[3]. Upon Goodrich, Cheke, Mey, and Wendy it accordingly now devolved to prepare the earliest statutes of this illustrious foundation. It was not until November, 1552, that their task was completed; but it will be observed that this was somewhat more than a year before the compilation of the original statutes of Magdalene and that any points of correspondence between the two codes must consequently be regarded as borrowed by the latter society.

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[1] *de Regno Christi*, bk. ii, c. 56; *Script. Anglicana*, p. 149.

[2] '—Juris civilis scientia, quae contempta quidem a plerisque et spreta jacet; aut siqui eam retineant, vel pauci sunt qui bene, vel multi qui inquinate.' *de Scriptt. Britt. paucitate*, f. 14. The reference to the plague of 1556 (f. 1 *b*) seems to shew that Carr's treatise was written about 1557; it was first published by Thomas Hatcher in 1576.

[3] For those portions of these statutes which are necessary for the elucidation of the text the reader is referred to Appendix (A). The statement in the account of the Visitation of 1549,—that 'new statutes wer given to Trynyte College' (Lamb, *Documents*, p. 118) is clearly shewn by the preamble to the statutes to be incorrect: 'Itaque cum nos gravissimos viros D. THOMAM ELIENSEM, D. [*] JOHANNEM CHECUM, Doctorem atque informatorem nostrum, GULIELMUM MAYUM, Decanum Divi Pauli, THOMAM WENDEIUM, medicum nostrum primarium, ad statum academiae hujus non modo cognoscendum sed etiam emendandum emisimus: et illi magna cum gravitate et prudentia multos errores toti academiae communes sustulerunt, et bonis ac salutaribus praeceptis et legibus eam fundarunt: Patris nostri amplissimi collegium *incultum adhuc et nullis institutis ac legibus firmatum*, neque negligi neque soluto vel studiorum vel vitae * * vivi aequo animo patiebamur: et cum illorum cura atque industria in bonis hisce legibus et statutis edendis posita nobis probata sit haec eadem vobis servanda et custodienda authoritate nostra mittimus, praecipimusque ut reliquis vel ante hac tributis vel post hac tribuendis omnibus praetermissis, ad haec statuta colenda omni vos studio ac voluntate transferatis; etc.' *MS. Trinity College Statutes of Edw.* VI.

* The blank here is beyond any doubt that caused by the erasure of *Nicholaum Roffensem* (Ridley).

Completeness of the organization for which they provide.

The original statutes of Trinity College are especially remarkable for the completeness of the organization for which they provide and the minuteness of their instructions with respect to details,—characteristics justified by the theory on which the whole scheme had been conceived as that of a foundation which, in the words of dean Peacock, 'gave the first complete example of the separation of domestic and collegiate, from academical, public, and professional instruction[1].' The functions of its numerous officers—the master, vice-master, deans (*censores*), 'magister aulae,' bursars, three Regius professors, preachers, and chaplain (*aedituus sacer*), are all defined with much care and fulness. The office of the master is invested with new importance and his duties are described with greater exactness. The omission (noted by Baker as a somewhat remarkable one[2]) in the original statutes of Michael-house, of any oath as obligatory on the head of the society, is made good by the introduction of a formula which imposes upon him a distinct declaration of religious belief, of political allegiance, and of his recognition of the paramount claims of the college upon his time and services[3]. It pledges him to the observance of the canons of the Protestant faith, to the maintenance of the royal prerogative as supreme and in no way subject to 'the jurisdiction of foreign bishops,' to the acceptance of the Scriptures as the highest rule of faith. He is bound not to be absent from the college more than three months in the year[4], unless on business connected with the society, on state affairs, or by the royal command. It is

The office of Master.

Obligations imposed by his oath on entering upon office.

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[1] Peacock, *Observations*, p. 35.

[2] MSS. xxx I 157–8.

[3] Stat. 2, Appendix (A).

[4] The statutes of St John's (1545) included a like condition, while bishop Fisher's statutes of 1530 required the master not to be absent more than 28 days, or, in case of necessity, two months in the whole year. Mayor, *Early Statutes of St John's College*, pp. 13 and 14.

his duty to protect the property and revenues of the college from being diminished or alienated, and to enforce the general observance of the statutes through the agency of the other officers.

Other officers of the college,—'superior' and 'inferior.'

The other officers of the college are distinguished as 'superior' and 'inferior.' To the former class, who compose the *senatus* or seniority, belong the vice-master, the deans, the 'magister aulae[1],' the bursars, and the Regius professors ('as many as are fellows of the college'); to the latter, the preachers, the Greek and Latin examiners, the 'quaesitores aulae,' and the chaplain. All these officers are to be elected annually; each retiring in succession from his office,—the electors being the whole official body[2].

Duties assigned to the deans, bursars and preachers.

To the deans it belongs to superintend the religious discipline and general conduct of the students; to the 'magister aulae,' to supervise the studies and method of tuition; to the bursars, to manage the domestic economy and expenditure and to receive the tithes and other revenues due from the college estates. One-fourth of the fellows, at least, must be preachers, who are to assist the deans in watching over the moral conduct of members of the college; by virtue of their office they are under obligation to preach at certain specified seasons of the year. None are to be eligible to this function who have not already given instruction in the college on the *Catechism*[3]. The preachers are also required, each in turn, to expound in hall, after breakfast, the portion of Scripture which has been read aloud during the meal. The chaplain is required to administer the sacraments, exercise a general superintendence over the chapel, and to visit the sick and the dying.

Tutors and pupils.

Every pupil (*discipulus*) in the college must be under the care of a tutor, who, besides personally instructing him, is charged with the duty of seeing that his expenses as a collegian are regularly defrayed once a month. No pupil is permitted to transfer himself from one tutor to another without legitimate cause and the sanction of the master and the seniority[1].

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[1] Styled in the statutes of 1560 the 'lector primarius,' or head lecturer, and now represented by the head examiner.

[2] Stat. 3 and 4: Append. (A).

[3] Stat. 9: That is to say, each candidate must have taught and explained the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments; the rites of Baptism, the Eucharist, and the theory of the 'Power of the Keys' (*potestates clavium*). *Ibid.*

Elections to fellowships.

The elections to fellowships are entrusted to the whole official body, and masters of arts are to be admitted to their fellowships nine days after election. Bachelors however are regarded only as fellows-designate and are not to be admitted until of master of arts' standing, their conduct and progress in study being in the mean time subject to the scrutiny of the master and seniority, and their ultimate admission as fellows being dependent on the continued approval of that body[2]. The oath administered at admission is noticeable as *not containing* the clause directed against dispensations from the obligations imposed by the oath itself, which is to be found in other college statutes of the period[3] and which recurs in the Elizabethan statutes of the college given in 1560,—an omission that may probably be explained by supposing that at the time when these statutes were drawn up, a proviso which, as we have already seen, was directed against the Romish pretensions[4], may have appeared superfluous when the circumstances of the foundation and the general tenour of the whole code were considered. There was no examination, but it is necessary that each candidate should be of at least bachelor standing and that he should declare his intention, if elected, of devoting himself to the study of divinity[5]. Two fellowships are however to be reserved for

No clause against dispensations from the oath.

Declaration required from candidates on admission.

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[1] Stat. 11: Append. (A).

[2] Stat. 12: *Ibid.*

[3] See Vol. I 455–59. This clause occurs however in the statutes of St John's of 1545, and is introduced in the statutes of Trinity of 1560 [Mayor, *Early Statutes*, etc., p. 15; *infra*, Append. (A)], but dean Peacock is singularly in error in stating that 'it first appeared in the original statutes of the college given by Edward VI' (*Observations*, etc., p. 97), where, on the contrary, its absence is a notable feature.

[4] Vol. I 457–8. The explanation I have there suggested of the design and scope of this clause will equally apply to the Elizabethan period, by which time it had become a matter of notorious experience that Roman Catholics would often not scruple to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown (embodied in the statutes of Trinity alike in the oath of master, fellow and scholar) with the deliberate design of subsequently procuring *a papal dispensation* from the obligations thereby incurred.

[5] Stat. 12: Append. (A).

Fellowships for medicine and civil law.

medicine, and two for civil law. The restriction which is frequently to be met with in sixteenth-century college statutes, whereby it was sought to maintain the balance between 'north' and 'south,' is not embodied in the original code of Trinity, the only limitation of this character being of that yet more common kind requiring that not more than three fellows at any one time shall be natives of the same county. Members of the college are to have the preference over those of other foundations, and actual attainments, promise of future excellence, and poverty are all specified as considerations to be taken into account. As regards religious belief and spiritual allegiance, clauses corresponding to that in the oath to be taken by the master, are inserted both in the form of oath prescribed for fellows and in that for scholars[1]. All fellowships are to be vacated on marriage excepting those held by the Regius professors[2].

General qualifications.

Fellowships vacated by marriage.

Elections to scholarships.

The sixty scholars on the foundation are to be admitted subject generally to requirements similar to those prescribed in the election of fellows,—their academic status presenting the chief point of difference. No bachelor of arts is admissible, and candidates must possess such a knowledge of Latin and polite learning as will enable them to stand the test of the examinations in hall and to take part in the college disputations[3].

Conditions under which pensioners are admissible.

Pensioners may be admitted subject to conditions corresponding to those laid down with respect to scholars; but in order that their rawness (*imperitia*) and predominance may not obstruct the general progress of the students, their number is limited to fifty-four. They are required to give evidence with respect to character and to be bound by an oath similar to that administered to the scholars[4].

Instruction in the different prescribed subjects of study is to be given daily by the tutors to their pupils in their chambers, and on the following day the pupil is required to recite his lesson in hall. Absence from this task on the part of the pupil is to be punished in the first instance by a reprimand; in the second, by a fine; in the third, by expulsion from the college. The scheme of study indicated corresponds in the main with that laid down in the Edwardian statutes for the university[1].

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[1] Stat. 13 and 15: Append. (A).

[2] Stat. 25: *Ibid.*

[3] Stat. 14: *Ibid.* This necessarily implies that candidates were subjected to a certain kind of examination. Compare the condition prescribed in the statutes of St John's of 1545 with respect to *pensioners*: 'Primum per lectorem publicum et decanos examinentur num tantum eruditionis habeant quantum ad dicenda et exercenda ea quae in collegio traduntur sufficiat.' Mayor, *Early Statutes*, etc., p. 85.

[4] Stat. 16: Append. (A).

Lessons to be learnt in chambers and recited in hall.

The religious exercises of the students, their places in chapel, their dress, demeanour towards their superiors, sports and recreations, are all the subjects of minute, and what would now appear somewhat vexatious, enactments[2].

Details of college discipline.

The total period of absence from college during the year is limited in the case of fellows to seventy days, in that of other students, to forty; but where 'just and necessary cause' can be shewn, the master and seniority are empowered to permit these periods to be extended by thirty days in the former case, and fifteen in the latter. Two or even three (but not more) of the fellows may reside abroad (*in transmarinas partes abeant*) for a period not exceeding three years, for the purpose of prosecuting their studies, but in such cases their stipends are to be diminished to the amount of 40*s*. On each occasion of departure or return, every member of the college, whether fellow, scholar, or pensioner, is required to make on the same day a corresponding entry in a book in the custody of the master[3].

Limits of lawful absence from college.

Fines for breaches of discipline are imposed by mulcting the offender of his commons or allowance for maintenance,—the weekly allowance (*commeatus hebdomaticus*) being, for fellows, 1*s*. 9*d*.; for scholars, 1*s*. 2*d*.[4]. It is forbidden that any one shall either breakfast or sup out of hall without the master's permission.

'Commons' and fines.

As we approach the close of Edward's reign, there are indications which might lead us to believe that had the prolongation of his life afforded the opportunity for more deliberate legislation, the discredit attaching to the policy pursued by the Protectorate towards the Church and the universities might have been in some measure effaced. Northumberland succeeded his rival and victim as chancellor at Cambridge, and however little cause the scholar and the theologian might see for congratulation in the change, the administration of the new Council was marked by more than one measure of national importance which indicated a returning sense of justice and mercy[1]. Eighteen new grammar schools were founded in different parts of the country; and at Cambridge fresh hopes, not destined to be realised, were exchanged for the old forebodings. Had Edward lived, the university might have seen Melanchthon sitting in the chair which Bucer had filled[2],—have seen too the rise of another college, rivalling even Trinity in its endowments, extent, and splendour[3],—while St John's might have rejoiced in the restoration of a portion of the wealth which in the preceding reign had been so cruelly alienated[4].

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[1] Stat. 21: Append. (A).

[2] Stat. 20, 23: *Ibid.*

[3] Stat. 24 and 25: *Ibid.*

[4] Stat. 26: *Ibid.*

Northumberland succeeds Somerset as chancellor of the university, Jan. 155½.

Munificent designs of Edward VI in relation to Cambridge.

Another measure, though destined to remain inoperative, is important as a prognostic of the conditions under which, as we shall hereafter see, the leaders of Church and State ultimately deemed it expedient that the academic *imprimatur* should be conferred. It would be seriously to misapprehend the relations of the State to the universities during this period, if, from the fact that disputations in theology were encouraged, we were to infer that liberty of conscience was in any way countenanced. The disputation was regarded as a pure logomachy, in which opponent or

Encouragement given to disputations not designed to favour liberty of conscience.

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[1] Froude, *Hist. of England*, v 59–60.

[2] Strype, *Memorials*, Vol. II, pt. i, c. 29, p. 383.

[3] The scheme of this college, which was to have been called *Edward's College*, was quite distinct from that of a college for civil law. According to the draught of the royal will (Strype, *Memorials*, Vol. II, pt. ii, c. 22) it was to have been 'endowed in lands to the double yearly rent of the college of St John's,'—a statement scarcely borne out by the draught of the design preserved in the State Papers, according to which there was to have been a master, with a salary of £20 a year; 23 fellows, with salaries of twenty nobles each; 28 scholars, a reader, assistant-reader, examiner, etc. *State Papers*, (*Dom.*) *Edw.* VI, Vol. VII, no. 24.

[4] 'The College of St John's in Cambridge to have of our gift in land 100 pounds by year towards maintenance of their charges.' Strype, *Memorials*, *u. s.*

respondent might deny or affirm any proposition whatever, his only concern being not to be worsted in the encounter according to the rules of logic, while the reservation of *salva fide* was always tacitly presumed[1]. But genuine freedom of conscience was a conception very imperfectly grasped even by a Cranmer or a Parker, and in the war of creeds which raged in Protestant Germany and there distracted the most promising seats of learning, and which had recently so seriously disturbed the peace of both the English universities, it might well seem that no opportunity ought to be lost of placing doctrinal belief as far as possible out of the range of controversy and doubt. Such an opportunity, as it appeared to some of the wisest advisers of the Crown, was offered by the publication, in May, 1553, of the Forty-Two Articles; and on the first of the following June an order from the Visitors of the university, addressed to Dr Sandys, the vice-chancellor, made a formal subscription to the new rule of faith imperative upon all members of the academic body proceeding to the degrees of D.D., B.D., and M.A. It was 'only right,' said this mandate, 'that those who had given themselves up to the study of letters and were occupied in the investigation of truth should profess that discipline which was most useful for living and most consistent with the word of God in its judgements[2].' With the design accordingly of '*taking away dissent of opinion*,' it was decreed that a yet more stringent form of oath should henceforth be administered to all those who might be appointed, or be eligible for the appointment of, teachers in the university. Not only were they required to declare that they accepted the Scriptures as 'the supreme rule of life and faith' and held all dogmas not derivable from thence as 'of human invention and unnecessary,'—that they held the royal authority to be the highest on earth and in no way

The Visitors propose to make subscription to the Forty-Two Articles imperative on those admitted M.A. and to divinity degrees.

Form of proposed Oath.

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[1] Thus on the occasion of queen Elizabeth's visit to the university in 1564 we find that two of the questions publicly disputed in her presence were 1. 'Major est authoritas Scripturae quam Ecclesiae.' 2. 'Civilis magistratus habet authoritatem in rebus ecclesiasticis.' To either of which the maintenance of the negative anywhere than in the schools would have been heresy and treason. Cooper, *Annals*, II 199.

[2] Burnet-Pocock, III iii 303-4.

'subject to the jurisdiction of foreign bishops,'—but also that they held the Forty-Two Articles for 'true and certain' and would everywhere 'defend the same as in harmony with the word of God[1].'

This the earliest attempt to introduce a religious test into the university upon taking degrees.

Point of view from which this design was conceived.

As but little more than a month intervened between the appearance of this order and the death of Edward, it is probable that its requirements were never actually enforced during his reign, but it marks the introduction of a principle in the organization of our academic institutions which even in our own day has been warmly defended and by not a few reluctantly abandoned. The order was signed by only four of the Visitors,—Goodrich, Cheke, Mey, and Wendy. Of these it is to be noted that they were all distinguished in their age as men of enlightened minds and humane dispositions, men as free, perhaps, from the charge of intolerance and bigotry as it was given to any of their contemporaries to be. But the evidence which was daily pressing itself more and more on the attention of the less prejudiced observers served to shew, only too plainly, that the acceptance of the Bible as the sole rule of faith was the source of unending controversy. 'The Scriptures,' said Albertus Pighius, and his dictum still carried no little weight at Cambridge, 'the Scriptures are like the leaden rule of some Lesbian building, which easily suffers itself to be bent, turned and drawn even to contrary senses[2].' Such was the difficulty, and it was no slight one, with which those on whom it devolved to watch over the higher interests of the university found themselves compelled to deal, and such was the measure to which they had recourse. Of its expediency and justice as a principle, the best illustration is afforded by the fact that when, under Mary, the opposite party regained the ascendency they took example (as we shall directly see) by the illiberality of their antagonists and imposed a like subscription in favour of Catholic doctrine. The experience thus gained was not lost on Elizabeth and her wise advisers, and throughout her reign, although active aggression on the tenets of the Established Church was rigorously forbidden, Cambridge retained the privilege of conferring degrees in all the faculties independent of any subscription or test[1].

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[1] 'Deinde me articulos, de quibus in Sinodo Londinensi, anno Domini 1553, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem et consensum verae religionis firmandum inter episcopos et alios eruditos viros convenerat, et regia authoritate in lucem editos, pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco tanquam consentientes cum Verbo Dei defensurum et contrarias articulos in scholis et pulpitis vel respondendo vel concionando oppugnaturum.' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 164.

[2] Pighius, *Hierarchiae Ecclesiae Assertio*, IV ii, fol. cxiii (ed. 1538). See also Ascham's *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), p. 226.

Effect of the precedent thus set.

Of the civil excitement and confusion that followed upon the accession of Mary, Cambridge and its university had their full share. When the queen assembled her adherents at Framlingham, and Northumberland marched against her from London, it was at Cambridge that his army halted. There, in the course of one brief week, men could mark each rapidly succeeding incident of his ignominious fall. It was on Saturday, the fifteenth of July, that he arrived, and the same evening Sandys, the master of St Catherine's and vice-chancellor, together with Dr Bill (who was now master of Trinity), Parker, and Lever, met him by invitation at supper. Upon Sandys, the Protector imposed the perilous task of preaching before the university on the following day,—in other words, of 'tuning' the academic pulpit in favour of the Protestant party and lady Jane Grey. Sandys, who as archbishop of York became in later years a prominent figure in the history of these times, was a man of considerable ability and though zealous for the Reformation deserves the praise of having shewn on more than one occasion a judgement and moderation far too rare among his party, but his irritable and ungovernable temper made him numerous enemies and involved him in continual disputes[2]. He now accepted his prescribed task without demur, though fully conscious that it was one of extreme gravity. As the story is told by Foxe, he rose the following day, by the light of the early summer dawn, and prayed that he might be divinely directed in the selection of his text. As he opened his Bible,

Accession of Mary: July, 1553.

Northumberland at Cambridge.

Edwin Sandys, archbishop of York. *b.* 1519. *d.* 1588. His character.

His sermon on the occasion.

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[1] See *infra*, pp. 154–5; Lamb, *Documents*, pp. xlv–xlix; Walsh, *Historical Acct.*, etc., p. 21; Cooper, *Annals*, III 2 and 59–60.

[2] Baker-Mayor, 663–4.

his eye fell upon the passage in the first chapter of Joshua wherein the people of Israel promise to their new leader the same obedience that they had before rendered to Moses. From this text he preached. It was the same Sunday that Ridley, at Paul's Cross, and John Knox, at Amersham, were appealing with all their eloquence to the patriotism and consciences of their party, and the application made by the Cambridge preacher may easily be surmised. The young king, just dead, represented of course the great leader of Israel, while Northumberland was Joshua. According to Foxe, it was an eloquent and moving appeal[1]; nor was it, perhaps, a matter of much difficulty to draw tears from the eyes of an audience whose interests were so deeply involved in the crisis at which the orator pointed. The duke and his officers were unanimous in a request that the discourse might be printed, and Sandys undertook that within thirty-six hours his sermon should be corrected and ready for that purpose. There was at that time no printing press in Cambridge, but Lever, the intrepid master of St John's, volunteered himself to carry the manuscript to London. At the appointed hour, he was at the gates of St Catherine's, ready booted and spurred for his journey, when one of the bedells, John Adams by name, came in deep distress to report that Northumberland, who had marched out at the head of his army early on the Monday morning, was falling back on the town. Soon after the Protector appeared, his forces thinned by numerous desertions and he himself a desperate and doomed man. As a last expedient he summoned Sandys and a herald to accompany him to the market-place, there proclaimed queen Mary and threw up his cap, 'the tears running down his cheeks for grief.' He said aloud to Sandys that the queen was a merciful woman and that he looked for a general pardon. His tardy submission was however of no avail and on the following day he was arrested at King's College by Arundel. Sandys on that same morning,—seeking probably some relief for his over-

Direct political application of his text.

Return and arrest of Northumberland.

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[1] Foxe-Townsend, VIII 590. Haweis, in his *Sketches of the Reformation* (p. 24), speaks highly of Sandys' pulpit talents: his sermons, he says, 'are written with considerable power, they are well digested, and not unfrequently have a modern air, which in an old book sustains attention.'

wrought feelings,—had wandered out into the summer fields, and while anxiously there revolving in his mind the recent events, was startled by hearing the bell summoning a congregation,—a congregation for which he had given no orders. On hastening back, he found the regent-house thronged by Mary's partisans. He seated himself in his chair, but was rudely dragged from it and fiercely upbraided. In his anger he was with difficulty restrained by Bill and Blythe from having recourse to his dagger. At last, finding further resistance hopeless, he reluctantly surrendered his keys and books of office together with all the moneys of the university in his hands. He was thereupon arrested; and, mounted on a nag for the loan of which he was indebted to a friend, he was conducted along with Northumberland and other distinguished prisoners to the Tower in London[1]. Insults and brutalities from the populace marked his journey's course, so that at its close, in Foxe's words, 'he was more ready to die than to live[2].'

Stormy scene in the regent-house.

Deposition and arrest of Sandys.

Other events, following closely after, intensified still further the excitement in the university. Ridley, hastening to Framlingham in the forlorn hope of conciliating Mary, was met on the way by the warrant for his arrest, and the master of Pembroke now joined the chancellor and the vice-chancellor in the Tower. John Bradford had preceded him thither only a few hours before.

Arrest of Ridley and Bradford.

The Tower gates had scarcely closed on Ridley when they opened again to give Norfolk and Gardiner their freedom. The former was forthwith re-instated in his office of high steward of the university, the latter in that of chancellor[3]. To him the community over which he was again appointed to preside forthwith addressed a congratulatory letter. They

Norfolk and Gardiner set at liberty and restored to office in the university.

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[1] That he was 'lashed to his horse's back,' as stated by Mr Froude, is a representation for which I find no warrant. Foxe says: 'He was set upon a lame horse that halted to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a nag. The yeomen of the guard were contented.' His stable, it should be added, had been previously robbed, according to the same authority, of 'four notable good geldings.' Foxe-Townsend, VIII 592.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 590—3.

[3] Northumberland had previously held both these offices, which, according to Fuller, 'never before or since met in the same person.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 250.

Address of the university to Gardiner, Aug. 13, 1553.

hailed him as 'the unconquered champion of their privileges, immunities, and studies.' They protested that the deference and ill-merited honours which they had conferred on his two predecessors had been dictated by no other feelings than a desire to appease their wrath and render them somewhat more mild and merciful to the university[1]. They finally besought him to give again to their schools their ancient liberty, to restore their infringed and violated rights, and especially to abrogate 'those nefarious laws which entangled consciences while affording no help to learning[2].'

The statutes and injunctions of Edward VI. rescinded.

Watson appointed Gardiner's delegate.

He is elected to the mastership of St John's.

Changes at Peterhouse, St Catherine's, and Corpus.

In less than a week this appeal found response in a royal letter, revoking all statutes, foundations, and ordinances made since the death of Henry,—innovations charitably attributed to the 'sensuall myndes and rashe determinacions of a fewe men,'—and restoring the ancient order of things[3]. A few days later, Gardiner also addressed a letter to the university expressing his regret that he could not then visit Cambridge in person but informing them that he had sent his deputy Thomas Watson, 'one not unknown to you,' says the writer, 'and most intimately known to myself as of approved fidelity,' and to Watson they were desired to make known their plans and wishes[4]. At St John's College, where throughout Edward's reign he had been but rarely seen, Watson now made his appearance, as the new master whom the fellows had already been required to elect[5]. He brought with him the original statutes given by bishop Fisher to the society, and these were now by the royal command re-imposed as the rule of the foundation[6]. Before another six months had passed, all the colleges, with the exception of Gonville Hall, Jesus, and Magdalen, had seen a change of heads. Ainsworth at Peterhouse and Sandys at St Catherine's were married men, and this fact alone furnished a sufficient reason for their displacement in favour of Andrew Perne and Edmund Cosyn[1]. Parker at Corpus anticipated a similar sentence by resignation; and the college lodge, where Mrs Parker had dispensed hospitality with an unaffected benevolence which endeared her name to many a poor divine, now passed into the possession of Laurence Moptyd, a fellow of Gonville Hall, whose past career gave small promise of a careful and wise administrator[2]. During the remainder of Mary's reign, Parker was lost to the world, his very place of retirement being unrecorded. Apart however from the circumstances which constrained him to the adoption of such a life, he found in it little cause for regret. He was once more among his books, with a clear conscience and a resigned mind; and in after years he looked back not without regret to this period of studious leisure as a time productive of far more solid enjoyment than he found in the varied duties and anxieties of the episcopal palace[3].

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[1] —'alios in cancellariatum surrogavimus, ut quum nobis deesses, qui et soles lubentissime et multum cuperes academiae benefacere, quique invictus propugnator nostrorum privilegiorum, immunitatum, et studiorum fueras, alteri illi, qualicunque nostro obsequio, et indebito honore deliniti, minus in nos saevirent et magis erga nostram academiam placabiles et aequi existerent.' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 167.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 165; *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 54–56.

[4] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 56.

[5] He was 'admitted (in the person of Christopher Brown his proxy) by John Young, vice-chancellor, then fellow of Trinity College, at his chamber there.' Baker-Mayor, p. 137.

[6] *Ibid.* p. 138. The statutes were those of 1530; see Vol. I 623.

Parker's retirement into obscurity.

At Pembroke, John Young was installed in the place of Ridley; while Gardiner resumed his rule at Trinity Hall, displacing Dr Mowse. At Queens', Dr Mey was removed to make way for Dr Glynne; at Christ's, Richard Wilkes was succeeded by Cuthbert Scott, the same who by his clandestine communications had provoked Gardiner's interference in the matter of *Pammachius*. Cheke, who had been committed to the Tower on the grave charge of espousing the cause of lady Jane Grey, was superseded in the provostship of King's by Richard Atkinson[4]. At Trinity, Dr Bill was forcibly removed from his stall in chapel and compelled to give place to John

Changes at Pembroke, Trinity Hall, Queens', Christ's, King's, and Trinity.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 83.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 172. Blomefield, *Annals of Gonville and Caius College*, in *Documents*, II 371.

[3] 'Postea privatus vixi, ita coram Deo laetus in conscientia mea, adeoque nec pudefactus, nec dejectus, ut dulcissimum ocium literarium, ad quod Dei bona providentia me revocavit, multo majores et solidiores voluptates mihi pepererit quam negociosum illud et periculosum vivendi genus unquam placuit.' 26 Oct. 1554. 'laetus, sorte mea contentus vixi.' 14 Oct. 1556. *Parker Correspond.*, p. 483. A severe fall from his horse, when escaping by night from the pursuit of his enemies, disabled him for some time afterwards and may have contributed to make him still more disposed to acquiesce in his lot. *Life*, by Strype, p. 32.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, II 83.

Christopherson, who in conjunction with the seniority was shortly after empowered to prepare a new body of statutes for the college[1].

Ascham's description of the state of the university during the reign of Mary.

It is scarcely to Ascham that we should look for a perfectly impartial description of changes which scattered his dearest friends far and wide and made the university for him a scene of disheartening desolation. He had now returned from Germany and had been appointed president of St John's, in which capacity it devolved upon him to take part in the admission of the new master[2]. In no college were the effects of Mary's accession more severely felt, and long after he referred in bitter terms to that memorable day when '*Aper de sylva* passed the seas and fastened his foote againe in England,'—when 'mo perfite scholers' were dispersed from St John's 'in one moneth, than many yeares could reare up againe,'—when 'the two faire groves of learning in England were eyther cut up by the roote or troden downe to the ground and wholelie went to wracke[3].' He recalled how 'som of the greatest, though not of the wisest nor best learned,' did then 'labor to perswade that ignorance was better than knowledge,'—how 'hedge priests out of the contrie' were accounted fit candidates for fellowships so long as each 'could weare a gowne and a tipet cumlie, and have hys crowne shorne faire and roundlie, and could turne his portesse and pie readilie[4].' All the evils, in fine, which we have seen Dr Caius at the close of Mary's reign observing and deploring[5], now began, according to Ascham's testimony, first to manifest themselves[6].

His description somewhat exaggerated and inconsistent with statements

Exaggeration, however, 'gross, open, palpable,' is the almost invariable accompaniment of complaints preferred by either Protestant or Catholic against the opposite party in the sixteenth century, and it is not undeserving of note that made by himself elsewhere.

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[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 127; Lemon, *State Papers of Edward* VI, p. 64.

[2] Baker-Mayor, p. 137.

[3] *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), p. 163.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 163.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 98–99.

[6] 'Verely, judgement in doctrine was wholy altered: order in discipline very sore changed: the love of good learning began sodenly to wax cold: the knowledge of the tonges (in spite of some that therein had florished) was manifestly contemned: and so, the way of right studie purposely perverted: the choice of good authors of malice confownded.' *Ibid.* p. 164.

while the conscientious Catholic found an explanation of this decline in the abandonment of the ancient faith and traditional discipline, to the zealous Protestant it appeared that the true cause was the endeavour forcibly to restore them. It is also to be observed that if we accept Ascham's indictment in its plain and literal sense, it convicts him, as well as Latimer and Lever, of no little exaggeration in their descriptions of both college and university during the reign of Edward[1]. If so many 'perfect scholars' remained to be dispersed from St John's at Mary's accession, the idle sons of the wealthy could hardly to any great extent have displaced meritorious students on that foundation, nor could its patronage have been exercised without some regard to desert. If the love of good learning then began, as he affirms, '*suddenly to wax cold*,' it must have previously retained some vigour and vitality. But, in fact, the unqualified assertions of Protestant writers with respect to the state of the universities during 'the Marian quinquennium' are at once in some measure disproved by the statistics of the Grace Book, which shew that there was a considerable increase in the number of those proceeding to the degrees of master and bachelor of arts. During the last five years of Edward's reign the aggregate number had been only 90 and 167 respectively; during the five years 1554 to 1558, the corresponding numbers were 125 and 195[2]. Here again, however, as in the preceding reign, it is of the highest importance to distinguish between a superficial appearance of prosperity, such as increased numbers might afford, and a genuine advance in knowledge and the growth of the studious spirit,—and in this latter respect it cannot be denied that the university seriously declined. Gardiner, finding himself in the possession of powers and opportunities such as he had never before enjoyed, pressed on his advantage without scruple. At his 'uncreating word' nearly all the enactments of the preceding

Increase in the number proceeding to degrees.

Reactionary policy of Gardiner.

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[1] See *supra*, pp. 88–92.

[2] Degree Book III in Registrary: Baker MSS. XI 41 48. The omissions in the Oxford Register prevent a comparison with the earlier period; for the years 1554 to 1558 the number of those admitted bachelor of arts was 210. Huber, *English Universities*, I 445.

six years were cancelled or materially modified. The mass was heard again in St Mary's and in the college chapels. Processions were again to be seen passing along the streets preceded by a new silver cross,—the different foundations having been mulcted to replace the one which Parker had sold[1]. The old pronunciation of Greek was again prescribed and probably for a time more successfully enforced. Only in one instance do we find the university venturing to thwart the chancellor's purpose. The office of one of the bedells had fallen vacant by the death of John Adams, and Gardiner, anxious to increase the number of those at Cambridge on whom he could rely for trustworthy information, sought to bring about the election of William Muryell, his 'old servant and scholar,' to the post. The right of electing to the office was however vested in the whole body of regents and non-regents[2], and after a scrutiny had been thrice taken[3] it was found that Muryell had failed to obtain the requisite number of votes. It was rumoured that this was owing to the opposition of those who favoured Protestant doctrines, and Gardiner's resentment was not slow to manifest itself. He forthwith wrote to command that Muryell should be admitted to the office of bedell, until such time as he was himself able to visit the university. He attributed his servant's non-election to religious jealousies, and in order effectually to prevent like opposition in future enjoined that none should vote at elections or upon graces or be admitted to degrees who had not 'openly in the congregation detested particularly and bi articles the heresies lately spred in the realme, and professed bi articles the catholic doctryne nowe receyued, and subscribed the same with their honds[4].'

Gardiner's interference in the election to a vacant bedellship.

The university refuse to elect his nominee.

Gardiner's letter: Mar. 24, 1555, prescribing a new religious Test, whereby those proceeding to degrees were required to subscribe the articles of the Catholic faith.

In the place therefore of the rejected Forty-Two Articles, a syndicate appointed by the senate now proceeded to draw up a series of fifteen articles embodying the distinctive tenets of Catholicism and the recognition of the papal supremacy, and condemning as 'pestiferous heresies' the dogmas of Luther, Oecolampadius, Zwinglius, and Bucer[1]. The new articles were forthwith subscribed by the great majority of the resident electors in the university and during the reign of Mary a like subscription was an indispensable condition of admission to degrees.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 85–86, 113.

[2] *Documents*, I 353.

[3] See *infra*, p. 157, in account of statutes of Cardinal Pole.

[4] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 170.

Death of Gardiner: 12 Nov. 1555.

He is succeeded by Reginald Pole as chancellor of the university.

Martyrdoms of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and John Hullier.

Such was Gardiner's last important measure in his capacity as chancellor of the university. He died in the following November; and in that community where he had been educated and had taught, and in which he had alternately acted the part of persecutor and protector, his name, that for thirty years had rarely been absent from men's minds, soon sank into contempt and was seldom mentioned but with aversion. He was succeeded by Reginald Pole, cardinal priest of St Mary in Cosmedin and Papal legate, who in the following year was also elected to the chancellorship of the university of Oxford. It does not appear that Pole ever visited Cambridge, and his interest was naturally more active in Oxford, where, as a student of Magdalen, he had passed some years with credit in his boyhood. Both universities were, in the following year, subjected by him to another visitation, having for its express object the more complete establishment of the Catholic religion. In the mean time the burning of Cranmer, Latimer and Ridley at Oxford, and that of John Hullier, a Protestant scholar and conduct of King's College, on Jesus Green at Cambridge, had brought home to both communities with terrible vividness the stern realities of the religious crisis. The Cambridge martyrs, one and all, died with a patience and fortitude worthy of their cause; and many as have been the passages notable for their touching pathos which men of lofty nature have penned in the anticipation of death, the farewell to which Ridley gave expression, as his university[2] and his ancient college of Pembroke with its orchard walk came back to his memory[1], is unsurpassed in its kind.

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[1] *Ibid.* xlvi, 173; Cooper, *Annals*, II 97. The articles are translated in Heywood's *Cambridge Sixteenth Century Statutes*, pp. 219–223. The recognition of the papal supremacy had been rendered lawful by the parliamentary legislation of the preceding January. See Froude, *Hist. of England*, v 470–4. See also Cooper, *Annals*, II 111.

[2] —'where I have dwelt longer, found more faithful and hearty friends, received more benefits (the benefits of my natural parents only excepted), than ever I did in mine own native country wherein I was born.' Foxe-Townsend, VII 557–8.

Death of Sir John Cheke: 13 Sept. 1557.

In melancholy contrast to these heroic deaths, was Cheke's end some two years later. Overcome by persuasion and menaces, he renounced his Protestantism and made a public recantation. But remorse and shame soon did their work on a very sensitive, high-spirited, and noble nature, and he died broken-hearted in London, at the house of his friend Peter Osborn, a former scholar of the university and afterwards Remembrancer of the Exchequer[2].

Visitation of the university in Jan. 1557.

The details of the visitation of Cambridge, which occupied the greater part of the month of January, 1557, have been preserved to us in a quaint and interesting account by John Mere, the registrary and one of the esquire bedells of the university, who died in 1558. They are chiefly notable as illustrations of the ceremonial and procedure observed by the visitors in carrying out their main object. One act, however, conspicuous from its wanton indecency and barbarity, cannot be altogether passed by: the remains of Bucer and Fagius were exhumed, chained like the bodies of living heretics to the stake, and publicly burnt on Market Hill[3].

Burning of the remains of Bucer and Fagius.

Statutes given by Cardinal Pole.

The chief result of the visitation was a new body of Statutes, generally known as those of Cardinal Pole[4]. But as these enactments were designed to be only temporary and proved in the result almost inoperative, the brief summary of their general scope and main provisions given by Dean Peacock will be sufficient for our purpose. 'They are,' he

Chief features noted by Dean Peacock.

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[1] 'Farewel, Pembroke Hall, of late mine own colledge, my cure, and my charge; what case thou art in now, God knoweth, I know not well. Thou wast ever named since I knew thee (which is now a thirty years ago), to be studious, well learned, and a good setter forth of Christ's Gospel, and of God's true word, so I found thee, and blessed be God so I left thee indeed. Wo is me for thee mine own dear college, if ever thou suffer thyself by any means to be brought from that trade [with evident reference to the abortive design to make Clare a college of the civil law. See *supra*, pp. 136-7.]. In thy orchard (the walls, buts, and trees, if they could speak would bear me witness) I learned without book almost all Paul's Epistles, yea, and I ween all the Canonical Epistles, save only the Apocalypse, of which study the sweet smell thereof, I trust, I shall carry with me into heaven.' Foxe-Townsend, VII 558.

[2] Strype, *Life of Sir John Cheke*, pp. 130-1.

[3] Lamb, *Documents*, pp. 201-2, 206, 207, 208, 210, 216-7; Cooper, *Annals*, pp. 118-9.

[4] Lamb, *Ibid.* pp. 237-274.

says, 'chiefly remarkable for the changes which they introduced in the ancient forms of election, and for the partial recognition of the heads of houses, as possessing academical rank and authority in that capacity alone. In the election of vice-chancellor, the heads of houses, the doctors of all faculties, and the bachelors of divinity, were directed to nominate two persons (a majority of their entire number being required within three scrutinies to agree upon the name selected), one of whom was within two days to be chosen by the regents; whilst in the choice of the ordinary lecturers, the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges and halls made a similar nomination, without the co-operation of the doctors and bachelors of divinity. Graces were only allowed to be passed, except under very urgent circumstances to be approved by the two houses of regents and non-regents, at four principal and fixed congregations which were held in each year; and those persons, and no others, who had been appointed members of the *caput senatus*, at the beginning of the year, were continued to its conclusion, an important and fundamental innovation; and to each of them was given a *veto* (*vox negativa*), in conformity, most probably, with its ancient constitution. Several statutes were passed for the preservation of the purity of the Catholic faith, and for the due and effectual observance of Roman Catholic ceremonies, in the celebration of masses, in public processions, at the *exequiae* of benefactors, and on all the other stated festivals of the Romish church. Few innovations were proposed in the conditions or forms of graduation, whilst the provisions made for the public lectures of the professors and ordinary readers, and for the conduct of the public disputations, differed in no very essential point from those which had been prescribed by the statutes of Edward VI[1].'

New regulations with respect to election of vice-chancellor, of the ordinary lecturers, and of the *caput*.

JOHN CAIUS, M.D. *b.* 1510. *d.* 1573.

From the long enumeration of reactionary and vindictive measures that mark the reign of Mary, it is a relief to turn to the one act which conferred a real and permanent benefit on the university. That act proceeded from one who stood

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[1] *Observations on the Statutes*, pp. 39–40.

His high professional status and reputation in England.

high in her favour,—her private physician, Dr Caius. He had already filled the same office under her predecessor and was afterwards re-appointed to it by her successor; evidence which, taken in conjunction with the fact that he was nine times elected president of the College of Physicians in London, may be held to shew that his professional reputation was inferior to that of none of his contemporaries in England. Although on one occasion during his life he was accused of atheism[1], there seems to be no sufficient reason for doubting that Dr Caius was really a staunch Catholic; but his views had been expanded by travel and observation in other countries, his attainments were considerable both in depth and range, and although a somewhat rigid disciplinarian and conservative in his opinions, he shewed in religious matters a tolerance which many a Protestant bigot would have done well to imitate.

His travels and studies abroad.

It was in the year 1544 that he returned to England after five years' varied activity abroad,—from teaching Greek and studying anatomy under Vesalius at Padua, from visiting the other chief Italian cities and their libraries, from collating manuscripts of Galen, from travelling in Germany and France and forming the acquaintance of scholars like Melanchthon, Camerarius, Sebastian Munster, and Conrad Gesner, between the last of whom and himself there existed a remarkable similarity of tastes and acquirements[2].

His character.

He was now verging upon fifty, a somewhat eccentric and censorious bachelor, of secluded habits[3] but keenly observant of the world; wealthy, and by no means indisposed to make a good and generous use of his riches; but, while capable of much self-denial and actuated by far from ignoble aims as regards society at large, undoubtedly wanting in the qualities which win popularity and conciliate personal regard.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 313.

[2] Gesner, like Dr Caius, was a classical scholar and held a chair of Greek in the university of Lausanne. His scientific attainments are too well known to call for further mention of them here. The 'Pliny of Germany,' as he was termed, himself speaks of Dr Caius as 'the most learned physician of his age.' See *Zürich Letters* (1), p. 31.

[3] See letter from Parkhurst to Gesner, *Ibid.* Parkhurst, who was charged with a letter from Gesner to Dr Caius, called frequently at the latter's residence in London without being able to see him; he was always assured by a girl, 'peeping through a crevice,' that her master was not at home.

A native of Norwich, he had originally been educated at Gonville Hall, of which house he was subsequently elected fellow, and the very pronounced favour shewn by the society to the principles of the Reformation[1] still left his interest in its prosperity unalienated. In the year 1557, we accordingly find him obtaining from Philip and Mary a licence to refound the college as co-founder with Edmund Gonville and bishop Bateman. It was not however until the following year,—probably on the occasion of his being incorporated M.D.,—that, as we have already seen, Dr Caius after a long absence re-visited Cambridge. His own account enables us to picture to ourselves his appearance as he passed along, a stranger amid scenes once so familiar, and with the disapproval excited by the changes which he noted written perhaps a little too visibly on his face. We see him making his way in the streets, unceremoniously elbowed,—*he* who had taught at Padua and had come to found a college!—by pert and gaudily-attired undergraduates; we mark him peering into taverns, looking around in courts and cloisters, or gazing disconsolately through some doorway in the schools on the sad spectacle of a professor lecturing to a single auditor!

He procures a charter to refound Gonville Hall, Sept. 4, 1557.

He revisits Cambridge.

It does not however seem that his own college was in a condition particularly calling for commiseration. Different successive benefactions since the days of bishop Bateman,—from the heirs namely of Sir Ralph Hemenball, from William Fiswick, Sir Stephen Smith, Richard Powle, Elizabeth Clere, and the lady Ann Scroope,—had augmented the original foundation, which also appears to have been the object of no little local beneficence[2]. But it was still one of the smallest foundations, and with respect to revenue ranked no higher than eleventh among the fourteen existing colleges. It also

State of Gonville Hall.

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[1] See Vol. I 564.

[2] Blomefield, *Annals of Gonville and Caius College*, in *Documents*, II 370–2. Of Elizabeth Clere, Blomefield says, 'This excellent woman, besides these lands, gave several considerable sums to the college; and when it was in a low condition, contributed to the building of part of Gonville Court, and the outward walls of the college; and therefore Dr Caius says he had almost called her the most indulgent mother and nurse of the college.'

lay under the serious defect of not being incorporated, according to the amended ecclesiastical code, and was consequently incapable of maintaining and asserting its rights in a court of law[1].

Blomefield's account of the foundation of GONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE.

'On the feast of the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary, 1558,' says the annalist, 'Dr Caius dedicated and consecrated the college to the honour of the Annunciation aforesaid, to which it was formerly dedicated by Gonville and Bateman, and endowed it (besides plate, money, books, and other things which now and soon after he gave to it) with the manor of Croxley and Snellshall, in Rickmansworth, in Hertfordshire, then 23*l.* 1*s.* 7*d.* per annum, formerly parcel of the lands of the abbey of St Alban's; the manor of Runcton, in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monastery of St Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, then 22*l.* 5*s.* per annum, together with the parsonages of the churches of Holme, Wallington, and the manor of Burnham, in Norfolk, formerly belonging to the monastery of Wymondham, then 6*l.* per annum. All these manors he purchased of king Philip and queen Mary (they being vested in the crown upon the dissolution of monasteries) on the 12th of Feb. in the 4th and 5th years of their reign, at the price of 1,030*l.* 12*s.* 6*d.* But the advowsons of Runcton, Holme, and Wallington were conveyed before that time to Sir Edward Fynes, Lord Clinton and Saye, High Admiral of England, and Henry Herdson of London, by E. VI anno regni 6to, Dec. 11; so that the college has lost them. After the determination of the leases then in being, Dr Caius ordained the raising of the rents, together with the quit rents, to the annual sum of 121*l.* 14*s.* 2½*d.*[2]'

Fuller's comment on Dr Caius' benefaction.

Fuller, with his usual ingenuity in investing very prosaic details with novelty of aspect, discriminates five phases of Dr Caius' benefaction to the college:—(1) land to a great proportion, (2) good building, (3) '*cordial* statutes[3],' (4) a new name, (5) a coat of arms. It is however only the third of these gifts that here calls for any further notice at our hands.

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[1] *Documents*, II 376.

[2] *Ibid.* II 377.

[4] 'Cordial statutes (as I may call them) for the preserving of the college in good health, being so prudent and frugal, it must needs thrive (in its own defence) if but deserving the same.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 253.

Statutes given to the College in 1572.

For some fourteen years after the reconstitution of the society it continued to be governed by the original code drawn up by bishop Bateman, as amended or supplemented by the third founder; but in 1572, Dr Caius prepared a new body of statutes in which his individual views and conceptions found more untrammelled expression, although he throughout exhibits a laudable regard for the designs and enactments of his predecessor[1]. His profession and personal character would naturally induce us here to look for some originality of purpose, and after having had occasion to examine the various codes given by reverend, right reverend, noble, and royal founders, it may not be uninteresting to compare with these that given by one of the most eminent physicians of the sixteenth century[2].

Scheme of the foundation.

The society, as reconstructed, was to consist of a master, thirteen fellows, and twenty-nine scholars. Of the fellowships, three represented the original foundation of Edmund Gonville and bishop Bateman; three, the new foundation of Dr Caius; while the remaining seven derived their endowment from the joint bequests of the other minor benefactors[3].

Qualifications essential in the Master.

Preference to be shewn for natives of Norfolk or Suffolk.

The master is required to be unmarried, one educated in the college, at least thirty years of age, and either master of arts or bachelor or doctor of one of the three faculties of theology, civil law, and medicine. A native of Norfolk is to be preferred to natives of other counties; after Norfolk men, natives of Suffolk are to have the preference. The master must also be one whose purity and integrity of life, moral excellence, and reputation for learning may serve as an example to the rest in their academic career. More stress however is laid on his possession of experience in secular matters and general ability as an administrator than on his learning,—'because,' says the statute, 'the duties of a master consist rather in the prudent conduct and arrangement of the college business than in the study of books[1].' A former fellow is to be preferred to one who is a fellow at the time of his election. If he neither has been nor is a fellow of the society, he must be a native of the county of Norfolk or Suffolk. In all questions he is to have 'a negative voice,' that is to say, the power of negativing any proposition brought forward by the fellows[2].

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[1] 'Et quamquam statuta Rev. Patris Willelmi Bateman Norwicensis episcopi (*quae reverecr et observo*) satis multa et efficacia fuere suo seculo, in quo omnia meliora, sedatiora, et moderatiora fuerunt, ratio tamen personarum atque rerum, morum et ingeniorum nostri temporis, vivendique licentia insolentior aliam dietam*, alias leges postulat;' etc. *Documents*, II 242; see also p. 320.

[2] I may here note that the *Tractatus de Academiis* (MS. Lansdowne 738, art. 1), assigned by Cooper (*Athenae* I 317) to Dr Caius, is evidently not from his hand, as it contains references to persons and events long after his time.

[3] Stat. 2; *Documents*, II 242.

* An amusing indication of the author's professional habits of thought.

Oath to be taken by the master and the fellows.

A common oath, to be taken by the master and fellows, besides requiring a loyal regard for the general interests of the college, binds them to preserve its new designation unaltered, to admit no more founders, but as many benefactors ('quos bifundatores vocant') as may offer themselves. No clause is inserted directed against the procuring of dispensations from the oath itself[3].

Qualifications required in those elected to fellowships or scholarships.

In all elections to fellowships and scholarships natives of Norfolk are to have the preference; next to them, again, natives of Suffolk[4]. By the statute entitled *de Professione Sociorum* it is required that every candidate before his election shall be of the particular profession for which the fellowship was designed by the founder; 'but if,' it proceeds to say, 'on account of his youth his choice of a profession has not yet been determined, he must make such choice before the completion of his twentieth year[5].' Of the three fellowships on Dr Caius' foundation two are devoted to medicine, the third to theology[1]. If a fellow, at the time of his election, be not of the standing of master of arts, he is to be subject to *a year of probation*, at the expiration of which his continued tenure of the fellowship is to be at the further discretion of the authorities[2]. The holders of the medical fellowships, and these only, are permitted to repair for the prosecution of their studies to the Continent ('for theology and the civil law,' says the statute, 'may be studied just as well here as there'); when there they are required to study at some one good school,—Padua, Bologna, Montepulciano, and Paris being indicated as those which are to have the preference[3].

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[1] '—quod custodis officium magis in obeundis tractandisque prudenter collegii negotiis positum sit quam in versandis libris.' Stat. 4; *Documents*, II 243.

[2] Stat. 5; 'Volumus etiam et statuimus ut magister sive custos collegii vestri in rebus ejusdem quibuscunque suffragium seu vocem habeat negativam. Id quod et majestas regia in statutis universitatis anno Domini 1570 editis, confirmatis et sancitis praecepit' [see *infra*, Statutes of Elizabeth, pp. 224, 236] 'et Rev. pater' [bishop Bateman] 'voluit, cum statuat, ut omnia fiant per magistrum sive custodem et majorem sociorum partem conjunctive.' *Ibid.* II 244. This statute of bishop Bateman's appears to have occasioned some diversity of interpretation: see *ad loc.*

[3] Stat. 6; *Ibid.* II 245.

[4] Stat. 8 and 15; *Ibid.* II 247, 250.

[5] Stat. 10; *Ibid.* II 248.

Only medical fellows permitted to study abroad.

No student is to be admitted into the college who has not previously passed an examination in Latin, 'lest,' the statute goes on to say, in language singularly like that of St John's statutes of 1545, 'the university should become a grammar school, a name by which it is already designated to the detriment of its fame[4].'

A knowledge of Latin required of all students at matriculation.

The statutes respecting the general discipline bear the impress of their author's mind in their preciseness and explicitness of detail: over-familiarity between members of different academic grades,—between doctors and masters, masters and bachelors, bachelors and scholars, is to be discouraged,—*ut absit contemptus et servetur gravitas*[5]. Neither animals subservient to the pastimes of the huntsman or the fowler nor those of the pet class are to be brought within the college precincts; archery and hurling the axe are strictly interdicted; but the students are permitted to indulge in catch-ball (*pilae reciprocatione*) in those parts of the college

Details respecting discipline.

Forbidden sports.

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[1] Stat. 11; *Ibid.*

[2] Stat. 13; *Ibid.* II 249.

[3] Stat. 54; *Ibid.* II 276.

[4] Stat. 62, 'de Matriculatione.' 'Non enim volumus ut quis recipiatur in collegium qui grammaticus non est, ne ex universitate fiat schola grammaticorum, quo nomine hodie male audit academia.' *Ibid.* II 281. Compare Vol. I 625; and also with Dr Caius' complaint of his 'hodie' that of Sir William Hamilton in 1831: 'It is thus not even pretended that Oxford now supplies more than the preliminary of an academical education. Even this is not afforded by the university, but abandoned to the colleges and halls; and the Academy of Oxford is therefore not *one public university*, but merely a *collection of private schools.*' *Dissert. and Discuss.* p. 397.

[5] Stat. 20; *Documents*, II 254.

where there is no fear of their doing mischief[1]. Attendance at bull-baitings or bear-baitings is forbidden, 'not only because of the danger when bulls and bears are loose, but also because these new objects of amusement extinguish the desire of study in youth which knows not its own interest, squander away its means, waste its precious time, and make them brutes instead of men[2].'

Dress.

Even the topics of discourse at the anniversary sermon are prescribed[3]; while the instructions with respect to dress are drawn up with much minuteness and with the evident design of bringing about results exactly the reverse of those which, as we have already seen, gave occasion to the founder's severest strictures on his visit to the university in 1558[4].

The 'Gate of Honour' to be mostly kept closed.

Not less characteristic is the statute relating to the hours of closing the college gates, in which it is directed that the 'Gate of Honour'[5] shall be 'shut in the middle of the day, or *the whole day*, if it can be conveniently managed; but especially at hours of lecture, in order to prevent persons by passing through from breaking the seclusion of the student, disturbing study, spoiling the courts by disorderly traffic and making them dirty,' etc.[6]

Perjury, in its relation to the statutes, defined.

Infringement of the statutes, when it is the result of impulse and inconsiderateness, is not to be looked upon and punished as perjury. On the other hand, when deliberate and grave, it is to be estimated as nothing less, and is to be punished by expulsion from the college and deprivation of all emoluments derived therefrom. Then follows a disquisition on perjury in the abstract, conceived somewhat after the manner of Seneca, the author finally concluding that though anger may be unnecessary, discipline is not, and that there are at the present time many whom, like the Spartans described by Aristophanes,

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[1] Stat. 22; *Documents*, II 254.

[2] Stat. 23; *Ibid.* II 255.

[3] Stat. 26; *Ibid.* II 258.

[4] Stat. 27; *Ibid.* II 258–260; see also *supra*, pp. 98–99.

[5] The 'three gates of remark,' as Fuller terms them, are a characteristic feature of Caius College: 'the gate of humility,—low and little, opening into the street over against St Michael's Church. The gate of virtue (one of the best pieces of architecture in England);—in the midst of the college. Thirdly, the gate of honour leading to the schools. Thus the gates may read a good lecture of morality, to such who go in and out thereat.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 253.

[6] Stat. 52; *Ibid.* II 274–5.

> 'Nor religious rite, nor plighted faith, nor attestation before the Gods can bind[1].'

Deaths of queen Mary and cardinal Pole.

Before the year 1558 had closed, queen Mary died. With all her bigotry and harshness of character, she was not indifferent to the interests of learning as conceived after a certain narrow standard, and by her will she bequeathed to both universities the sum of £500 for the relief of poor scholars, while Trinity College was benefited yet more considerably by her munificence[2]. Her death was succeeded within a few hours by that of cardinal Pole, and Cambridge again found itself under the necessity of finding another chancellor and protector. But with the acceptance of this office by Sir William Cecil it was felt that a new era had commenced and that the period of mere reaction was at an end.

Sir William Cecil elected chancellor, 19 Feb. 1559.

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[1] *οἶσιν οὔτε βωμὸς, οὔτε πίστις, οὔθ' ὅρκος μένει* (*Acharn.* l. 307). Stat. 104; *Ibid.* II 303–4 (the original Greek is quoted in the statute).

[2] 'Queen Mary, following her father's example, not only began to build it' [*i.e.* Trinity College] 'a most grand chapel, but added to it a revenue of £338 per annum arising from good lands; she gave them for the maintenance of 20 scholars, 10 choristers, and a master *for them:* 4 chaplains, 13 poor scholars, and 2 under-sizars.' Carter, *Hist. of the University*, p. 315.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH TO THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

Oxford more favoured than Cambridge during the reign of Mary.

The ablest apologists of the Catholic cause have scarcely been able to deny that the influences which prevailed at the two Universities during the reign of Mary were reactionary with respect to learning; but they have dwelt with emphasis on the royal regard for the material interest of the two communities and the scrupulous sense of justice which enforced the restitution of the alienated revenues of the Church[1]. Oxford, which undoubtedly enjoyed the larger share of Mary's favour, saw her public schools entirely rebuilt. Some valuable impropriations were also bestowed on the university, and the revenues of Christ Church received a substantial increase[2].

Foundation of Trinity College, in 1554, and of the College of St John the Baptist in 1555.

To the influence of the example thus set by the Crown, we may also refer the rise of the two colleges of Trinity and St John the Baptist—acts of beneficence which shine with additional lustre amid the surrounding gloom, and but for which, Heylin does not hesitate to declare 'there had been nothing in this reign to have made it memorable, but only the misfortunes and calamities of it[3].' When compared, as regards their conception and constitution, with Trinity College, Cambridge, these two societies present however an almost humiliating contrast. St John's, founded by Sir Thomas White, a benevolent but somewhat weak and superstitious citizen of London[1], was left subject to a certain extent to Christ Church and narrowly escaped the fate of becoming a mere appanage to that society. The modest foundation of Trinity, with its twelve fellows and twelve scholars, owed its origin to Sir Thomas Pope, and presents a certain resemblance to Magdalene College at the sister university. The only man of mark among its first members was Yeldart, the philosophy lecturer, who when a sizar at Clare Hall, Cambridge, had been one of Mary's pensioners. He had subsequently been elected a fellow of Pembroke College, and from thence he was invited to Oxford. At Oxford, he was before long promoted to the presidentship of Trinity, a post which he continued to fill with credit to himself and to the great advantage of the university until nearly the close of the century[2].

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[1] Sander, *de Schism. Anglic.* (ed. 1610), pp. 307–9; Lingard, *Hist. of England*, v 529; see also Warton, *Life of Sir Thomas Pope*, p. 152.

[2] Wood-Gutch, II 118.

[3] *Eccles. Rest.* p. 24.

Arthur Yeldart, a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

He is appointed the first philosophy lecturer at Trinity College, Oxford.

That the larger share of patronage bestowed on Oxford during Mary's reign was the result of the greater degree of favour with which Catholic doctrines were there regarded, admits of no question. The special reputations of the two universities had greatly changed since the time when Lydgate boasted that 'of heresie Cambridge bare never blame[3].' The fame of Oxford, as a great centre of theological science and speculation, had long ago departed; while Cambridge, as a home of Reformation doctrine, might rival Wittenberg or Marburg. John Burcher, writing to Bullinger a few months after Bucer's death, and recommending Musculus as his successor, intimates that 'the Cambridge men will not be found so perversely learned as master Peter found those at Oxford.' 'For the scholars,' he goes on to say, '*have been always suspected of heresy, as they call it*, by the ancient members, learned and

Oxford far more favourable to Catholicism than Cambridge.

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[1] See the singular story told by Wood, that Sir Thomas, having conceived the notion of founding a college on the spot where he might be able to discover 'two elms growing out of one root,' first paid a visit to Cambridge, but not being able to meet with this phenomenon there, next resorted to Oxford where his research was rewarded with the success which resulted in the foundation of St John's College. Wood-Gutch, I. 536.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 267.

[3] See Vol. I., Append. p. 637.

Comparative number of students at the two universities.

unlearned: by which you may easily perceive that their studies have always been of a purer character than those at Oxford[1].' At Oxford, accordingly, during the last five years, the numbers of the students had increased in much larger proportion than at Cambridge[2]. But neither learning, nor religion, nor morality prospered there. Ascham implies that in the study of the classics, its scholars appeared to prefer the writers of the Silver Age or of a yet later period to the best examples of the Latin genius[3]. Peter Martyr, whose last utterances had been an honest and courageous denunciation of the immoral conduct of the Oxford clergy, had quitted the scene of his labours within a few days after Edward's death[4] and his eloquent and learned expositions were succeeded by the reactionary teaching of a Soto, a John à Garcia and a Nicholas Sander[5]. To the eye of the Reformer, the Gospel light at Oxford seemed almost quenched. If we may credit the testimony of John Jewell, Peter's most distinguished disciple in the university, the lives of not a few, even of the professorial body, were flagitious in the extreme[6]. No martyrdom in that dark and cruel reign so deeply stirred the nation's heart, as that, when under the walls of Balliol, the ablest divine and the most eloquent preacher that Cambridge could then reckon among her sons, amid the crackling flames, for conscience sake, yielded up their souls to God.

Career of Cecil after quitting the university.

Cecil, as we have already noted, had succeeded to the chancellorship at Cambridge, on the death of cardinal Pole. He had now, for some years, been withdrawn alike from St

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[1] *Zürich Letters* (3), p. 690.

[2] The number of those admitted B.A. at Oxford during the years 1555–9 (which is the period when the effects of the Marian influences were most perceptible) was 216; at Cambridge it was only 175.

[3] Ascham to Sturm (4 Apr. 1550), *Epist.* p. 20.

[4] See Schmidt (C.) *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, pp. 130–3, where the circumstances are given much more fully than in Wood. Peter received his safe-conduct from Gardiner, a circumstance honourable to that prelate and somewhat unfairly characterised by Schmidt as 'ein letzter Rest von Achtung vor der gesetzlichen Ordnung.'

[5] 'Omnia ea quae D. Petrus Martyr pulcherrime plantaverat, everterunt e radicibus, et vineam Domini redegerunt in solitudinem. Vix credas tantam vastitatem afferri potuisse tam parvo tempore.' Jewell to Bullinger (22 May, 1559); Jewell-Jelf, VIII 124.

[6] Jewell to Peter Martyr (20 Mar. 1559); *Zürich Letters* (1) pp. 11–12.

John's College and the university to become absorbed in political life, where it needed no ordinary sagacity and prudence to avoid the quicksands that then beset every public career. The skill with which he evaded the perils attendant upon each revolution of the State, does not, it must be admitted, seem indicative of a high-spirited or very sensitive nature. He had profited by the friendship of Somerset, whose secretary he had been at the time of the Protector's fall; he had, notwithstanding, contrived to win the favour of Northumberland and had received during the latter's brief ascendancy the honour of knighthood: while again the prudent reluctance with which he assented to the usurpation of the lady Jane Grey, followed by his formal profession of the Catholic faith, had enabled him to retain the honours of office throughout the reign of Mary. During that dark and anxious time, he had been the steady friend and adviser of the princess Elizabeth, and to him, in the midst of her new dangers and perplexities, the young queen now turned, to quote the expression of Froude, 'with exceptional and solitary confidence.'

His letter to the university on his acceptance of the chancellorship.

In the brief letter in which he notified to the university his acceptance of the honour conferred upon him, Cecil, with characteristic wariness, intimates that they must not expect too much either from his purse or from his power to aid them, and deplores alike his moderate fortune and mean abilities,—*fortunam meam sane mediocrem et facultatem etiam pene nullam.* At the same time, however, he assures them that as one of their body (*e vestro grege unus*) his best care will be given to their interests[1].

Condition of the two universities in 1559.

It was undoubtedly an anxious office that he had added to his numerous responsibilities, for learning and the higher culture had shared to the full extent in the disorganization, the impoverishment, and the low tone of morality that had prevailed throughout the nation during Mary's reign, and the shock produced by the prospect of another religious revolution now served still further to intensify every discouraging fea-

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[1] Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, bk. vii, no. 9.

Testimony of bishop Jewell and Matthew Parker.

ture. Jewell, whose pathetic farewell, as he had quitted Oxford and Corpus Christi College before the impending storm, is still on record[1], came back from Zürich to utter a scarcely less mournful lament over the fallen condition of his University. Writing, in 1559, to his venerated teacher, Peter Martyr, he describes Oxford and Cambridge as being both 'in a most deplorable state, and wanting alike in loyalty, in faith, in teachers, and even in any hope for learning[2].' Matthew Parker, writing somewhat earlier to Sir Nicholas Bacon, the new lord-keeper, expresses himself in similar terms as regards Cambridge, but with that lofty spirit of self-sacrifice by which he was so honorably distinguished, declares that on this very account, not less than from the fact that he should be returning to familiar ground, he would prefer once more to find his sphere of labour in his own university[3]. What earnest and high-minded Catholics, like Dr Caius, thought of the general *morale* of the students, we have already seen. The disquieting effects of the all-prevailing uncertainty in the religious community are to be recognised in the fact that the number of those proceeding to the degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge in the academic year 1558-9, was only twenty-eight[4]. If to these disheartening conditions we add the interminable contentions in the colleges, involving constant appeals to the final decision of the head of the university, we shall easily understand that the chancellorship at this time could have appeared no very enviable office.

Small number of bachelors admitted at Cambridge, A.D. 1558-9.

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[1] *Life of Bishop Jewell*, by Isaacson, pp. xiii–xiv.

[2] Burnet-Pocock, III iii no. 58; see also Jewell-Jelf, VIII 124, 143. To this we may add the frank avowal of Dr Peacock and certain of the fellows of 'Queens', who appear to have favoured the Catholic cause (see *infra*, pp. 175–6). Writing to Cecil in March, 1559, they candidly admit the scarcity of qualified men for fellowships: '—consequuntur enim (ut fortasse memineritis) his proximis diebus infimum apud nos doctrinae gradum juvenes, quibus fere supplentur inanes in collegiis loci.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* III no. 29.

[3] 'And if I might be yet bolder with you, as I was with the said Sir John Cheke, to disclose my desire, of all places in England I would wish to bestow most my time in the university, the state whereof is miserable at this present, as I have had intelligence from time to time thereof.' *Letter to Sir Nicholas Bacon* (written between 9th and 20th Dec. 1558), *Parker Correspondence*, p. 51.

[4] Baker MSS. XXIV.

Return of the Marian exiles.

Nothing indeed appeared less probable than that the new changes would be productive of a period of comparative freedom from dissension and controversy at the two universities. During the Marian persecution, the most eminent divines and not a few of the younger students who had represented the Reform party at Cambridge in the reign of Edward, had been living abroad in exile[1]. In the chief centres of Protestantism, and especially those where the doctrines of Calvin were most favoured, they had rarely failed to meet with sympathy and counsel, and often with substantial and much-needed aid. Peter Martyr, Rodolph Gualter, and Bullinger were not unmindful of the generous hospitality with which they or their countrymen had been received, under Cranmer's auspices, in England, and in their own homes, or by means of their interest with wealthy citizens, doubly repaid the debt[2]. At Zürich, in the house of Christopher Froschover, was gathered a little company of Oxford and Cambridge divines, not a few of whom afterwards rose to eminence and rendered good service to the Church and to the State in their own country[3]. At Strassburg, at the lectures of Peter Martyr, Sir Anthony Cooke, Cheke, Grindal, Jewell, and others illustrious refugees, listened to the voice which had been silenced at Oxford[4]. At

Their experiences at Zurich, Strassburg, Frankfort, and Basel.

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[1] See the chapters 'Englische Flüchtlinge und Zustände' and 'Englische Flüchtlinge in Zürich' in C. Schmidt's *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, pp. 152–8 and 219–28. He names fourteen students from Oxford who had been pupils of Peter Martyr, and states that Thomas Lever on his arrival in Strassburg was accompanied by twelve students from Cambridge.

[2] See Lever's letter to Bullinger (10 Jul. 1560) *Zürich Letters* (1), p. 87; also Bale's emphatic tribute of gratitude for the treatment the exiles had received at Zürich and Basel in the preface to his *Acta Romanorum Pontificum*, originally published in 1559. Of Zürich he says, addressing Bullinger,–'Commemorant et hic qui mecum quotidie sunt Basileae, curam, solicitudinem, et paternum erga se affectum tuum, dum apud nos conjunctim unis in aedibus sub vestrae civitatis umbraculo, contra persecutionis aestum protecti, magno cum consensu et amore civium degerent. Commemorant et magistratuum incredibilem munificentiam: qui per te subsidia vitae, et frumenti et vini, quantum tredecim aut quatuordecim sustentandis satis esset, liberalissime obtulerunt; et cum accipere recusassent, gratificandi opportunitatem defuisse doluerunt.' Burnet who had examined the Zürich Letters when staying in that city in 1685, does not exaggerate when he describes the hospitality received by the exiles there as such 'as engaged them to the end of their lives to make the greatest acknowledgements for it.' Burnet-Pocock, III 271–2.

[3] See the life of Robert Horne in Cooper's *Athenae*, I 408.

[4] Schmidt, *Peter Martyr Vermigli*, p. 152.

Frankfort, a similar community founded a Church, and even organised a little university, but also, in less harmonious accord, developed the germs of controversies which afterwards expanded into momentous contentions within the pale of English Protestantism at home[1]. It was natural that such experiences should serve to bind the exiles more closely in sentiment to their brethren in Germany and in Switzerland, and still further to alienate them from all that savoured of Roman doctrine. They were now returning, each one, almost without exception, cherishing the hope that they might succeed in transplanting into England, in all its integrity, the creed of the Helvetic Churches; and that the mass, the altar, the surplice, and every other vestige of the old Roman ceremonial might finally be banished from the churches of their fatherland[2]. White, bishop of Winchester, when preaching queen Mary's funeral sermon, had already sounded the note of alarm at the coming of the 'wolves from Geneva;' had warned his Catholic brethren against the Protestant literature with which Germany was again flooding the land; and had even ventured to mark out the returning exiles as fit victims for the assassin's hand[3]. Some indeed of their number did not return. Ponet and James Haddon (a brother of the illustrious scholar) had died at Strassburg. Tremellius had settled as a teacher of Hebrew at Hornbach[4]. Others came back to England, but not to Cambridge. A more pressing need called for their services elsewhere; and Sandys, Grindal, and Lever were all, in the first instance, appointed members of the Commission now sent throughout the country for the establishment of reli-

Ponet, James Haddon, Tremellius, Sandys, Grindal, Lever.

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[1] See *A Brief Discourse of the troubles begun at Frankfort in Germany*, A.D. 1554, *about the Book of Common Prayer, and continued by the Englishmen there to the end of queen Mary's Reign.* Printed in the second volume of *The Phoenix*. The names of the signitaries to the various documents and letters are frequently those of Cambridge men.

[2] See Rodolph Gualter's letter to queen Elizabeth, Jan. 1559: *Zürich Letters* (2) pp. 3–8.

[3] 'The wolves be coming out of Geneva, and other places of Germany, and have sent their books before, full of pestilent doctrines, blasphemy, and heresy, to infect the people.' Strype, *Memorials*, Vol. III, pt. ii, Append. 81.

[4] John Emmanuel Tremellius was a teacher of Hebrew at Cambridge during the reign of Edward. He taught gratuitously, and his disinterested services were rewarded by a canonry in the church of Carlisle. He quitted England on the accession of Mary. Cooper, *Athenae*, I 425.

gion. Of these, the first, notwithstanding his emphatic *nolo episcopari*, was promoted, before the end of the year, to the see of Worcester. Amid the privations of exile his wife and daughter had died[1], and he had returned to England with his naturally impetuous temper embittered by a sense of irreparable wrong, which found expression in the exceptional severity with which he treated the Catholics in his diocese. Grindal, at the same time, was consecrated bishop of London. Lever, whose term of expatriation had been chiefly employed in ministering to the little English congregation at Arau, preferred to serve the cause he had most at heart by settling at Coventry, as pastor of the important and devoted body of Reformers in that town[2]. The two Pilkingtons, however, James and Leonard, who had been members of the Church at Frankfort, and Roger Kelke, who had been residing principally at Zürich, together with many others of minor note, were once more to be seen in their former seats in hall and chapel, or moving through the streets of the university, with a sense of recovered influence and possessed by yet more ardent convictions than before.

The two Pilkingtons and Roger Kelke and many others return to Cambridge.

The expectations of the exiles were indeed unreasonably high, and it soon became evident that they would be com-

The state policy disappoints the expectations of the exiles.

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[1] Even at Zürich the exiles were sometimes exposed to considerable sufferings. Anthony Wood tells a story of Cole, president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in which the latter is represented as responding to an intimation from the bishop of Winchester to the effect that, on account of mismanagement, he would be required to resign the presidentship, with the query 'What my good lord, must I then eat mice at Zürich again?' 'Meaning,' says Wood, 'must he endure the same misery again that he did at Zürich, when he was an exile in queen Mary's reign, where he was forced to eat carrion to keep life and soul together.' Wood-Gutch, II 168.

[2] According to a statement made by Sandys, in a letter to Parker, Lever 'wisely put such a scruple in the Queen's head that she would not take the title of supreme head' (*Parker Correspondence*, p. 66). It seems difficult to reconcile this assertion with the reason assigned by Baker (Baker-Mayor, pp. 134–5) for Lever's non-return to the mastership of St John's, viz. that 'the unhappy tincture' which he received from his 'friendship and correspondence with Bullinger and Calvin unqualified him for greater preferments.' The very conflicting evidence as regards the extent of the royal sympathy with the extreme Reform party at this time, is probably to be best explained by the supposition that Elizabeth had already begun to resort to her habitual policy of dissimulation,—'propter quandam quam se fingebat amare mediocritatem,' to quote the expression of Sander, *de Origine Schismatis* (ed. 1585), fol. 162 *b*.

pelled to submit to no small measure of disappointment. Elizabeth, at this juncture, was resorting to a temporizing policy, and her preference for a certain splendour and elaborateness of ritual was genuine. Cecil was no friend to sweeping reforms. In common with a numerous and influential body in the nation, of whom together with men like Parker and Sir Thomas Smith, he might be regarded as representative, he firmly upheld the theory of the royal supremacy and looked with plainly avowed disfavour on the democratic tendencies of the Swiss divines[1]. If to these opposed elements, now especially conspicuous in the university, we add the presence of a third party, who either openly avowed or secretly cherished their attachment to the Catholic faith and looked forward to some fresh revolution of State which should restore to them their former privileges and predominance, it must be owned that between the Act of Uniformity and the Act of Supremacy there seemed but faint promise of a long continuance of order and tranquillity in the academic community at Cambridge.

Three religious parties in the university.

Appointment of another university Commission; June, 1559.

The earliest measures resulting from the changes in the government were decisive with respect to the Roman party. The oath renunciatory of the papal supremacy was reimposed on all persons proceeding to degrees; and another Commission was appointed, whereby Cecil, Anthony Cooke[2], Parker[3], Bill, Walter Haddon, William Mey, Thomas Wendy,

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[1] Burnet seems very fairly to represent the views and influence of this party when he says that they pointed out to the queen, 'that these new models would certainly bring with them a great abatement of her prerogative; since, if the concerns of religion came into popular hands, these would be a power set up distinct from hers, over which she could have no authority.' Burnet-Pocock, vol. II., preface p. 25. Sander directly accuses the exiles of want of fidelity to the principles which they had professed at Geneva, *de Origine*, fol. 164. See also *Zürich Letters* (1), nos. 62, 73, 110. Hallam's assertion that Parker stood 'almost alone' among the moderate party on the episcopal bench is certainly nearer the truth. (*Const. Hist.* I 179.)

[2] A warm friend of the Reform party, and one who attended Peter Martyr's lectures at Strassburg. Cooke was compared by his admirers to Sir Thomas More, whom he resembled both in his virtues and varied accomplishments. The edition of Cheke and Gardiner's correspondence *de Pronuntiatione*, by Coelius Secundus Curio, quoted above, (pp. 57–62) is dedicated to Cooke. See Wordsworth, *University Studies*, p. 109; Cooper, *Athenae*, I 353; *Zürich Letters* (2), pp. 1 and 13.

[3] Parker, who was consecrated to the archbishopric of Canterbury on the first of the following August, seems

Robert Horne, and James Pilkington were constituted visitors, with full powers for the reorganization and reformation of the university. Their written instructions, however, were little more than a transcript of those of the Commission of 1549, excepting that the clauses for the foundation of a college of medicine and a college of civil law were omitted, together with that for the dissolution and amalgamation of 'two or more' of the colleges.

Their instructions compared with those of the Commission of 1549.

Conduct of the Heads of Houses on being required to take the oath of supremacy.

The oath of supremacy was necessarily a test which no evasion or refinements of casuistry could enable a conscientious ultramontanist to accept, and the men who had been appointed to the headships of colleges during the late reign were chiefly of this school. Like most of the members of the episcopal bench, they now confronted the inevitable with a courage which did honour to their cause, and no less than fifteen heads of colleges at the two universities either gave in their resignations or were expelled. At first, indeed, a less creditable policy was, in some instances, adopted; and an endeavour was made by some of the heads to turn the impending changes to their private advantage,—a line of conduct in which they were forestalled, happily, by the vigilance of Parker[1]. At Queens' College, Dr Peacock, the president, in conjunction with a majority of the fellows, pressed on the election of three bachelors of arts (all members of other foundations) to fellowships, with the design, apparently, of filling the vacancies with men favourable to the Catholic cause. Against these elections, the vice-president, along with a minority of the fellows, addressed to Cecil an appeal couched in the strongest terms. The elections, they represented, had been carried by the president and his supporters (whom they do not hesitate to describe as gamblers and spendthrifts) from most corrupt motives,—the dread of anticipated reforms and the consciousness of bad administration. The conduct and character of the newly-

Parker warns Cecil of their intentions.

Evasive policy of the majority at Queens' College.

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to have been absent from Cambridge during this visitation. See *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 69–73.

[1] See Parker's letter to Cecil, 1 Mar. 155$\frac{8}{9}$: 'Some masters,' he writes, 'be about to resign to their friends chosen for their purpose, peradventure to slide away with a gain.' *Ibid.* p. 54; Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 41.

Ultimate resignation of the President, Dr Peacock.

Changes at Catherine's Hall, and Trinity College.

Disappearance of Dr Taylor from Christ's.

Hawford appointed his successor.

elected fellows themselves are at the same time set forth in no sparing language. It might well be supposed that such representations would have been productive of energetic action on the part of the chancellor, but the sequel throws little light on the merits of the question. Cecil referred the dispute to the decision of three arbitrators,—Parker, Dr Pory (the vice-chancellor and master of Corpus), and Leedes, afterwards master of Clare Hall,—by whom two of the elections were confirmed[1]. In the following May, however, Peacock deemed it necessary to tender his resignation and retired into private life; and Dr Mey, who had recently been restored to the deanery of St Paul's, was now reinstated in the office which he had already filled with no little advantage to the society[2]. At Trinity College, a similar change had already taken place, and Dr William Bill found himself again master of the society and restored to the chapel stall from which he had been so rudely dragged. About the same time, Cosyn, the master of St Catherine's, anticipated the action of the commissioners by voluntarily retiring at once from the vice-chancellorship and the mastership of his college. He took refuge with the society at Caius, under the kindly protection of its newly-elected master; and his post at St Catherine's was filled by Dr John Mey[3]. At Christ's College, Dr William Taylor, after an impotent and childish display of vexation, disappeared abruptly from Cambridge, and betaking himself to the Continent is thenceforth lost to our view[4]. At the suggestion of Pory, Cecil recommended Hawford, a fellow of the college, to the society, by whom the latter was accordingly elected.

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[1] *State Papers* (*Dom.*), *Eliz.*, III. nos. 29–31, 36, 37; Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, pp. 266–284.

[2] Mr Searle (*Ibid.* pp. 285–6) has clearly shewn that Dr Mey was not in exile during Mary's reign. He appears to have belonged to the less advanced school of the Reform party. See Cooper, *Athenae*, I 107.

[3] Strype's *Parker*, p. 89 (with Baker's MS. note); Cooper, *Ibid.* I 204.

[4] The language in which Pory in his letter to Cecil, describes Dr Taylor's departure deserves quotation, if simply on account of the glimpse it affords of the domestic economy of a college in those days,—'he standeth,' says the reporter, 'not clear in respect to the said college, departing from thence somewhat strangely, leaving his chamber much disordered, his garments cast in corners, and the rushes tumbled or heaped, and the college writings scattered here and there.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*), *Eliz.* IV, no. 66.

Arrival of the Commissioners: 17 Sept. 1559.

The other Heads preferred to await the arrival of the Commissioners, which took place on the seventeenth of September and was soon followed by further important changes. The oath of supremacy was tendered to all the academic authorities and functionaries, and its refusal was followed, in most instances, by immediate expulsion from office. At St John's, one genuine scholar was compelled to give place to another. George Bullock was removed from the mastership[1] and his place filled by one of the commissioners,—James Pilkington, who, in his new office, appears to have been invested with more than the usual authority[2]. The change was effected, however, in a manner calculated to disarm opposition, and for a brief period the society appears to have remained comparatively free from the strife of parties. At Pembroke, Dr John Young was succeeded by Grindal, the future archbishop. Dr William Mowse, at Trinity Hall, gave place to Dr Henry Harvey, who in the following year was also elected vice-chancellor. His acceptance of the new tests was regarded with considerable mistrust; and a like suspicion would appear to have attached to Edward Gascoigne, who supplanted John Redman in the mastership of Jesus College[3]. By the expulsion of Dr Thomas Bailey from Clare Hall, a really able man was lost to the university. He repaired to Louvain, and long after was often heard of in England as an energetic coadjutor to the celebrated Dr Allen at Douay. Pory, although he had succeeded to the mastership of Corpus in the reign of Mary, appears to have satisfied the requirements of the commissioners, and not only retained his office but became actively participant in university business. Dr Caius was suffered to remain unmolested at the head of the society which he had himself reconstituted. At Peterhouse, Dr Perne, whose

Changes enforced in the headships of St John's, Pembroke, Trinity Hall, Jesus College, Clare Hall.

Dr Pory, Dr Caius, and Dr Perne manage to retain their posts.

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[1] Retiring to the Continent, he finally settled at Antwerp, 'where he composed a large concordance printed there in 1572, and after twenty years spent in devotion and study he died about the year 1580, and was buried in the monastery of St Michael there; having left behind him amongst his own party the character of a pious and learned man.' Baker-Mayor, p. 145.

[2] According to Baker (*ibid.* p. 147), the elections to the fellowships at St John's were left in Pilkington's hands by the commissioners.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 42; I 22.

readiness of tergiversation gained for him a notoriety in which his real merits seem to have been forgotten, once more complied with the prescribed tests of orthodoxy and avowed himself a supporter alike of the royal supremacy and of the Protestant faith. At Magdalene College, Richard Carr was succeeded by Roger Kelke. At King's College, the death of the provost, Robert Brassie, in the preceding November, had created a vacancy which was forthwith filled up by the appointment of Philip Baker[1].

Changes at Magdalene and King's College.

Further proceedings of the Commission.

The further action of the commissioners was productive of no very important changes. The 'laws, injunctions, and resolutions' enacted during the reign of Edward were again put in force, both with respect to the university and to the colleges,—a few unimportant modifications only being introduced[2]. The statutes of Peterhouse, Clare, Queens', Jesus, and King's College were either confirmed or subjected to a slight revision. By some of the other foundations, however, an opposition was offered which effectually deterred the commissioners from proceeding with the task of reform; and the several codes of these societies, except where they were found to be at variance with the general injunctions, continued to remain in force, still preserving not a few features characteristic of the ancient discipline[3].

The experiences of ten years, as summarized by Dean Peacock.

The terms in which, at this juncture, dean Peacock sums up the baneful and demoralizing influences which had prevailed in the university during the preceding ten years, are such that it is impossible not to feel their force: the university itself, in that short lapse of time, 'under the government of four different constitutions,'—compelled to witness, within the same brief period, 'the banishment and death of some of her most distinguished ornaments,'—and 'exposed to the still more bitter trial and humiliation of witnessing the most rapid and fundamental revolutions of opinion and profession, amongst a majority of her members, on the most vital points which can concern mankind[1].' A careful consideration of the history of these times, however, will probably incline us to conclude that it was comparatively but a select few in whom, in those days, religious conviction attained to the stern resoluteness of the later Puritanism. When, indeed, with the lapse of another century, the Protestant faith had gathered to itself the reverence that waits on long tradition and cherished usage, the facile compliance of the English clergy of the days of Cranmer and Parker seemed, to many of their more thoughtful successors, almost inexplicable. The dispassionate Locke, when composing his great plea for liberty of conscience and seeking for an example, wherewith to enforce his argument, of the evils attendant upon coercion, could find no apter modern illustration than the scandalous facility with which the English divine of this period professed or denied his allegiance to Rome in servile obedience to the Crown[2].

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 153–4.

[2] Among these the most important was that whereby the first year of a student's course of study was to be given to *rhetoric*, instead of to *arithmetic*, as enjoined by the Edwardian Statutes. Heywood, *Sixteenth Century Statutes*, etc. pp. 7 and 280; Lamb, *Documents*, p. 281.

[3] Peacock, *Observations*, etc. p. 41, n. 2. Both Peacock and Cooper (*Annals*, II 158) are in error in asserting that the statutes of Peterhouse were 'revised' on this occasion.

Inconstancy in matters of religious belief a characteristic of the clergy of these times.

When such vacillation, to use no harsher term, was an only too common characteristic of the clergy at large, we can scarcely but infer that it must have been carried to somewhat scandalous lengths, in order to gain for any one individual a special notoriety. To this 'bad eminence,' however, one member of the university, with whose sanction and cooperation the foregoing measures had been carried out and who, with the commencement of the academic year (1559-60), had now for the second time been elected vice-chancellor, would seem to have already attained. Dr Andrew Perne, from whose name the wits of the university coined a new Latin verb, *perno*, *pernare*, which meant, they said,

ANDREW PERNE, *b.* 1519. *d.* 1586.

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[1] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[2] 'Our modern English later history affords us fresher examples in the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth, how easily and smoothly the clergy changed their decrees, their articles of faith, their forms of worship, everything according to the inclination of their Kings and queens.' *Letters on Toleration* (ed. 1870), p. 18. 'How many Bb (*sic*) are there in England,' asks Martin Marprelate in 1590, 'which have not either said masse, or helped the priest to say masse or bene present at it.' *Epistle*, p. 16. The assertion of Sander (*de Origine Schismatis*, fol. 158) that both at Oxford and at Cambridge 'the flower of the university' followed the example of the Catholic bishops is one of his more than usually impudent falsehoods.

'to change often,' had formerly been a fellow of St John's. From St John's he had migrated to Queens', where he had been promoted to the office of vice-president. In the year 1554 he had been elected to the mastership of Peterhouse.

His inconstancy in his profession of religious belief.

To what extent a contemporary satirist was justified in affirming that Perne held 'that names of partialities, sects, and divisions, either in civil or religious causes, were but foolish words or pelting terms[1],' we have hardly sufficient evidence to enable us to determine; but it must be admitted that the divine who had once warmly defended the adoration of pictured saints and the doctrine of transubstantiation, who officiated as chaplain to Edward VI, assented to the Catholic articles of the year 1555, and finally gave in his adhesion to the Thirty-Nine Articles of the English Church, must have been one to whom the disputed theological questions of the day could scarcely have assumed that primary importance claimed for them by the most learned and distinguished of his contemporaries. It may however safely be asserted that this apparent laxity of principle did not arise from a blunted moral sense, in which self-respect and regard for the esteem of the good and wise and for the nobler ends of life had gradually become effaced.

Redeeming traits in his character.

On the contrary, we have ample evidence that Andrew Perne was both himself a scholar and one to whom learning and his university were dear. During the reign of Edward, he had been one of the six chaplains appointed to preach the doctrines of the Reformation throughout the kingdom; and at a subsequent period he was among the number of those divines who prepared the revised version known as the Bishops' Bible[2]. Parker, with whom he was intimately acquainted, sent his own son to Peterhouse that he might benefit by his friend's counsel and instruction. It may serve again in some measure to extenuate Perne's tergiversation that, if himself wanting in the martyr's spirit, he was at least equally unwilling to make martyrs of others; and to his humane tolerance we may probably attribute the influence which, during the Marian persecution, shielded the youthful promise of Whitgift[1]. Whatever again might be thought of the moral effect of his example, it could scarcely be denied that his subsequent efforts were directed to the welfare of his university[2]. At Peterhouse, the fellows could mark the gradual formation of a library which might compare with any similar collection in England. The colleges at large were materially benefited by a measure of reform, concerning which we have hereafter to speak, of which he was the reputed author. And both the university and the town were indebted to his energy for a signal contribution to their comfort and well-being[3]. On the whole, the impression we derive from the study of his career, is that of a tolerant and humane nature, wanting perhaps in elements of heroism or greatness, and aiming rather at the happiness of his species than at the assertion of any particular doctrine in theology, but gifted with a sense, rare indeed in those days, that even theological unanimity was a blessing that might be realised at too dear a price.

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[1] Gabriel Harvey, *Pierce's Supererogation* (ed. 1815), p. 201.

[2] His special share in this work was the book of Ecclesiastes and the *Cantica*. *Parker Corresp.*, p. 335.

Reparation offered by the university for the treatment of the remains of Bucer and Fagius.

It must however have been a sore humiliation to Perne, when, before his year of office had expired, he found himself called upon to take part in a measure which involved the strongest condemnation of an act to which he had himself given at least a formal sanction. In July, 1560, in pursuance of instructions received from the ecclesiastical commissioners, the university proceeded to make the only reparation in its power for the inhuman insult offered in Perne's first vice-chancellorship to the remains of Bucer and Fagius. A grace passed the Senate, without a dissentient vote, that the degrees and titles of honour which the deceased had enjoyed should be restored and all acts and proceedings against them and their doctrines be rescinded[1]. On the thirtieth of the month, the members of the university assembled in Great St Mary's, where once again there rustled on the walls verses in honour of the illustrious dead. Ackworth, the public orator, delivered an address, and James Pilkington, now regius professor of divinity, preached a sermon,—both alike descanting on the virtues of the late professors. Pilkington, who had been one of Bucer's most intimate friends, dwelt with severity on the sacrilegious cruelty of the act which they were now assembled as far as possible to efface, comparing it to the savage animosity with which pope Stephen VI had wreaked his hatred on the corpse of Formosus, and, more aptly perhaps, to that conciliar edict which consigned the ashes of Wyclif to the river[2]. Then, after prayer and praise, and thanksgivings offered up for many blessings, but especially for the restoration of the true and sincere religion, the congregation dispersed. As regarded Bucer, it is gratifying to note that many years later an opportunity presented itself of offering more substantial reparation. In 1593, his grandson, Wolfgang Meier, arrived in England from Basel with the design of studying at Cambridge. He received from the Crown a grant sufficient for his maintenance, and on arriving in the university was elected to the benefit of a fellow's commons at Trinity[3]. After passing through his course with distinction he returned to Basel, and was there appointed pastor of the church where his grandfather had once taught[4].

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[1] Paule (Sir G.), *Life of Whitgift*, pp. 5–6. In this respect, the master of Peterhouse signally differed from Dr Martial, the dean of Christchurch. The latter who, in the facility with which he changed his belief according to the times, almost rivalled Dr Perne, was distinguished as a persecutor. The one protected Whitgift, while the other persecuted Jewell. See Wood-Bliss, *Fasti* I 136.

[2] 'The university,' says one of his defenders, 'had not a more careful father this hundred years.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, I 9.

[3] The bringing the waters of Shelford to Cambridge, designated by Cooper (*Ath.* II. 48) as that 'useful and necessary work.'

Generous treatment of Bucer's grandson.

Low ebb of education among the clergy.

Four years passed away during which no event of primary importance disturbed the quiet of either Oxford or Cambridge. It appears to have been generally admitted that the national want which the two universities were especially designed to supply,—that of maintaining and educating those who were destined to be the religious instructors of the laity,—was great and urgent[1], and to meeting this the injunctions of the Crown and the chief efforts of the academic authorities were now directed. A royal letter, dated the 26th of March, 1560, refers to the fact that 'the study of divinity and the Scriptures are at this present much decayed within the university of Cambridge,' and further announces that both the prebends in the royal gift and those in the gift of the Keeper of the Great Seal are henceforth to be bestowed on the most promising students of theology[2]. Amid the dissatisfaction of the clergy at the rapacity which Elizabeth and her courtiers had already begun to display in relation to the revenues of the Church, this intimation was probably as politic as it was well-timed. Another concession conciliated all parties except the most advanced section of the Reformers. This was the permission accorded to use a Latin version of the authorized Prayer-Book in the chapels of the colleges of both universities as well as in those of the colleges of Winchester and Eton,—a favour granted in direct response to a petition representing that familiarity with the Latin tongue would be thereby promoted, and that this in turn would result in a richer growth of theology[3].

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 161.

[2] *Concio D. Jacobi Pylkintoni in Restitutione D. Martini Buceri et Pauli Fagii*: see *Historia vera*, etc. (1562), pp. 160–2.

[3] See lord Stafford's interesting letter to Wolfgang Meier: *Zürich Letters* (2), pp. 322–3.

[4] *Ibid.*, II 1; Hoffmann, *Lex. Univ.*

Livings in the gift of the Crown, etc. promised to deserving theological students.

The use of a Latin version of the Prayer Book permitted in the college chapels.

A third measure, enacted at nearly the same time, could not fail to be gratifying to all parties in the university.

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[1] See the remarkable evidence on this point contained in the Report respecting the Archdeaconry of London, sent in at the requisition of Parker in 1562. From this it appears that some of the beneficed clergy held three or four, and one, five livings together; that 'few or none of the curates were graduates; that many of the vicars, nay, and parsons, were non-graduates; that not above a third part of them were preachers; that as for their learning, it was commonly set down, *Latine aliquod* (sic) *verba intelligit. Latine utcunque intelligit. Latine pauca intelligit.*' Strype, *Life of Parker*, p. 95: bk. II c. 5. Robert Stokes, B.D. of Queens' College, vicar of Hackney, a pious and good scholar, is singled out by Strype as a rare and pleasing exception to this condition of the London clergy. For the condition of the clergy elsewhere, see *Zürich Letters* (1), p. 85, where Lever states that scarcely one in a hundred was 'able and willing to preach the Word of God.'

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 159.

[3] '—quoniam intelligimus collegia utriusque academiae, Cantabrigiensis et Oxoniensis, collegium item novum prope Wintoniam, et Etonense, bonis litteris dedicata, supplicibus votis petere, ut quo sacrarum litterarum monumenta Latina *ad uberiorem theologiae fructum* eis reddantur magis familiaria, eis liceat eadem forma precum Latine uti,' etc. Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, I 248.

Extension of the legal rights and privileges of the university: 26 April, 1561.

This was the renewal and extension, by royal charter, of the rights and privileges of the academic community in its relations to the town authorities. The legal prosecutions instituted by the latter were often of a vexatious, not to say malicious, character; while, again, the town magistrates appear to have found a special pleasure in refusing to imprison or in prematurely liberating those whom the university had marked out for legal punishment. Against both these forms of annoyance the charter now issued provided a more effectual safeguard by the fuller jurisdiction which it vested in the chancellor, masters, and scholars over all members of the university alike in civil and criminal charges (mayhem and felony only excepted), and in all trespasses of the peace, and misprisions 'within the town begun and done,' to the complete exclusion of the ordinary municipal courts and officers[1].

Imperfectly defined status of the Heads of Houses at this period in relation to the university.

By the statutes enacted in the year 1559, the Edwardian code, as has already been stated, regained for the most part its validity, and the position of the heads of houses was thus restored to its former somewhat indefinite character. Beyond the fact of their being constituted assessors of the vice-chancellor in imposing penalties for the violation of the statutes or injunctions in cases where no express penalty was already prescribed, they possessed no privileges beyond those attaching to their academical degrees. The Marian statutes, it is true, had largely augmented their privileges, but the Marian statutes can scarcely be said to have ever been really operative. The heads were now, however, sixteen in number, and the importance and at the same time the indefiniteness of their position in relation to the university began alike to be sensibly felt. Parker, writing to Cecil in 1559, intimates that it is most desirable that their number should include at least some who by high character and distinguished talents would command the confidence and esteem of the younger members of the university. Of such, however (as dean Peacock has taken occasion to note[2]), there was at this

Importance of their position.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 164–7.

[2] *Observations*, etc., p. 45.

James Pilkington, master of St John's College and bishop of Durham, *b.* 1529. *d.* 1576.

His letter to Cecil: May, 1561.

His unsatisfactory report concerning the Heads of Houses and the state of his own college.

period a marked absence, and his observation is illustrated by a valuable piece of contemporary evidence. Among the ablest of the heads was James Pilkington, master of St John's, who on the 22nd March, 1561, was consecrated to the see of Durham. Though a somewhat too ardent Reformer, his previous and subsequent career may be held to have amply justified his selection for that important post. His genuine interest in the university is attested by the fact that in 1560 he is found pleading, like Lever, on behalf of its struggling scholars, in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross. Among the Marian exiles he had been honourably distinguished both by his learning and his moderation. At Frankfort, his name appears foremost among those of the signitaries to the prudent and judicious letter with which the English congregation of that city rejected the intemperate proposals of Knox and Whittingham. In his new sphere of labour he exhibited a like spirit, and in conjunction with his friend, Bernard Gilpin of revered memory, displayed an equal concern for the welfare of the masses and for the higher education of the few. For eight months after his consecration he continued to hold his mastership, and was then succeeded by his brother, Leonard Pilkington. It was during this period, in the month of May, 1561, that he addressed a letter to Cecil, in which he plainly expresses his opinion with respect to the existing heads. 'For Cambridge,' he writes, 'I beseche your honour have such a care that gude heades mai be placed and the evill removed. For some be such that I can nott tell whither thei doe lesse harme being absent or present, and none or veri fewe doe ani gude.' He describes his own college as being in a most unsatisfactory condition and the more promising members as reduced to a state of despondency by the generally low tone of learning and of morals. As regards his successor he recommends his own brother, but does not hesitate to say that nothing but a spirit of disinterested self-sacrifice would induce the latter to accept an office very inadequately endowed and beset with so much that was discouraging[1].

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[1] 'My hert bledeth to think on S John's. I brought in half a score

CHAP. III.

Cecil proposes to retire from the office of chancellor: June, 1562.

It seems probable that Pilkington's representations were the means of inducing Cecil to investigate the state of affairs more closely and with much the same result in his conclusions, for in the following year he addressed a letter to the university intimating his wish to retire from the office of chancellor. It is difficult to suppose that the reasons he more prominently alleged were those which really weighed most with him. He pleads unfitness, want of learning and of leisure, and insufficient skill to determine the causes which came so frequently before him. And 'lastly,' he says, 'I cannot find such care in the hedds of houses to supply my lacke, as I hoped for to the ruling of unordinate youth, to the observation of good order, and encrease of lerninge and knowledge of God.' At the same time, he does not fail to assure those whom he addresses of his undiminished regard for the university, 'whereof,' he writes, 'although I was once but a simple small unlerned and loe member yet have I as greate plentye of natural humor of love towards the same as eny other that hath by degrees byn rewarded to be yn the higheste place of that bodye[1].' The feelings with which this missive was received were those of absolute consternation. The Heads, to whom it was addressed, attempted little in the way of self-exculpation, their first object being to seek to divert their chancellor from his stern purpose. A humble letter, expressive of the utmost penitence, was drawn up and

Alarm of the university.

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with me to it and thei are as ready to leave it as I. 2 be with mi Lord Keper; 2 wold goe with me; 2 be gone to others, and the rest that have honestie of leving be readi to flie. There is never a precher in the college except one, and I see no hope of ani to follow. Thei see so litell hope of ani gude to come that thei be discouraged. It is more profitable and comfortable both for my brother and me to be together, but that litell honestie that is in the house doth so much desire him, that if it may nott be done thei will me to kepe itt for a time. To continue the keping of itt I will nott, and he seing so litell studie and sobrietie in the house which shuld be kept, has litell plesure or desire to it, nor I will not therto move him; yett bicause the youngest sort in time with gude governement mai growe to some lerning and honesti, if it shall seme gude to your wisdom, to kepe outt a wors for a time he wold doe his diligens. The stipend is but xii lib: so that whosoever have it he must have other living beside.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* XVII, no. 9.

[1] Letter (June, 1562) 'To the Right worshipfull my verie lovinge friends the Vicechauncelor of the Universite of Cambridge, and to the Masters and Heddes of all the colleges and houses of the said University.' Cooper, *Annals*, II 173–4.

despatched; Parker and Walter Haddon were communicated with and entreated to use their most strenuous intercession in order to ward off so 'desperate an evil[1];' and in the end Cecil was prevailed upon to revoke his decision. But in return for his compliance, he demanded the acceptance of certain injunctions, which he sent by the hands of Pory and Hawford, wherein the order of divine service, the lectures of the Regius professors and 'ordinary readers,' the disputations in philosophy, civil law, and physic, and the apparel and conduct of the students, were successively made the subject of more definite and stringent enactments,—these new regulations being solemnly ratified by the collective body of regents and non-regents at a full congregation held on the 27th of June[2].

He is induced to withdraw his resignation, but stipulates for the adoption of certain measures of reform.

The royal visit to the university: Aug. 1564.

The year 1564 was marked by an event which, to the younger members of the university at least, must have seemed to throw the recent visitation with all its attendant consequences completely into the shade. This was no other than the presence of royalty itself, an episode which, foreign though it may seem in its varied features to the real progress of academic pursuits, offers a pleasing relief to the wearisome record of constant religious bickerings and increasing controversy. In itself, again, the royal visit was an omen of no slight importance: as Mary's favours had been chiefly bestowed on Catholic Oxford, so Elizabeth's first signal mark of good will was accorded to Protestant Cambridge[3].

State of discipline in the university.

The auspicious event was heralded by a missive from Cecil, who, on the fourth of August, appeared in person, taking up his quarters with his 'old nurse' at St John's. He had come thus early, to set the university in order,—a task of considerably more importance and delicacy than might at first sight appear. The divergence of Elizabeth's views from those of a large proportion of her clergy in matters of religious ceremonial was becoming every year more apparent, while the insubordination of the Calvinistic party (as it may now be correctly termed) at Cambridge was rendering the preservation of the prescribed discipline more and more difficult. At St John's, Leonard Pilkington had succeeded his brother, and the contempt displayed by the great majority in the college for the established discipline now reached a culminating point; in the chapel, Genevan psalters usurped the place of the new Latin prayer books, and the ancient plate that had adorned the communion table altogether disappeared. Somewhat suddenly, however, in the month of May, 1564, Pilkington vacated the mastership in favour of Richard Longworth, and his removal, in Baker's opinion, was not unconnected with the approaching royal visit[1]. At the same time, Robert Beaumont, a divine of the same school, whose influence had been successfully exerted in bringing about Pilkington's appointment at St John's, was superseded in the lady Margaret professorship by Hutton[2]. Cecil's verbal injunctions to the assembled heads were concise and peremptory[3]; and for a moment the whole university was awed into obedience and at least external compliance.

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[1] Letter '*e Senatu Praesidum,*' '15 Kal. Jul. 1562.' See Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. ii, c. 11; and compare the expression of Bartholomew Clerke, when addressing Cecil five years later: 'Qui et numero multo plures sumus, et forsitan mente saniores, te Reipub. nostrae natum credimus, *et non esse academicos malumus quam te non esse cancellarium.*' Strype, *Life of Parker*, Append. no. xliii.

[2] Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk ii, c. 11; Cooper, *Annals*, II 174.

[3] Wood indeed asserts (Wood-Gutch, II 155) that Elizabeth would have visited Oxford on this same progress 'or a little before' had not her 'intention been diverted by the dregs of a plague then remaining there.' Of this however I find no evidence. Elizabeth first visited Oxford in 1566.

Leonard Pilkington retires from the mastership of St John's.

Robert Beaumont is superseded in the lady Margaret professorship.

Main features and incidents of the royal visit.

On the following day, a blazing August Saturday, at about two o'clock, Majesty itself was to be seen approaching from Grantchester by Newnham. Into all the details of this memorable visit, quaint, amusing, and picturesque though they be, it would be beyond the purpose of these pages to enter. To all present it must have been an experience not soon forgotten. There was the Chancellor, that model of shrewd observation and sagacious foresight, somewhat halt with a 'sore leg,' but assiduously present at every scene, marking with a keenness that little could escape the spirit and the purpose that underlay all the pageantry, the hyperbolic eloquence, the mimic disputation. By his side appeared his learned and benevolent spouse, the lady Mildred[1],—a better scholar, it was whispered, than Elizabeth herself, and one of whose generosity the university, and more especially St John's, had far better proof. There was Royalty, attired in black velvet and gorgeous with jewels, beauteous in mature but still youthful womanhood, entering on horseback the halls of the different colleges and listening to orations of welcome now in Greek now in Latin, herself inexhaustible of jest and repartee, admired and admiring, finding utterance to the feigned astonishment of the hearers in charming Ciceronian Latin, and exhibiting throughout an elasticity of spirit and powers of physical endurance that won the genuine admiration of all[2],—not however so elate or so lulled into complacency as not to mark with sharp feminine eye the tattered gowns and soiled hoods in which some masters of arts ventured to appear, and even occasionally dealing out a true Tudor rap when importunity pressed somewhat unduly on her benignity. There, around her, was gathered the best talent of the university in black and in scarlet, presenting verses, orations, gloves and sweetmeats, haranguing, reciting, preaching, praying, acting, disputing, but ever returning by

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[1] 'He parted with his mastership at a very remarkable juncture, some short time before the queen's coming to Cambridge....Her progress had been fixed and notified here by our chancellor on the 12th of July, who mentions it as a thing much known and spoken of; so that, allowing it to be known some time sooner (as such things are usually spoke of long before they happen), we need not be at a loss to find the true reason of his going off.' Baker-Mayor, p. 155.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 154–5; *State Papers* (*Dom.*), *Elizabeth*, vol. XIX, no. 54.

[3] According to the account of Matthew Stokys, the esquire bedell, Cecil commanded 'that order should be diligently kept of all sorts, and that uniformity should be shown in apparel and religion, especially in setting of the communion table.' See Cooper, *Annals*, II 184.

Cecil.

The lady Mildred.

Elizabeth.

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[1] A daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and, according to Baker, 'a person noted for her learning and therefore more acceptable to the queen and to the university.' Baker-Mayor, p. 157; see also p. 583.

[2] Robinson, in his Latin narrative, thus describes Elizabeth at the performance of the *Aulularia:* 'Et quamvis nonnulli, vel somno assueti, vel Latini sermonis imperitia, aegre ferebant tot horarum jacturam, ipsa tamen ad ultimum plaudite placidissimo vultu permansit, nec lassitudinis ullam vel simulationem prae se tulit.' Nichols, *Progresses* (ed. 1805), III 59. It is worthy of note that the performance took place in King's College Chapel on a Sunday evening. Cole observes 'I suppose this was in the spacious ante-chapel, never put to any sacred use.' There were however already those in the university who looked upon profane plays as altogether objectionable. See Cooper, *Annals*, II 217; Baker-Mayor, pp. 159, 584.

Master's oration.

dexterous gyrations to the one essential topic,—the royal virtues and excellencies; William Master, the newly-elected orator, on his knees at the west door of King's College chapel, audaciously voluble on the pre-eminent antiquity of the schools of Cambridge, and insinuating that Leland (poor honest Leland, already laid to rest from his ill-requited labours in the church of St Michael-le-quern in London), who had ventured to call in question the traditional legend, was little better than a standing example of the folly of prying too curiously into past records and setting the individual judgement in opposition to the consent of antiquity[1],—Dr Perne, in the pulpit of Great St Mary's, preaching from *Rom. xiii.* 1, and insisting (as who more fitly?) on the necessity of obedience to princes, dexterously poising the balance between Romanist and Calvinist, and launching politic censure against the abuses defended by the one and the intolerance practised by the other,—Dr Kelke, in conjunction with the most promising youthful talent of the university, approving himself another Roscius, in the *Aulularia* of Plautus,—Cartwright, Chaderton, Preston, and Bartholomew Clerk, acquitting themselves as dexterous masters of dialectic in set disputations—among the spectators, representatives of the noblest houses of the realm, the Howards, the Clintons, the Dudleys, and the Veres, and, not least conspicuous from their position, the proctors from Oxford, watchfully observant of every detail which might serve to guide them whenever royalty should deign to honour their university also with a like mark of favour.

Dr Perne's sermon.

Dr Kelke and the players.

The disputations.

The royal departure.

At last, after five days of successful and brilliant entertainment, fraught with much that was memorable but marred by no disaster[2], the ceremonies came to a close, and

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[1] 'Historia nostra scriptum est, a Cantabro quodam Hispaniae principe (cum domestico tumultu patria ejectus, in nostrum regnum appulisset) Gurguntii temporibus, fuisse extructam. Hujus autoris sententiam Lelandus et vanitatis arguens et mendacii, Sigebertum regem facit academiae nostrae conditorem. In quo perniciosum reliquit exemplum nimis curiose in historias inquirendi, et sibi etiam parum consuluit. Nam, cum ipse tam multis non credat mirabiliter in hoc conspirantibus, quis paulo magis consideratus ei soli fidem putabit esse adhibendam?' Nichols, *Progresses*, III 43.

[2] Mr Froude (*Hist. of England*, VII 205) gives 'from the Simancas MSS.' the following story, which rests on the authority of De Silva, the Spanish ambassador, who 'described the scene

The Duke of Norfolk visits Magdalene College.

Elizabeth set out on the Thursday morning by the Huntingdon road, for the palace of my lord of Ely at Longstanton. All the colleges had been visited or at least inspected, except Jesus College and Magdalene. The former, from its remoteness, was altogether passed by; and although the royal cavalcade halted at the gates of the latter, the fatigues of the preceding days, the heat, and the pressure of the throng, induced the queen to forego the formality of listening to the proffered oration. Dr Kelke however was on the alert. The duke of Norfolk, who had accompanied Elizabeth to Cambridge, was not only high steward of the town but also son-in-law of the deceased lord Audley[1]. When the royal cavalcade had advanced a little distance on the road, he was induced to turn back and to note for himself the melancholy

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as he heard it from an eye-witness:' 'Elizabeth had been entreated to remain one more evening to witness a play which the students had got up among themselves for her amusement. Having a long journey before her the following day, and desiring to sleep ten miles out of Cambridge to relieve the distance, she had been unwillingly obliged to decline. The students, too enamoured of their performance to lose the chance of exhibiting it, pursued the queen to her resting-place. She was tired, but she would not discourage so much devotion, and the play commenced. The actors entered on the stage in the dress of the imprisoned Catholic bishops. Each of them was distinguished by some symbol suggestive of the persecution. Bonner particularly carried a lamb in his arms at which he rolled his eyes and gnashed his teeth. A dog brought up the rear with the host in his mouth. Elizabeth could have better pardoned the worst insolence to herself: she rose, and with a few indignant words left the room; the lights were extinguished, and the discomfited players had to find their way out of the house in the dark, and to blunder back to Cambridge.' 'The story,' adds Mr Froude in a foot-note, 'naturally enough, is not mentioned by Nicolls (*sic*), who details with great minuteness the sunny side of the visit to the university.' It is quite certain that Nichols never saw the story. We are indebted for the details of the royal visit to three principal sources: (1) the narrative of Matthew Stokys one of the esquire-bedells and registrary of the university; (2) a Latin narrative by Abraham Hartwell, fellow of King's College; (3) that of Nicholas Robinson, who, two years after, was elected bishop of Bangor. Of these three, Stokys was an intolerant Roman Catholic; Hartwell was afterwards secretary to Whitgift; and Robinson had once subscribed the Roman Catholic articles. He subsequently subscribed those of the Church of England, but retained throughout his life a strong anti-Puritan bias. Robinson, again, was himself a writer of plays, one of which was acted at Queens' College in 1553, and it may fairly be presumed that he would have been likely to take a special interest in anything connected with their performance. It seems in the highest degree improbable that these three would have omitted all reference to an incident so damaging to the Puritan party. I incline to the conclusion that the story was an invention of the Catholic party and that De Silva was imposed upon.

[1] As the duchess of Norfolk was lord Audley's sole heiress, the Duke was, in her right, patron and visitor of the college.

aspect of the unfinished buildings and the air of destitution that pervaded the whole college. He was moved by the spectacle, and on the spot bestowed a considerable largesse, while pledging himself to yet more effectual aid[1].

Results of the royal visit.

Such, in briefest outline, were the main features of the royal visit. The noble procession moved on; and amid the clouds of dust that arose on that glowing summer's day was gradually lost to view, but it left behind an impression which long dwelt in men's memories and by many a poor student was doubtless often afterwards recalled amid the dull monotony of his remote country cure as the most splendid reminiscence of his past. Some of the incidents however were attended by more definite results than mere transient gratification. Master's foolish vaunt respecting the antiquity of the university aroused the susceptibilities of Oxford, and gave rise to a controversy in which Dr Caius, unhappily for his well-earned reputation, was induced to espouse and defend an altogether untenable theory[2]. A volume presented to the queen supplies us with a concise statement of the numbers and constituent elements in each college, and shews the aggregate total in the university at this time to have been 1267[3].

The new version of the bidding prayer.

In the sermon preached by Dr Perne, we may note, again, the earliest extant version of that particular form of the bidding prayer so familiar to the attendants at the afternoon services at Great St Mary's, as it first found expression divested, on the one hand, of the superstitious sentiments of Roman doctrine, and characterised, on the other, by that ampler diction and those special clauses which mark its adaptation to the services of the academic community and record the peculiar tradition of the church in the university[4].

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[1] Nichols, *Progresses*, etc. (ed. 1805), III 133.

[2] See Vol. I, p. 66. Caius wrote *de Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae libri duo. In quorum secundo de Oxoniensis quoque Gymnasii antiquitate disseritur et Cantabrigiense longo eo antiquius esse definitur.* Lond. 8vo. 1568. [Reprinted by Hearne with the animadversions of Tho. Caius thereon. Oxford, 1730].

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, II 206–8.

[4] See Appendix (B): the listeners on this occasion could scarcely have failed to call to mind that one notable alteration in the prayer,—that whereby Elizabeth renounced the title of 'supreme head' for that of 'governor'

Consequences which, according to Sir G. Paule, resulted from one of the disputations.

If however we were disposed to give credence to one writer, the royal visit was productive of consequences far graver than any of the foregoing. There are minds naturally so incapable of comprehending high and disinterested motive, that they invariably seek for the key of all human action in what is vulgar and ignoble. Wyclif's assumption of the part of a reformer, if we will but listen to writers of this order, may be traced back to his personal resentment at his expulsion from the wardenship of Canterbury Hall,—Luther's yet more heroic career, to the spirit of retaliation evoked by the infringement of the privileges of the religious community to which he originally belonged[1]. In like manner, we are told that Cartwright's enmity to the Established Church dated from the day in which he and Preston, afterwards master of Trinity Hall, appeared as disputants in a scholastic act before the queen. On this occasion, according to one narrator, Cartwright, although the better scholar and probably the abler disputant, was eclipsed in the royal estimation by the superior grace, carriage, and personal demeanour of his antagonist. Elizabeth openly and warmly commended Preston; and before leaving, not only gave him her hand to kiss, but saluted him as her scholar and granted him an annual pension of twenty pounds. Cartwright, on the other hand, remained uncommended and unpensioned. Conscious of slighted merit, he took deep umbrage; and from that time, to quote the language of the narrator, 'began to wade into divers opinions' and 'to kick against the queen's ecclesiastical government[2].' The evidence

THOMAS CARTWRIGHT: *b.* 1535. *d.* 1603.

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of the Reformed Church of England, —was generally reported to be owing to the persuasion of a former master of St John's. See *Parker Corresp.*, p. 66.

[1] See vol. I, p. 554.

[2] Paule, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 10. We may justly look with some suspicion on the story when proceeding from one who was comptroller of Whitgift's household. I concur with Brook and Cooper (*Athenae*, II 360) in regarding the story as 'deserving little consideration.' Mr Froude, following Sir George Paule, represents Cartwright as having become 'sickened with the vestment controversy' and thereupon repairing to Geneva, on his *return* from whence he was appointed Margaret professor! (See *Hist. of England*, IX 345): Mr Greene (*Short History*, p. 455 and *Hist. of England*, II 398) repeats this error. I may observe, once for all, that there is no evidence that Cartwright visited Geneva prior to his removal from his professorship. See Brook, *Life of Cartwright*, pp. 43–44.

certainly does not incline us to accept this story as probable. Thomas Cartwright, who, at the time of the royal visit, was about thirty years of age, had originally been a sizar at Clare Hall where he was distinguished as a hard and successful student. From Clare Hall he had been promoted to a junior fellowship at Trinity, and thence again to a fellowship at St John's, where he was afterwards made junior dean. About April, 1562, he returned as a major fellow to Trinity, and in 1564 was already one of the seniority on that foundation. His attainments and his abilities were now alike attracting notice; and his sermons at Great St Mary's were attended by such numbers, that it is said that when he preached the windows of the church were removed in order that those who were unable to find a place within might hear him from outside. He had however brought with him to Trinity the notions which the example and the teaching of the two Pilkingtons had only too effectually instilled into the minds of the younger members of St John's[1], and it is far from improbable that his name may have been mentioned to Elizabeth as that of one who was especially opposed to the established discipline, and that her demeanour may have designedly indicated her disapproval of his views.

His Puritanical sentiments probably to be referred to the influences dominant at St John's.

Rapid spread of Calvinistic doctrines in the university.

But however this may have been, there is ample evidence that the doctrines of Calvin were now spreading rapidly in well nigh all the colleges,—King's and Peterhouse presenting perhaps the only marked exceptions. Calvin himself had died shortly before the royal visit to Cambridge, but his place at Geneva was ably filled by his disciple and biographer, the eminent Theodore Beza. At Zürich, the wise and temperate Bullinger and Rodolph Gualter sustained the traditions of Zwinglius[2]. The interchange of intelligence and counsel between these leaders of the Helvetic churches and those of the English communion at this period was constant and sympathetic. At Oxford, Parkhurst, Lawrence Humphrey, master of Magdalen, and Thomas Sampson, now dean of Christchurch,—among the Cambridge divines, Sandys, Richard Cox, and Grindal,—were their most frequent correspondents. The advice given, from time to time, by the Swiss theologians to their friends in England appears on the whole creditable to their moderation and Christian feeling; and in the question of vestments, on which Elizabeth and Parker insisted so strenuously, they counselled obedience and concession[1]. With respect to the use of the surplice, however,—'the white linen garment that the mass-priest wears in popish religion,'—as one of them terms it[2], their language was less calculated to discourage resistance, for their aversion to that vestment was intense. Nor would it be just to look upon this feeling as mere Pharisaical fastidiousness or unreasoning prejudice. The force of association is an influence which it is equally dangerous and difficult to disregard; and to the follower of Calvin or of Zwinglius the surplice seemed inseparably associated with all that he most abhorred. He thought to see, returning in its train, the gorgeous vestments, the

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[1] Baker's thorough knowledge of our university history enabled him first to point out the true connexion: 'It can never,' he observes, 'be forgot that it was under this master (*i.e.* James Pilkington) and his brother that Thomas Cartwright, William Fulke, Percival Wiburn, Leaver the younger, etc. sprung up, who were all fellows under them and infected the college with an almost incurable disaffection, and laid the seeds of our succeeding divisions.' Baker-Mayor, p. 148.

[2] Beza writing to Bullinger (3 Sept., 1566) refers to the Church of the Zwinglians as the only one 'by whose authority both the queen and the

Dislike to the use of the surplice.

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bishops seem likely to be influenced.' *Zürich Letters* (2), p. 131. Calvin's influence in England up to this time seems to have been mainly among the younger members of the two universities.

[1] 'And I also exhort you all...that every one of you should duly consider with himself, whether he will not more edify the Church of Christ by regarding the use of habits for the sake of order and decency, as a matter of indifference, and which hitherto has tended somewhat to the harmony and advantage of the church; than by leaving the church, on account of the vestiarian controversy, to cause it to be occupied hereafter, if not by evident wolves, at least by ill-qualified and bad ministers.' Letter of Bullinger to Lawrence Humphrey and Thomas Sampson, Sept. 1566: *Ibid.* (1), p. 355. Beza (who, as Hallam observes, was less disposed to be satisfied with the organization of the English Church), in the letter quoted in the preceding note, refers in strong terms to the pressure put upon the members of that communion by Elizabeth and Parker, and says that those who wear 'square caps, bands, surplices, hoods,' etc. resemble 'priests of Baal.' *Ibid.* (2), p. 130.

[2] Hierome Zanchius to Queen Elizabeth: 10 Sept., 1571. *Ibid.* (2), p. 339. See also Bullinger's 'Observations sent to Bishop Horn on the English Prayer Book.' *Ibid.* (2), p. 357. 'The most copious repertory of objections to the surplice,' observes Mr Mayor, 'the mark of the "linigeri calvi of Isis," is supplied by Prynne.' Baker-Mayor, p. 588.

lighted candles, the uplifted host, and the whole of that elaborate ritual which in his mind and in his experience stood identified in turn with Roman superstition and priestly tyranny,—the intellect prostrate at the confessional, morality disregarded in minute attention to ceremonial, and the spiritual light within only burning yet more dimly as the tapers on the altar multiplied and blazed with more dazzling brightness.

Parker's letter to Cecil.

Destruction of superstitious windows.

George Withers of Corpus Christi College.

His licence to preach conferred by the university.

The gravity of the crisis that was impending at Cambridge seems now for the first time to have been adequately recognised by Parker and Cecil. The former, writing to the latter in the month of March, 1565, gives it as his opinion that the question is becoming one not of vestments merely but of all ritual[1]. The occasion of this observation was a recent outbreak of Calvinistic feeling in the university, which had resulted in the removal and destruction of certain painted windows in the college chapels and elsewhere which contained inscriptions sanctioning prayers for the dead. This measure, it is to be noted, was duly authorised by a grace passed in January, 1565[2]; but the expense of carrying it out was defrayed by one George Withers, a master of arts of Corpus Christi College, distinguished as a zealous reformer and a pertinacious refuser of the square cap. He was a scholar of some attainments and possessed of considerable talent as a preacher, a gift which was at that time acquiring for him no little popularity with the congregation at Bury St Edmund's[3]. His licence to preach had not, however, been derived from the archbishop but from a special privilege of the university. A bull granted in 1503 by Alexander VI. had given to both Oxford and Cambridge the right to license twelve preachers annually[4]; this privilege, suspended under Edward, had been restored by Mary and confirmed by Elizabeth, and it was by virtue of one of these licences that Withers preached[5].

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[1] *Parker Corresp.*, p. 236.

[2] MSS. Baker, XXIV, 143.

[3] Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. III, c. 3.

[4] 'That bull of *Episcopus Ostiensis*,' says Parker, in his letter to Cecil, 'is long since dead.' *Parker Corresp.*, p. 238.

[5] See (*a*) 'A Forme of Licence for

It would appear that, not satisfied with carrying out the grace above mentioned, Withers had taken occasion when preaching at Great St Mary's to incite the university to a more general destruction of all superstitious windows. The Heads who heard him did not deem it expedient to take any action in the matter[1]; but the drift of the sermon having been privately reported to Parker, he summoned Withers to Lambeth. There he demanded his licence, and finding that it was defective, in that the signature of the chancellor of the university was wanting, and finding also that Withers was contumacious in the matter of the cap, he suspended him from preaching. The success with which the Puritan party were cultivating the preacher's art, was indeed a source of grave anxiety to Elizabeth and her ministers; nor, when we consider how frequently the pulpit in those days was made subservient to political purposes, is it possible to doubt that watchfulness in this direction was a real state necessity. On returning to Cambridge, Withers on further reflection deemed it prudent to adopt a less defiant tone, and shortly after intimated to Parker his willingness to comply with the regulations concerning vestments. We hear of him somewhat later at Geneva, and then at Zürich, and finally as settling down as a quiet parish priest in England, still indeed not untroubled by scruples, but setting a wise example of conformity in such matters for the sake of union and peace[2].

Parker pronounces it defective and suspends him from preaching.

Withers subsequently complies with the orders respecting vestments.

His subsequent career.

The spirit which the foregoing demonstration had helped to evoke continued however to gather strength in the university. In September, 1565, another grace was carried which enjoined that the vestments, the new silver cross, the censers

Other symptoms of Calvinistic feeling in the university. Destruction of 'superstitious monuments.'

Preaching of old Custome used. Granted by Bishop Fisher, Chancellor of the University of Cambridge.' (*b*) 'A Clause of Privilege for licencing Preachers: sued to be graunted of King Edward VI to the University: but not obteyned.' (*c*) 'Queen Elizabeth's Grant to the University for licencing Preachers.' Strype, *Ibid.*, Append. nos. XXXV, XXXVII, and XXXVIII.

[1] 'I send you a letter sent to me of the racket stirred up by Withers, of whom ye were informed, for the reformation of the university windows, but I hear nothing done against him.' Parker to Cecil, 8 Mar. 1565; *Parker Corresp.*, p. 234.

[2] Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. III, c. 4.

and other monuments of superstition then lying in the vestry of Great St Mary's should be removed and sold[1]; and this measure was shortly followed by a series of yet bolder and bolder manifestations of Puritan feeling. Somewhat earlier in the year it had become known at Cambridge that Parker was preparing his celebrated *Advertisements*, designed to enforce a certain observance of church discipline and especially to lay down the essential requirements with respect to vestments. The Calvinist party at Cambridge appeared to have formed somewhat exaggerated notions of the scope of these regulations, and now addressed a letter to Cecil earnestly deprecating a compulsory return to the ancient ritualistic observance. There were, they represented, many pious and learned men in the university to whom the use of vestments appeared altogether wrong, and there was reason to fear that, if such usage were made compulsory, the academic community might find itself bereft of many of its best and ablest members[2]. The signitaries to this letter were Robert Beaumont, Roger Kelke, Matthew Hutton (master of Pembroke), Longworth (master of St John's), and John Whitgift, fellow of Peterhouse and lady Margaret professsor. Beaumont was at this time especially conspicuous by his sympathy with the Calvinist party, and, as we have already seen, had been active in procuring the election of Leonard Pilkington to the mastership of St John's[3]. To him Cecil, indignant at the receipt of this missive, addressed a sharp letter of remonstrance, to which Beaumont replied in humble and deprecatory tones, alleging that he had himself always worn the surplice and had as far as lay in his power enforced its use. His motives, he urged, in signing the letter were those of simple

Resistance to Parker's *Advertisements*.

Letter on the subject from the Heads to Cecil: 1565.

Correspondence between Beaumont and Cecil.

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[1] Baker MSS. xxiv, 144.

[2] 'Est autem, quod te, hominem alioqui et in humana politia, et in summa religionis exercitatum penitus latere non potest, de Edicto rationis Vestiariae. Cujus jamdudum apud nos magnopere fama percrebuit: fore scilicet, ut ad illius praescriptum vetus omnes nostrae Academiae alumni, quadam necessitate imposita, redigantur. Qua quidem in re, cum nobiscum ipsi quotidie recordamur, quanta sit apud nos et piorum et eruditorum multitudo, qui testimonio conscientiae usum omnem ornatus hujusmodi sibi illegitimum ducant, et quorum discessu (si vis edicti urgeat) omnino est periculum, ne Academia nostra orba fuerit,' etc. Strype, *Life of Parker*, Append. no. xxxix.

[3] See *supra*, p. 188.

expediency. As however it was looked upon with disapproval, he could only express his contrition and promise that for the future he would do his best to maintain the prescribed discipline[1]. The matter appeared to Cecil of sufficient importance to induce him to consult Parker. The primate does not, certainly, on this occasion, write like one inclined to concession. He advises Cecil to be jealous of his dignity and authority and not to permit them to be overborne by 'a bragging brainless Head or two[2].' That he underrated the strength of the growing movement is proved by the fact that the next intelligence received by Cecil from Cambridge was to the effect that the fellows and scholars of St John's, some three hundred in number, had appeared in the college chapel without their surplices[3]. This it was suspected had taken place with the connivance of Longworth, the newly-elected master, who was absent on the occasion, and whose absence was believed to have been intentional[4]. To St John's, Cecil now addressed fresh remonstrances couched in sterner language,—'vainglory,' 'affectation of popularity,' 'contempt of laws,' 'desire of innovating' were among the expressions which fell from his pen. He enjoined strict compliance; lamented in pathetic terms the condition of his own college; but endeavoured to find some comfort in the thought, that this 'lewd leprosy of libertines,' as he termed it, was mainly confined to one society and to the younger members of the university, and that, according to his information, the 'elders and fathers,' 'with others of approved learning and godliness,' remained uninfected[5]. Longworth was summoned to London and there required to subscribe a lengthy and solemn recantation of his errors[6]. The reflection from which Cecil sought to derive some consolation was soon dispelled by the occurrence of a similar demonstration at Trinity, of which Cartwright was reported to have been the prime mover. Cartwright appears to have deemed it prudent to withdraw from

Parker enjoins Cecil to be firm.

The Johnians reject the surplice.

Cecil's letter to the Master.

Like demonstration at Trinity College.

Cartwright suspected.

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[1] Strype, *Annals*, I, ii, c. 44.

[2] *Parker Corresp.*, p. 246.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, II, 218.

[4] Strype, *Annals*, I, ii, c. 44.

[5] Strype, *Life of Parker*, Append. no. XLI.

[6] Strype, *Annals*, I, ii, c. 44.

the university for a time, and the ensuing year was spent by him in quiet obscurity in Ireland[1].

Romanist tendencies in the university.

In the mean while, Cecil's anxiety was in no way diminished by finding that in the society chiefly distinguished by its freedom from the Calvinistic spirit the opposite infection of Romanism was lurking. At King's College, Dr Philip Baker, the provost, was reported by some of the fellows to be harbouring a hidden store of mass-books, vestments, and other 'Popish stuff,' while his disregard for the welfare of the society and undisguised sympathy with the Catholic party were notorious. It may be looked upon as evidence of the comparative leniency with which Catholics were treated during the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign that Baker after receiving certain injunctions from the visitor of the college, the bishop of Lincoln[2], was suffered to remain in his post. Four years later, fresh articles were preferred against him which involved not simply his Protestant orthodoxy but also his general fitness and even his honesty as an administrator. Unable to repel the statements of his accusers, he fled from the university and was succeeded in the provostship by Roger Goad, whose long prefecture offered in every respect a marked contrast to the rule of his predecessor[3].

Dr Philip Baker, provost of King's College.

Feuds at Caius College between the master and the fellows.

At Caius College, notwithstanding the excellent intentions of its head, the state of affairs was eminently unsatisfactory. Dr Caius, who lay under the suspicion of harbouring Catholic sympathies[4], was an object of dislike to the majority of the fellows and could with difficulty maintain his authority. He viewed with undisguised contempt the indifference of the younger members of the university to learning[5].

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 360.

[2] Nicholas Bullingham, formerly a fellow of All Souls, Oxford; described by Parker as 'an honest true-meaning man,' but wanting in refinement and in merit of any high order. See Cooper, *Athenae*, I 350; *Parker Corresp.*, p. 378.

[3] Strype, *Life of Grindal*, bk. i, c. 14. Goad, at the time of his preferment, was master of the grammar school at Guildford in Surrey: 'a pleasant sight,' observes Fuller, 'to behold preferment seeking to find out desert.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 271.

[4] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 313–14.

[5] Writing to Parker in 1567, on the occasion of sending him the manuscript of his book *de Antiquitate Cantabrigiensis Academiae* (see *supra*, p. 192), he regrets he can get no help in the university in preparing it for the press,—'*yong men*

His temper too had not improved with advancing years, and he retaliated on his persecutors in a fashion which, when compared with the modern discipline of such societies, appears somewhat extraordinary. He not only involved them in law-suits which emptied their slender purses, but visited them with personal castigations and even incarcerated them in the stocks[1]! Expulsions were frequent, no less than twenty of the fellows, according to the statement of two of their number, having at different times suffered this extreme penalty[2]. The statutes were openly defied; and one 'Mr Dorington,' although holding 'two cured livings,' still stoutly refused to vacate his fellowship, and his resistance to the pressure brought to bear upon him in consequence appears to have been productive of more than one sanguinary encounter[3]. In their resentment at the master's severity, his victims trumped up articles accusing him of atheism. Parker, on being called upon to intervene, was at first not a little perplexed by his sense, on the one hand, of Dr Caius' distinguished services to learning and to the university,—services, he takes occasion to observe, now becoming rare,—and a consciousness, on the other, that some of the expulsions had been carried out with undue precipitancy[4]. The articles

Dr Caius accused of atheism.

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now a days be so negligent that they care for nothing.' Strype, *Life of Parker*, Append. no. LV.

[1] 'That no man hereafter be stocked or beaten for keping his rights until the matter be decyded.' Petition of Stephen Warner and Robert Spencer, fellowes of the college, to Cecil; *State Papers (Dom.) Eliz.* XXXIX, no. 5. This remarkable illustration of college life appears, judging from the tremulous character of the writing, to have emanated from two of the older fellows, who represent themselves (probably with perfect truth) as reduced to the utmost distress and perplexity by their expulsion.

[2] 'That Mr Vicechancellor, Dr Perne, [or] other in the universitie whom it shall please your honour, may see your orders made put in execution, and that our Master may be ruled by some good man's counsel hereafter and not to drive the fellowes to such chargeable sutes and troubles wherein he delyteth to undoe pore men, he never being quiet since he came to the college as may appeare in the number of his expulsions which have been above twenty, with an infinite number of injuries to the old founders and benefactors and their fellowes which is well knowen to the hole universitie.' *Ibid.*

[3] 'That the contumacie toward Mr Vicechancellor, the fighting with the fellowes and bloudshed committed by Mr Dorington may be punished according to statute.' *Ibid.* and XXXIX, no. 4.

[4] 'Although I see overmuch rashness in the master for expelling fellows so sodenly, etc. he hath been well told of it, as well of my lord of London as by myself; and surely the contemptuous behaviour of these

preferring the charge of atheism were however too grave to be lightly dealt with, and he deemed it necessary to refer the matter to Cecil: 'I could wish a better in his place to govern the house,' he writes, 'I like not the stones builded by such impiety[1].' The charge of atheism appears eventually to have been quashed by Cecil, who at the same time confirmed several of the expulsions. He stipulated however that for the future Dr Caius should observe a more regular routine whenever he might deem it necessary to amend the code of the college[2].

Cecil's decision as arbitrator.

Parker at first makes light of these disputes.

In his letter to Cecil, of the 29th of December, 1565, Parker had spoken somewhat contemptuously of these 'trifles and brabbles,' as he terms them, and suggested that it would be better that the fellows of colleges should not be allowed to acquire a habit of appealing too frequently to the chancellor from the decisions of their heads. 'I would not,' he writes, 'have your time so drawn from better doings in the weighty causes of the realm. Scholars' controversies be now many and troublous; and their delight is to come before men of authority to shew their wits[3].' Within two years, however, he found it necessary himself to invoke Cecil's interference in connexion with divers misdemeanours in 'manners and doctrine' in his own college, where, in conjunction with the other ecclesiastical commissioners, he had enjoined that search should be made for certain suspected books[4]. The pertinacity with which the vice-chancellor (John Young, master of Pembroke) sought to baffle this design was a fresh source of

Search for suspected books at Corpus College.

Most of the colleges refuse to use the new Latin Prayer Book.

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fellows hath much provoked him... Founders and benefactors be very rare at these days; therefore I do bear the less with such as would (but in a mere triumph) deface him, and respect more that conquest than any quiet in the house.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* XXXVIII, no. 26. [Parker to Cecil, 29 Dec. 1565].

[1] *Parker Corresp.*, pp. 251–2. 'Probably Caius thought the better to cover his former instability in religion, by throwing out expressions occasionally, whereby he would pretend to have had little zeal for any religion; or his aim might be to obscure his secret kindness for the old popish religion.' Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. iii, c. 5.

[2] *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* XXXIX, no. 7. 'Mihi satis compertum est,' says Baker, 'ex scriptis ejus ineditis, Jo. Caium fuisse pium, sociosque ejus ingratos: quod novum non est, nec ante hunc diem inauditum.' MS. note to copy of Strype's *Parker* preserved in St John's College Library, p. 200.

[3] *Parker Corresp.*, pp. 248–50.

[4] Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. iii, c. 20; Cooper, *Annals*, II 235–8.

annoyance; while, about the same time, the majority of the colleges gave further trouble by refusing to adopt the new Latin version of the Prayer Book especially compiled for their use[1]. Not a little discouraging, again, was the small amount of confidence which Cecil and Parker alike felt could be placed in most of the existing heads of houses. There were careless or incapable administrators, like John Pory at Corpus and Roger Kelke at Magdalene. There were zealous and imprudent Calvinists, like Longworth at St John's and Beaumont at Trinity, tacitly encouraging the younger members to insubordination against the prescribed discipline. There were men of more or less avowed or suspected Romanist sympathies like John Young[2], Philip Baker, Dr Caius, and Henry Harvey, at Pembroke, King's, Gonville, and Trinity Hall, hopefully expectant that a Catholic marriage might yet change the sentiments of Elizabeth and again restore the ascendancy of their secret faith. John Hawford at Christ's, Chaderton, who had just succeeded to the presidency of Queens', Ithell at Jesus College, and John May at St Catherine's were perhaps the only heads to whom James Pilkington's assertion, that it was difficult to say whether they did more harm by their absence or their presence, was not fairly applicable[3].

The heads of houses at this time wanting as a body in ability and loyalty.

Equally unsatisfactory, as the concurrence of writers of such different habits of thought as Dr Caius, James Pilkington, and William Harrison, the historian, clearly proves, was the general *morale* of the great body of the students. The frivolous and the more thoughtful alike exulted in manifesting their contempt for discipline: the former by assuming the foppish dress of the day, or by indulging in brutal sports and frequent broils with the townsmen,—the latter by appearing at chapel on Sundays or feast-days without their surplices,

The students mostly either zealously Calvinistic or generally given to dissipation.

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[1] Strype, *Ibid.*

[2] This John Young, who was master of Pembroke from 1567 to 1578, must be carefully distinguished from his predecessor of the same name who was master from 1553 to 1559. The latter, who refused to take the oath of supremacy, died a prisoner in Wisbeach Castle in 1580. The former, who succeeded to the mastership on the recommendation of Grindal (although he had subscribed the Roman Catholic articles), was elected to the bishopric of Rochester in 1578 when he was succeeded by William Fulke.

[3] See *supra*, p. 185, and *infra*, p. 235.

going out when the first words of the Latin service greeted their ears, and rejecting the square cap as a part of the academic costume. Authority was perpetually vexed; those in subjection were in a state of continual excitement. The quiet, the unruffled temper, the calm and sustained exercise of the mental faculties, all the conditions, in short, which it is the primary design of a university to secure for the studious, had almost disappeared. The teachers at Zürich and Strassburg, who knew by painful experience the injury that must infallibly result to the cause of the Protestant faith and of Protestant learning, in vain advised that divergence of opinion with respect to non-essentials should not be permitted to become a source of hopeless divisions[1]. They failed to realise,—perhaps, owing to the different organization of a German and an English university, could hardly be expected fully to understand,—the extent to which personal animosity entered into the feelings of those who, as they met in the college hall, the chapel, and the schools, thought to recognise in each other the hereditary foe or the dishonourable renegade in relation to the cause which each had most at heart. It is melancholy to note the change which had come over St John's College since the days of good old Dr Metcalfe, when the youthful scholar, animated by the approval of his seniors and the congenial spirit of his compeers, had forestalled the dawn in his enthusiastic study of the masterpieces of Roman or Athenian eloquence and philosophy. Under Longworth the seed which his two predecessors had sown began to bear fruit; and William Fulke, one of the junior fellows, whose conspicuous talent was unhappily attracted into the agitation respecting the use of the surplice, was expelled from the college after an uproar which the academic authorities, in a letter to Cecil, described as being 'nearly to the danger of life and to the incredible shame and disgrace of the university[2].'

Contrast presented by St John's College under Longworth to its condition in the time of Dr Metcalfe.

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[1] See especially Bullinger's letter to Miles Coverdale, 10 Sept., 1566. *Zürich Letters* (2), pp. 136–7.

[2] MS. Lansd. xi, art. 81. Baker implies that Fulke's insubordination is to be referred to Cartwright's influence. Strype quotes a letter from 'several fellows of the graver sort,' written in August, 1569, to Cecil, 'complaining of the degeneracy of their college, and desiring his assistance. And that during Longworth's government their house went more and more into decay of good learn-

Death of Ascham: 30 Dec. 1568.

Bartholomew Clerke, of King's College.

His letter to Cecil respecting the trivial disputes in the colleges.

It was just when these college feuds were at their hottest, at the beginning of the year 1569, that the news of Roger Ascham's death reached Cambridge. His loss was sorely lamented by all true scholars, and not least by his royal mistress to whom he filled the post of Latin secretary. Cecil and Walter Haddon exerted their influence to obtain the appointment of Bartholomew Clerke, a scholar of King's College, to the vacant post, but it had already been promised to another. Clerke, indeed, was not one of those qualified by instinct to catch the breeze of either royal or popular favour. Elizabeth, at this period at least, appears to have been somewhat prejudiced against him; while by contending sects he was more than once accused of unsoundness in religion[1]. That he should have been unpopular is a fact sufficiently accounted for when we note how, almost alone in the university, he appears to have regarded with the feelings of the true scholar and philosopher that petty but demoralising warfare which now raged so fiercely. In a letter to Cecil, written shortly before this time, he indulges in a pathetic lament over 'these fanatical contests about the surplice and the cap[2],' amid which, he avers, 'the time once bestowed upon the arts and sciences is frittered away in frivolous disputes,' while the baneful example spreads like

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ing, which once flourished so much among them. And that things were now come to that pass, that they were ashamed of themselves; using those words in their letter, *Qua fronte hominum vultus nos intueri possumus?*' *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 3; Baker-Mayor, pp. 162, 586.

[1] See Cooper, *Athenae*, II 70; 'much esteemed,' says Strype, 'for his learning and Latin style'; he appears to have enjoyed the good opinion of both Parker and Whitgift: see Strype, *Annals*, II, i, c. 25.

[2] He styles the opponents of the square cap and the surplice 'Galeriani,' and 'superpelliciani.' 'Illi mehercule homines,' he goes on to say, 'non ita meo judicio sapientes (quorum ineptias, aut potius φιλαυτίαν, gaudeo tibi ab aliis nunciatam) adeo suis consiliis omnia perturbarunt, ut quod temporis antehac artibus et scientiis solet (sic) attribui, id nunc futilissimis de lana caprina altercationibus fallitur et consumitur. Qui prima istorum seminaria ad nos invexerunt, licet alioqui sint homines boni et religiosi, in hoc tamen sunt partim obscurius iniqui, partim non dissimulanter ingrati. Nam et cancellarii nobilissimi temere voluntati resistunt, et inauditas conscientiae leges ipsi sibi affingunt, et multos suo veneno, non dicam *Anabaptismate*, inficiunt. Difficile enim est in tanta adolescentium turba (qui in errorem caerei et flexiles sunt) delirare aliquos ut non plures in idem secum delirium trahant.' Strype, *Life of Parker*, Append. no. XLIII. Clerke's letter, which Strype gives from a MS. 'penes me,' is dated 12th Dec. and assigned by Strype to the year 1565.

Amusing story which he relates.

contagion among the younger scholars. A certain ludicrous element appears, however, occasionally to have relieved the monotonous contention, and Clerke here takes occasion to tell one story which even to Cecil, toiling perennially through interminable correspondence, he holds too good to be left untold. This is of a certain young sophister, who, thinking to gain credit for the austerity of his principles, had presented himself without his surplice in chapel, audaciously selecting a conspicuous place among his duly-attired fellow-students. Having thus attracted the attention of the dean and having been summoned to account for his conduct, he had speciously pleaded the violence he should do to his convictions were he to put on the prescribed garment. It finally transpired, however, that 'the pious youth' (*religiosus adolescens,* as Clerke sarcastically terms him) had pawned his surplice to some purveyor of dainties to the colleges, in order to defray the cost of a more than usually sumptuous entertainment! This singular preference for even the cloak of hypocrisy to the surplice, and the attempt to veil inordinate indulgence of appetite by the profession of more than ordinary tenderness of conscience, appear to have been too much for the gravity of some of the seniors, who could not conceal a smile. Clerke concludes his letter by adjuring Cecil to apply some effectual remedy to these senseless follies, and to exert his influence in order that 'the sound of pure Gospel truth' may again be heard instead of the 'empty paradoxes' which were then being so clamorously propounded from the pulpit and in the schools[1].

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[1] 'Unum illud (licet honori (sic) tuo indignum est, tamen quoniam ridiculum) praeterire non possum. Venit forte fortuna in cujusdam Collegii chorum homunculus quidam, vix adhuc sophista, et cum reliqui superpelliceis induti essent, is ex omnibus unus (si Diis placet) exutus esse vult. Assidet sociis, ingerit se consertissimis, summa confidentia, summa inverecundia. Mirati omnes, nonnulli indignati. Res ad censores delata; habita quaestio est; interrogatur an *hasta posita* (ut quidam) proscripsisset; respondet modeste, negat demisse. Conscientiam deinde criminatur, quae liberas illi his rebus utendi habenas non concessisset. Comperta demum veritate, exploratum sit, religiosum adolescentem hunc superpellicium suum coco cuidam propter magnum farciminum vim oppignorasse. Ridere tum alii, alii risum dissimulare.' *Ibid.*

Cartwright returns to Cambridge and is elected lady Margaret professor.

In the meantime, Cartwright had returned to Cambridge, and it is significant evidence of the strength of his party that, in the year 1569, he was elected to the lady Margaret professorship. Not less does it indicate his want, at this period of his career, of judgement and moderation, that he should forthwith have proceeded to avail himself of the vantage ground afforded by his new position to assail the constitution and ordinances of the English Church. The progress of Puritanical[1] feeling would appear at this time to have been singularly rapid. It was but nine years since Jewell, preaching at Paul's Cross, had dealt what was then regarded as an almost fatal blow at the pretensions of Romanism, by appealing to the practice of the Church of the first six centuries; and already the supporters of the Established Church in England found themselves in turn called upon to shew that arguments very similar to those which Jewell had employed were not almost equally applicable to their own communion. The points especially animadverted upon by Cartwright, were however those distinctively characteristic of the English Church when compared with the other Protestant Churches,—the institution of archbishops and bishops, of archdeacons and deacons; the appointment of preachers without any settled charge; and the practice of appointing those who were selected to minister to certain congregations without admitting the congregation themselves to a voice in the election[2]. Other points, such as the keeping of saints' days and the enforced use of homilies,

He proceeds to attack the organisation of the English Church.

Rapid spread under his teaching of Puritanical doctrine.

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[1] I shall feel no hesitation, from this point, in speaking of the new school of theology at Cambridge as *Puritanical.* Strype (*Annals*, Vol. II, pt. i, c. 1) designates Cartwright as 'the head and most learned of that sect of dissenters then called *puritans.*' 'He was,' says Mr Hunt (*Hist. of Religious Thought*, I 49) 'the earliest complete incarnation of Puritanism, on its controversial and theological side.'

[2] Cartwright appears to have been accused of also attacking the 'vestments' in these lectures,—an indiscretion which would obviously have greatly aggravated his offence. This charge, however, is especially denied by his supporters in a letter to Burghley,—*de vestibus controversiam ne attigisse quidem.* Strype, *Annals*, II, i, c. 1. Cecil declares himself unable to decide between the conflicting evidence. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* LXXIII, no. 4; Strype, *Annals*, I, i, c. 57. Grindal describes Cartwright as 'not conformable in his apparell, contemninge also manie other laudable orders of the universitie.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* LXXI, no. 23.

were subsequently insisted upon in his celebrated *Admonition*, in which his complete indictment went far to make up the sum of the distinctions between Anglican and Puritan observance. If to the Cambridge of Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Tyndale belongs the high honour of having first recognised and promulgated in England the doctrines of the Reformation, to the Cambridge of the Pilkingtons, Beaumont, and Cartwright belongs the more equivocal distinction of having educated our earlier Puritanism and given shelter to the principles of Dissent.

Cartwright's conduct inconsistent with his acceptance of the professoriate.

It is easy to understand that to most of the more conscientious members of the university Cartwright's conduct must have seemed altogether indefensible, for the doctrines which he taught from his professorial chair were incompatible with an honourable observance of the conditions implicitly involved in his acceptance of that office[1]. Before an audience exclusively composed of those who were designed for the ministry of the Established Church of the realm, he had availed himself of his position as their appointed instructor in the tenets which they would afterwards be called upon to defend, to infuse into their minds sentiments of disloyalty and doubt. He may indeed have found a sufficient excuse in his own mind, by reflecting that his teaching was not more alien to that of the Elizabethan Church, than were the doctrines of that Church to the creed of the pious foundress of the chair to which he had been appointed; and it is certainly worthy of note that the glaring inconsistency of his conduct does not appear, at this juncture, to have been used by his opponents as an argument against him. With the younger and more ardent members of the Puritan party in the university his popularity continued to increase; and even those who viewed his conduct with disapproval still retained in no small degree their admiration for the abilities and learning of the man. While therefore the vice-chancellor and heads were making what they held to be the necessary representations to Cecil respecting Cartwright's conduct, the leading members of the party with which he was in sympathy were seeking to influence the chancellor's decision by counter-representations, and by forwarding highly favourable testimonials to the new professor's piety, high principles, and attainments[1]. Among this number was Robert Some of Queens' College, afterwards master of Peterhouse, who, while Cartwright's conduct was still under discussion, undertook a general vindication of his views in a sermon at Great St Mary's, at the same time strengthening the position of their party by a forcible attack on the less defensible abuses of pluralities and non-residence[2].

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[1] This view is taken by so temperate a critic as the late Mr Cooper. See his *Athenae*, II 360; also Marsden, *Early Puritans*, pp. 75–76.

His views supported by Robert Some in a sermon at St Mary's, in 1570.

JOHN WHITGIFT: *b.* 1530. *d.* 1604.

To whichever side in this controversy our sympathies may incline, it must, we think, be admitted that it was well for the university that in such a crisis a man of stronger will and more conspicuous ability was forthcoming among the heads of houses. It must also be allowed that the associations and experiences of John Whitgift's previous career were of a character likely to dispose him to form a more impartial estimate of these controversies than the great majority of his contemporaries. His earliest religious views appear to have been derived from an uncle, who, although an abbat of one of the English monasteries, had the candour and discernment to recognise the substantial justice of the nemesis which attended the degeneracy of the whole monastic order. On first entering at Cambridge, Whitgift had been a member of Queens' College, at that time under the rule of Dr William Mey, and as we have already seen a centre of the ultra-Protestant feeling in the university. From Queens' he had migrated to Pembroke, where his college tutor was the eminent John Bradford. As a fellow of Peterhouse, under the kindly protection of Dr Perne, his conscientious objection to Romanism had been confirmed by study, his dislike to it by the sinister features of the Marian persecution; while, at the same time, preserved from the embittering experiences of exile, his habits of thought and

His earlier experiences.

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[1] Lemon, *Calendar of State Papers* (1547–80), p. 388.

[2] Strype, *Life of Grindal*, bk. ii, c. 1.

whole temper remained more catholic and less vehement than those of the great majority of his countrymen who afterwards came back from Zürich and Geneva. Ever since the restoration of Protestantism, he had been rising steadily in the good opinion of the university and in favour with its all-potent chancellor. A sermon which he preached at St Mary's, in 1560, seems first to have brought him into general notice, and attracted no little admiration. In 1563 he was appointed to the lady Margaret professorship; and after a brief tenure of the mastership of Pembroke, he was promoted in 1567 to that of Trinity, on the death of Robert Beaumont. In the same year he vacated the chair of the lady Margaret professorship for that of the Regius professor of divinity. A sermon which he subsequently preached at court so effectually won the queen's approval that he was forthwith sworn in as one of the royal chaplains[1].

His steady rise during the years 1560-68.

He succeeds to the mastership of Trinity and is appointed to the Regius professorship of divinity.

Of the general moderation of Whitgift's views at this time, inclining however somewhat to those of the Calvinistic party, there can be no reasonable doubt. We have already seen that he was one of those who subscribed the remonstrance forwarded from the university, in 1565, against the injunctions, then impending, which prescribed uniformity in ecclesiastical dress[2]. On his election to the mastership of Pembroke, he had been hailed by the fellows of that society as one on whom they could rely to sustain the honoured traditions of Nicholas Ridley[3], and, had he not been actuated by a genuine aversion from Romanism, he would hardly have supported in his thesis for his doctor's degree the view

Inclined at this period somewhat to favour the Calvinistic party.

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[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, chapters i and ii.

[2] *Supra*, p. 198.

[3] In their letter to Grindal, by whom Whitgift had been recommended as successor to Dr Hutton in the mastership, the fellows of Pembroke thus write: 'vehementer ergo nobis nostrisque studiis gratulamur, Deoque praepotenti imprimis gratias agimus, quod non ita Ridleios stirpitus e nobis eradicaverit ut unicam fibram Grindellum (quem honoris causa nominamus) una etiam tollat. Hinc enim Huttonus nobis ortus, qui vires nostras non mediocriter auxit. *Hinc tandem Whitgiftus*, quem unum in optatis et habemus et volumus maxime.' Strype, *Ibid.*, Append. no. ii. Cartwright, when the high example of Ridley was on one occasion brought forward in argument against him as a precedent for compliance with the discipline prescribed in the liturgy, said that he preferred to follow bishop Hooper.

which identified the Pope with Antichrist[1]. The countenance which he gave to the opposite party was indeed so far exaggerated by those unfriendly to his advancement, that on the eve of his promotion to the mastership of Trinity he deemed it necessary to forward to Cecil, by whom he was much esteemed, a formal disclaimer of his sympathy with those who were intent on defying the royal authority[2]. It is evident however that with the year 1570 an important change had already taken place in his views and feelings. Calumny indeed has attributed to him motives far from honourable. Just as Cartwright has been represented by his enemies as actuated in his opposition to the discipline of the Established Church by chagrin at the preference shewn by royalty for his opponent in a disputation, so Whitgift, according to equally credible testimony, was moved to persecute the Puritan party, by jealousy at the admiration called forth by Cartwright's sermons in the university pulpit. Such an allegation might more easily be allowed to pass unchallenged, if we were willing to ignore two important considerations,—first, that Cartwright's conduct was strongly condemned by a large number of those who undoubtedly had the interests of the university at heart; and secondly that Whitgift's change of views was shared by many of the most moderate and distinguished members of the Calvinistic party. No English prelate of that age has left a higher reputation for candour and piety than Grindal, whose leniency towards the nonconformists was regarded by Parker with disapproval[3], and who, at this very time, was troubled by the reappearance of Romanist sympathies in his northern diocese. His condemnation of Cartwright, however, was prompt and emphatic; and, as we shall shortly see, he was one of the

Represented by his enemies as a non-conformer.

Motives by which he is represented to have been actuated in his treatment of Cartwright.

Considerations which serve to discredit these assertions.

His change of views shared by Grindal, Sandys, and other leaders of the Calvinistic party.

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[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, I 15.

[2] 'As touching my not-conformity ...I never encouraged any to withstand the Queen's Majesties laws in that behalf: but I both have, and do by al means I may, seek to persuade men to conform themselves. For it grieveth me, that any man should cease from preaching, for the use of these things, being of themselves indifferent.' *Ibid.*, Append. no. iv.

[3] Parker to Cecil, June, 1566; *Parker Corresp.*, p. 284. Marsden (*Early Puritans*, p. 122) justly observes 'while the courtiers of Elizabeth reviled Grindal as a Puritan, the followers of Cartwright reviled him as a persecutor.'

first to urge upon Cecil the necessity for vigorous interference. Few of the Marian exiles had given more incontestable proof of their genuine attachment to the Reformed faith than Sandys, who like Grindal was somewhat distrusted by Parker on account of his reluctance to enforce the established church discipline[1]; but no prelate expressed in more emphatic terms his sense of the danger with which the teaching of Cartwright and his followers was fraught[2]. The ultimate secession from the party of some of the latter's warmest admirers, such as Greenham and Downham[3], points equally to the conclusion that his conduct did not commend itself to the deliberate judgement of many over whom his eloquence and brilliant talents had at one time acted like a spell.

Singular inopportuneness of the agitation set on foot by Cartwright.

Viewed again in relation to the events then occurring in the political world, Cartwright's course of action could not but have appeared in the highest degree inopportune. The rebellion in the north had indeed been suppressed, but it was well known that disaffection lurked throughout the country. The deadly struggle against the oppressor which the adherents of the Reformed faith were then waging amid the dykes and beleaguered cities of Holland, was in itself a forcible appeal to all thoughtful Englishmen. None could then foresee the glorious sequel,—or the foundation, as one of its happiest results, of a new seat of learning destined to enjoy a proud preeminence among the schools of Protestantism[4]. But all knew the power of Spain. There were none so dull of apprehension as not to understand that not only the cause of a purer faith but that of English freedom was, in a manner, at stake in the war then raging so fiercely across the German ocean; none could feel secure that the champion of the Papacy might not, before long, be directing his triumphant fleets and armies against the British shores[1]. At such a time, to weaken the hands of authority at home by a captious and vexatious repudiation of a discipline which involved no great principle and of an authority which, while much needed, was temperately enforced, must have seemed a melancholy proof of the extent to which Christian duty could be lost sight of in theological bigotry, and patriotism in party. In connexion with communities like their own, again, the past and the present alike supplied significant warning. Königsberg, with its diminished numbers and waning prestige, still told of the effects of the grim controversial contest of some twenty years before, when the appointment of Osiander to a chair of theology was followed by the expulsion or resignation of a whole staff of professors, including one of the ablest Latinists in Europe[2]. George Withers, who had repaired in 1568 to Heidelberg to seek the degree of doctor of divinity[3],—an honour which Cartwright's experience suggests he might perhaps have solicited in vain at the hands of his own university,—could scarcely have left his Cambridge friends uninformed of the tumult that had followed upon the introduction of the Genevan discipline into that rising school of learning;—how the

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[1] Parker to Cecil, June, 1571: *Parker Corresp.*, p. 382.

[2] 'The city will never be quiet, until these authors of sedition, who are now esteemed as gods, as Field, Wilcox, Cartwright, and others, be far removed from the city' [i.e. London]. Sandys to Lord Burghley, Aug. 1573: Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, Append. no. xvi.

[3] See Strype, *Annals*, I ii, c. 1.

[4] As a reward of their heroic and successful resistance to the Spanish fleet commanded by Requesens, the citizens of Leyden were permitted to found a university (see Motley, *Dutch Republic*, pt. iv, c. 2), and hence arose the most famous Protestant seat of learning in the seventeenth century. 'In quo,' says Graevius, 'plures viri summi, qui principatum ingenii et eruditionis tenuerunt, floruere quam in caeteris omnibus Europae academiis' (quoted by Sir William Hamilton, *Dissert. and Discuss.*, p. 375). 'Leyden,' says Sir William Hamilton, 'has been surpassed by many other universities in the emoluments and in the number of her chairs, but has been equalled by none in the average eminence of her professors,' *Ibid.*, p. 364.

The struggle in the Netherlands in relation to English interests.

Warning afforded by the experience of foreign universities: Königsberg, Heidelberg, etc.

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[1] See in illustration of this view the letter of Aldersey, a merchant, to Cecil, in 1570. Strype, *Annals*, u. s. 'Quid in Brabantia et Flandria geratur, scio vos non ignorare. Spero illis caeleste auxilium non defuturum, postquam magna ex parte humanis praesidiis destituti videantur.' Grindal to Bullinger, 8 Feb. 1567; *Epist. Tigurinae* (1), p. 109.

[2] George Sabinus. See Max Töppen's *Die Grundung d. Universität zu Königsberg und das Leben ihres erstes Rectors Georg Sabinus*, pp. 175-230. The smallness of the numbers of the students in 1557 and 1558 was commented on in the statutes and acts of the faculty of philosophy.

[3] Cooper by a rare oversight has omitted to include George Withers in his *Athenae*; it is all the more interesting to trace the zealous Puritan in the pages of the annalist of a foreign university. Among Withers' theses which he maintained at Heidelberg was one 'über die Nothwendigkeit der Kirchenzucht.' Hautz, *Gesch. d. Universität Heidelberg*, II 79.

illustrious Erastus had fallen under the ecclesiastical bann; how Sylvanus had been beheaded in the market place; how their followers had been driven from the university[1]. Paris, Marburg, Jena, and Frankfort, could each in like manner enforce the same moral though with less startling emphasis[2].

The increasing numbers of the students also point to the necessity for stricter discipline.

Another and a brighter feature pointed at the same time to the necessity for a stricter observance of discipline, and this was the increasing number of the residents, which had been steadily rising ever since the accession of Elizabeth. In the year of her visit to Cambridge, it was, as we have already noted, 1267; five years later, a certificate forwarded to Parker shews it to have been 1630; before the close of the century it was nearly 2000[3]. The number of those proceeding to the degree of B.A. increased in much larger proportion: in 1560 it was 60; in 1570 it was 114; in 1583 it was 277[4].

Difficult to justify the conduct of the Puritan party in the university.

In short, whether we consider the whole circumstances under which Cartwright and his followers sought to upset the existing discipline,—circumstances which might well have given pause even to those who conscientiously demurred to some points of its requirements,—or the insufficiency of the grounds on which it was resolved once more to evoke the spirit of discord in the university, as relating to matters which Whitgift justly characterised as 'of themselves indifferent,' it is not easy to acquit the Puritan party at this juncture of an intolerance which bordered on the extreme of bigotry and of an inconsiderateness which reflected alike on their loyalty and their discernment.

Dr William Chaderton of Queens' College.

The first to draw up a formal complaint of Cartwright's proceedings, was Dr William Chaderton, president of Queens' College. He was a man of sense and learning, and deservedly popular among the students on account of his kindly disposition and genial bearing. As Regius professor of divinity and Cartwright's predecessor in the lady Margaret chair, he might fairly feel himself called upon to take this painful initiative. On the eleventh of June, 1570, we accordingly find him writing to Cecil and describing in indignant terms the state of affairs in the university. 'True it is,' he writes, 'suche seditions, contention, and disquietude, suche errors and schismes openlie taught and preached, boldlie and without warant, are latelie growne amongst us, that the good estate, quietnes, and governance of Cambridge, and not of Cambridge alone but of the whole church and realme, are for great hasarde unles severlie by authoritie they be punished.' Cartwright, whom he describes as one who 'alwaies stubburnlie refused the cappe and such like ornaments,' 'dothe now,' he goes on to say, 'for his daylie lectors teache suche doctrine as is pernitious and not tollerable for a christian commonwealth.' Some's sermon and another by one Edmund Chapman of Trinity college are next referred to, as specimens of the licentious tone and dangerous doctrine then prevailing at Cambridge; the main purpose of the party being described as 'to overthrow all ecclesiastical and civill governance that now is, and to ordeyne and institute a newe founde pollicie[1].'

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[1] Hautz, *Gesch. d. Univ. Heidelberg*, II 78–85.

[2] *Supra*, pp. 103–6.

[3] *Supra*, p. 192; Cooper, *Annals*, II 269, 568.

[4] Baker MSS. XXIV 105–193. The number 277 was the highest reached in the century; at Oxford, in the same year, the number proceeding B.A. was only 157, and the average number throughout the latter half of the sixteenth century may be safely stated as fully a third less than at Cambridge.

His letter to Cecil respecting the Puritan movement: 11 June, 1570.

In the course of a fortnight, Cecil received another missive on the subject. This was from Grindal, now archbishop of York, to which see, it is to be noted, he had been transferred as hardly stern and resolute enough for the diocese of London, where Puritanism was then exceptionally demonstrative. From such an observer,—one remote, moreover, from the scene of strife,—we might fairly look for a dispassionate estimate of the action of the Cambridge Puritans. His representations are couched, however, in language no less severe than that of Chaderton. He describes Cartwright as inveighing in his lectures 'against the externe qualitie and distinction of states in the ecclesiastical government of this

Letter of Grindal to Cecil, on the same subject: 25 June, 1570.

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[1] *State Papers (Dom.) Eliz.* LXXI, no. 11.

realme.' 'The youth of the universitie,' he goes on to say, 'which is at this tyme verie towarde in learning doth frequente his lecture in a greate number and therfore in daunger to be poysoned by hym with love of contention and lykynge of novelties and to become hereafter not only unprofitable, but also hurtful to the Church.' 'The vicechauncellor and heades,' he goes on to say, 'procede not so rowndlye in this case as were requisite, in my judgement. For reforming whereof (if it please you to know myne opinion) I wishe youe wrote your letters to the vicechauncellor with expedition willinge him to commande the said Cartwright and all his adherentes to silence both in schooles and pulpette. And afterwards upon examininge and hearinge of the matters past before him and some of the heades, or all, eyther to reduce the offenders to conformitie or else to procede to their punishment by expulsion oute of their colleges, or oute of the universitie, as the case shall require. And also that the vicechauncellor doo not suffer the said Cartwright to procede doctor of divinitie at this Commencement (which he nowe sueth for), for besides his singularities aboue rehearsed the saide Cartwright is not conformable in apparell, contemninge also manie other laudable orders of the universitie[1].

Further correspondence between Cecil and the university authorities.

Cecil's action was prompt; and he forthwith addressed to the vice-chancellor and Heads a letter of general advice, to which they replied informing him of their design of entering upon a careful consideration of the whole case, and, in the event of any doubt arising of their power to carry out whatever measures they might deem needful, of applying to him for the requisite assistance. To this letter Cecil sent in reply an emphatic assurance of his readiness to aid, and thus stimulated and encouraged the authorities proceeded to convene a congregation, and the chancellor's letter was read in the regent house on the 29th of June[2].

At this point, on the eve of the most important crisis in

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[1] *Ibid.* LXXI, no. 23. Strype, *Life of Grindal*, bk. ii, c. 1.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, Vol. I, pt. ii, c. 57.

Ancient constitution and powers of the *caput*.

the whole history of the university, it becomes necessary to advert to a feature in the legislative organisation of the academic body to which we have hitherto been able to give only a passing recognition[1]. The *caput*, a body now represented by the Council of the university, had, up to this period, been possessed of comparatively limited powers, while its composition was liable to perpetual modification[2]. It consisted of the vice-chancellor and five other members, one of whom, prior to the dissolution of the monasteries, was always the 'senior doctor religiosus,'—his place, after that time, being supplied by the public orator. The other members were generally heads of houses, and were nominated by the vice-chancellor, or, in his absence, by the proctors,—the regents and non-regents possessing however the power of rejecting those thus nominated. The power vested in each member of the *caput* was considerable, for he was able by his single veto to prevent any grace being submitted to the senate; as however the *caput* was formally appointed afresh *at the commencement of each congregation*[3], any member who was bold enough to thwart in any marked manner the wishes of a majority of the regents was certain to be made sensible of their displeasure by the rejection of his name when it was again submitted to them at the next congregation. The *caput* accordingly may fairly be regarded as originally simply a Council designed to assist the vice-chancellor in the somewhat invidious task of passing or rejecting the graces proposed to be submitted to the senate, and incapable by its constitution of offering any permanent obstruction to the wishes of that body[4].

The *caput* originally elected afresh at every congregation.

When the congregation assembled on the 29th of June,

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[1] See Vol. I 143; and *supra*, p. 157.

[2] The innovation made by Cardinal Pole's statutes (*supra*, p. 137) had been, as already observed, practically inoperative.

[3] 'The accustomed choice of the head was in the election of the bodie every congregation, saving in two or three sett assemblies, for that sum men peradventure of preposterous affection might staie such graces as the wholl universitie knew worthie of prefermente,' &c. *Objections to the Eliz. Statutes*, Cooper, *Annals*, II 289.

[4] Peacock, *Observations*, p. 22: compare with his account the Objections raised to the new statutes: Cooper, *Annals*, II 289; Lamb, *Documents*, p. 366.

Design of the authorities to refuse Cartwright admission to the degree of D.D.

Tactics of his supporters.

as above stated, it had already transpired that it was the design of the authorities to refuse Cartwright his degree of doctor of divinity, for which his *supplicat* was on that day to be presented to the senate. The public stigma that would thus be inflicted on him, by the withholding of the crowning honour of an academic career, was an indignity which his friends were determined to avert, and they accordingly proceeded to reject the names of the heads of houses as they were successively brought before them for the *caput.* Nearly all of the body were now objects of their dislike and suspicion; for Whitgift ruled where Beaumont had once been master, and Nicholas Shepherd, who had been brought in at St John's, in succession to Longworth, for the express purpose of securing an opponent to the Puritan party, was not yet recognised in his true colours[1]. When, accordingly, the names of Perne, Hawford, Ithell, Harvey, and others, were successively proposed as members of the *caput,* they were non-placeted, and those of others were ultimately brought forward and received the necessary number of votes in their favour. Chaderton, in his letter to Cecil, had intimated his misgivings with respect to the vice-chancellor's ability or willingness to cope with the malcontents[2]. On this occasion, however, Dr John Mey, emboldened by the consciousness that he could rely on his superior's support, acted with courage and resolution. He assumed the whole responsibility and by virtue of the power conferred by his office refused to admit Cartwright to his degree. His conduct exposed him to a burst of resentful feeling for which he was evidently not prepared. As a last resource, he appealed to the chancellor, who at the same time received a notable letter from Cartwright.

The vice-chancellor vetoes Cartwright's admission to his degree.

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[1] Baker-Mayor, pp. 164–5, 590; Cooper, *Athenae*, II 15. It is remarkable that Luke Clayson, writing to Rudolph Gualter in 1573, styles Shepherd 'subulcus noster;' I do not know whether we are entitled to infer from this that the Johnians had already acquired their time-honoured *sobriquet*. See *Epist. Tigur.* (2), p. 129.

[2] '—who although he be minded to call them to accompt, yet I think he ether will not or cannot minister sufficient punyshement to suppresse their errors: Satan will have the upper hande, and we shal be all in a hurlyeburlie and shameful broyle.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* LXXI, no. 11.

Cartwright's letter to Cecil: 9 July, 1570.

This letter, which is written in Latin, were it the only surviving production of the author's pen would certainly leave upon our minds a highly favourable impression of his scholarship and dignity and moderation of sentiment. He represents himself as the victim of cruel calumny, and the thought that he has thereby been brought into antagonism to him whom he addresses has been to him, he says, peculiarly painful,—*id me demum pungit acriter*. Nothing, he avers, can be more foreign to his purpose than to stir up sedition and contention. In his lectures, he had discoursed on nothing which did not arise naturally from the text; and even when an opportunity had presented itself of saying something respecting the vestments he had purposely passed it by. He had, it was true, asserted that the English Church had deviated from the ancient and apostolic type, but he had done so in quiet and temperate language in which only ignorance or malignity could find occasion for offence. He offers as evidence in his behalf the testimony of the best and ablest men in the university,—in fact, that of nearly the whole university itself[1]. The calm self-possession that characterises this letter, supported as it was by renewed representations in Cartwright's favour from his friends[2], appears to have produced a considerable effect on Cecil; and when, after a somewhat protracted silence, he at length communicated with the vice-chancellor and Heads, he shewed something more than his usual wariness. He dexterously evaded the responsibility which it was sought to thrust upon him, by modestly disclaiming his ability to decide the merits of the question, and asking in turn for their 'advices and opinions.' At the same time, he did not withhold such an expression of his views as would serve to indicate his real sentiments and afford them guidance in their reply. 'The

Cecil's letter: 3 Aug. 1570.

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[1] *State Papers (Dom.) Eliz.*, LXXI, no. 40.

[2] Strype says he had seen two letters 'subscribed with about twenty or twenty-five names. Among which were Thomas Aldrich, Sherwood, proctor, Rob Soom, John Knewstubs, Edmund Chapman, Bartholemew Doddington, Richard Greenham, Richard Howland, Alan Par, John Stil, [Edmund] Rockrey. Some of these, upon more mature years, quite altered their opinions; and two of them were afterwards bishops.' *Annals*, Vol. I, pt. ii, c. 57.

offence,' he observed, likely to result from Cartwright's conduct, 'in the government of this our Church of England, by moving such alterations, cannot be small; except it be well considered beforehand, upon what necessary grounds such change should be motioned.' So far indeed as Cartwright's *personal representations might be relied upon*, his course of action seemed 'not much to be reprehended; being, as it seemeth, not of an arrogancy or intention to move troubles; but, as a reader of the Scripture, to give notes, by way of comparison between the order of the ministry in the times of the apostles, and the present times now in the Church of England.' Looking however to the tendency of such criticism, as calculated 'to breed offence in the Church,' he had decided to request Cartwright not to touch on these questions until further enquiry had been instituted, and to this Cartwright had acceded. In the meantime, the cautious chancellor suspended his final arbitrament until he should have received from those to whom he wrote the requisite assistance in 'the further determination of these new questions[1].'

The authorities deprive Cartwright of his salary and suspend him from lecturing.

Taken as a whole Cecil's letter seems to have been rightly construed by his correspondents into an encouragement to continue in a repressive course of action, while Cartwright's supporters appear to have become conscious that their proceedings in the regent-house had not tended to the strengthening of his cause. Two days later, a grace had been carried sequestering the salary paid to the lady Margaret professor and appropriating it to the general uses of the university[2].

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[1] Strype, u. s. Those who may care to compare the account here given of this episode with that by Mr Froude (*Hist. of England*, IX 345–7) will soon be able to decide for themselves which is the more accurate. Of the correctness of Mr Froude's conception of the whole position some notion may be formed when we note his assertion that 'the opinion of Cecil weighed nothing with the men who governed Cambridge;' of his care in matters of detail a sufficient illustration is afforded in the fact that he places the rejection of the surplice by the members of Trinity College in 1565 (*supra*, p. 199) as one of the events which followed upon Cartwright's deprivation of his professorship, 11 Dec. 1570!

[2] 'Cum academia concesserit praelectori lectionis theologicae dominae Margaretae, vi*l*. xiii*s*. iv*d*. et ei oneri ferendo per quotidianas impensas non sufficiat, et omnia sacellani universitatis munera ut papistica per leges abrogentur, placeat vobis, ut annuus reditus illi solvi consuetus ad academiae usus convertatur.' *Documents*, I 453.

On the receipt of Cecil's letter, the Heads proceeded a step further and suspended Cartwright from lecturing. In the meantime, the lesson taught by their humiliating defeat on the 29th had not been lost upon them. Already, six years before, when seeking to check the excitement and contention that had now for some time characterised the elections to the vice-chancellorship, they had taken occasion, in a letter to Cecil, to animadvert upon the 'untamed affections' of the younger regents, 'who now,' they observe, 'come to that place with fewer yeares than in times past they did[1].' Among the senior members of the university there seems indeed to have prevailed an apprehension,—shared in, it is to be noted, by Beaumont, Leonard Pilkington, and Longworth, as well as by Perne, Whitgift, and Roger Kelke,—that the ancient constitution of the university lay in some danger of being overthrown[2], to be supplanted by a pure democracy, liable to the same periodic conflicts and marked by the same lawless insubordination that prevailed in the academic communities modelled on the precedent of Bologna[3]. An important crisis was now evidently approaching. The year of Dr John Mey's vice-chancellorship would expire in the course of less than six months, and it was in the highest degree improbable that his re-election, or the election of one of like views, would be permitted by that same body of voters whose wishes he had so recently dared openly to thwart[4]. On the other hand, there was only too good reason to fear that they would seize

Apprehensions entertained at this period by the senior members of the university.

Critical state of affairs in the university.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 179. Compare the reply of the Heads to the objections brought in 1572 against the Elizabethan Statutes,—'At the tyme of the makinge of the old statute, theie were allmost all regents that were of all degrees in the universitie, and that auncyent men for the moste parte: but nowe theie be not only younger in age, but more youthful and intractable at this daie, then theie were wounte to be in tymes paste.' Cooper, *Annals*, II 282.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 179; Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 2.

[3] See Vol. I 73–76.

[4] The election of the vice-chancellor down to this time, it is to be remembered, was in the hands of the regents. See Vol. I 140; *Documents*, I 309, 311; Peacock, *Observations*, p. 19. Hence the argument in the petition of the Heads, above referred to: 'seinge then the most auncient sorte were thought metest to order the election of under officers, howe cane the youngest men be thought mete *to have the whole election of the highest officer of all under your honour?*' Letter of the Heads and Margaret professor (at that time Whitgift) to Cecil, 17 Jan. 1564. Cooper, *Annals*, II 179. See also *infra*, p. 223.

the opportunity of inflicting signal discomfiture on those by whom their collective voice had been set at naught and by whom their leader had been humiliated.

Prominent part assumed by Whitgift at this juncture.

Such was the juncture at which Whitgift came forward to assume that part in which his courageous and determined, not to say unyielding, temper ultimately brought upon him the enmity of the Puritan party and has since exposed him to no little misrepresentation. Shortly before this time, he appears to have had a personal interview with Cecil, in the course of which he expressed his opinion that the statutes of the university required to be brought by sundry modifications more directly to bear upon the existing needs of the academic community. Cecil advised him, accordingly, to confer with some of the other Heads on the subject, and we have it on Whitgift's own statement that John Mey, Perne, Hawford, Harvey, and Ithell, were those whom he chiefly consulted[1]. As the result of their joint labours, new or amended statutes were compiled; and on the 19th of August, 1570, we find Whitgift writing to Cecil, and informing him of the fact, and suggesting that if his leisure does not admit of a personal examination of the draught (then nearly completed) he will perhaps submit them to Parker, 'or some other whom you think best to take that pains,' for the purpose of obtaining a competent opinion of their merits. 'We trust,' adds the writer, 'they will be thought very necessary and profitable for the state of the university, and good government of the same[2].'

His interview with Cecil.

In conjunction with some of the other Heads he prepares a new body of Statutes.

The draught having been approved by Cecil and Parker receives the royal sanction 25 Sept. 1570.

The draught was subsequently sent up to Cecil, who submitted it to Parker; and on the expression of their joint approval, the new statutes,—enacted 'on account of the again increasing audacity and excessive licence of men[3],'—received the royal assent, and passed the great seal at the queen's manor of Reading, on the 25th of September.

Reserving for the present our consideration of the general

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[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 4.

[2] *Ibid.* bk. i, Append. no. viii.

[3] 'Rursus crescente hominum audacia nimiaque licentia aliquas novas prioribus esse adjiciendas duximus.' *Documents*, I 454.

Two innovations in the new code of especial importance: namely, those relating to the election of the vice-chancellor and of the *caput*.

character and scope of the new code, we may first note the two innovations whereby its authors struck an effectual blow at tactics like those pursued by the regents on the occasion of the contest respecting Cartwright's degree. These were those which related to the election of the vice-chancellor and the powers of the *caput*. By the former[1], it was reserved *to the heads of houses exclusively*, annually to nominate two candidates for the vice-chancellorship, one of whom was to be subsequently chosen by the regents. By the latter, the *caput*, composed of the chancellor, a doctor of each of the three faculties, a non-regent and a regent master of arts, was appointed at the commencement of each academical year, *to hold office until the year's termination.* In the election of this body, separate lists of five persons each (the chancellor[2] being, *ex officio*, a sixth) were formed by the chancellor and each of the two proctors, the ultimate selection being left to *the heads of houses*, the doctors of all faculties and the two scrutators[3]. 'The extraordinary powers conferred upon this

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[1] 'Tertio Novembris, hora videlicet octava ante meridiem, munus procancellariatus quotannis de jure vacabit. Ac hora nona proxime sequenti in domo regentium convenient *omnes collegiorum prepositi* ac statim senior gradu primum, deinde singuli ordine suo, unum aliquem ad id officium nominabunt, e quorum numero dicti praepositi *duos* punctis suis notabunt, quorum *alter et non alius* eligatur in procancellarium.' *Documents*, I 470–1; Lamb, *Documents*, pp. xli and 331; Heywood, *Statutes of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 19.

[2] Whatever powers are assigned to the chancellor in such statutes may be considered virtually to apply to the *vice-chancellor*, his deputy in his absence. See Peacock, *Observations*, p. 46, note 3.

[3] To each of these *sex viri* was given an absolute *veto*, and no grace, whether for degrees or any other object whatever, could be submitted to the houses of regents and non-regents, which had not received the previous sanction of every member of the *caput*. See *Ibid.* p. 47. The preamble of the forty-first statute,—'Ne caput negligere videamur,'—seems almost ironical when taken in conjunction with the provisions which follow:—'Hora prima duodecimi Octobris post meridiem conveniant in domo regentium cancellarius, collegiorum praefecti, doctores, procuratores et scrutatores ad eligendos illos qui propter cognitionem, gravitatem atque in rebus gerendis prudentiam et fidem caput senatus merito appellari solent. Eo igitur tempore cancellarius unum theologum doctorem, unum jurisconsultum, medicum unum, unum non-regentem et alterum regentem nominatim scribet. Uterque quoque procuratorum ex singulis illis ordinibus similiter unum alium nominabit. Et ex his quindecim praefecti collegiorum, doctores, et scrutatores, quinque (id est ex singulis ordinibus et facultatibus unum) punctis suis notabunt: et eos in quos plures numero praesentium consentiant (licet majorem partem non faciunt vel aequant si ratio habeatur totius numeri) senior procurator in proximae congregationis initio regentibus et non-regentibus significabit eosdemque cum cancel-

Dean Peacock's observations on these provisions.

body,' observes dean Peacock, 'by their continuance during an entire year, and the exclusion of the great body of the senate from all share in its nomination, were innovations upon the ancient constitution of the university of the most important and fundamental character.' With equal justice, he describes the heads of houses as formed into 'a distinct and separate estate in the government of the university,' for not only was the choice of the vice-chancellor and the constitution of the now all-powerful *caput* practically in their hands, but they became 'the councillors and assessors of the chancellor in matters affecting the conduct and discipline of the scholars; they fixed the times and the subjects of the ordinary and other lectures; they were discharged from the performance of all exercises in the public schools and elsewhere; and an absolute *veto* was given to them in their own colleges, in all elections of fellows, scholars, officers, and servants, and in the granting of leases and all public acts whatever[1].'

The evidence however clearly proves that they were not the result of the Puritan agitation exclusively.

While however by this 'two-handed engine' a decisive check was imposed on the somewhat unscrupulous tactics of the Puritan section in the university, it would be erroneous to look upon these measures as a device arising solely out of the emergency of 1570, or as an expedient dictated by no other feeling than alarm at the influence of Cartwright and his party. Not only, as we have already seen, had Puritan

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lario *caput totius senatus futuri anni aperte et publice pronunciabit*...... Horum autem authoritas est in omni senatu et congregatione de omnibus petitionibus prius decernere quam ad reliquum senatum deferantur, ita ut illae gratiae solae approbentur et regentibus ac non-regentibus proponantur in quas eorum singuli consenserint et non alii.' *Documents*, I 478–9; Lamb, *Documents*, pp. 337–8; Heywood, p. 25. It was the remarkable extension thus given to the powers of the *caput* that induced Walsh to call in question its very existence prior to 'the middle of the sixteenth century.' See his *Historical Account of the University of Cambridge*, pp. 29–31. Lamb (*Documents*, p. xlii) maintains that by the forty-first statute the appointment of the *caput* was virtually placed in the hands of the vice-chancellor. 'It is an *understood thing*,' he says, 'with the Heads invariably to prick the five names put down by the vice-chancellor; and no instance, I believe, exists of any individual being on the caput who was not nominated by the vice-chancellor.' It is obvious, however, that private arrangements of this kind can hardly be considered in estimating the simple merits of statutory law.

[1] Peacock, *Observations*, pp. 46–47.

and Anglican heads of houses concurred in recommending that they should be empowered as a body to nominate the candidates for the office of vice-chancellor, but we find that, when doing so, they expressly refer to the fact (which has already come under our notice) that a similar provision had been made in the *Ordinationes* given by Reginald Pole[1],—a code in which there is no reason for believing that any of the petitioners had themselves had any share. In like manner, as we have also seen, these latter statutes had provided for the continuance of the *caput* throughout the academic year, and for the right of each member to negative by his single vote any measure brought forward[2].

They had also been foreshadowed in the Statutes given by Cardinal Pole.

Inspirited by these material accessions to their administrative powers, the master of Trinity and the other Heads followed up their advantage with vigour. Whitgift, in the letter to Cecil above cited, in which we find him referring to the preparation of the new statutes, had already taken occasion to bring under Cecil's notice certain heterodox doctrines which Cartwright, he stated, 'himself hath uttered to me in private conference, the which he hath also openly taught[3].' And on the eleventh of December, 1570, 'in the great chamber within the Master's lodginge within Trinity

The Heads proceed to further action against Cartwright.

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[1] See *supra*, p. 159. 'Forasmuch as there hath of late manifestlye appeared not only ambition in sekinge the vicechancellorship and a known and confessed faction about it, but also *utter contention and displeasure* risinge of importune and untimely laboringe (which things in such a place sore blemish the gospell and the preachers thereof) we felinge theise and sundrie other incomodities in our severall colleges, with grief are constrained to seke remedie for the same, and therefore most humbly beseche your honor to procure by the Quenes Majesties bill assigned, *that yearly from henceforthe, thre days afore the election, towe auncient and fitt men beinge named by the heads of colledgs the Regents shall chose the one of them. This is no newe device, for factions growing about the vicechancellorship in Quene Marie's tyme, the above named order by hir visitors auctoritie was appointed, the copie wherof we have sent to your honor herwith.*' *Letter of certain of the Heads and the Margaret Professor to Cecil*, 17 Jan. 1564. The clause in the statute to which the petitioners here make reference was as follows: 'Pridie festi omnium sanctorum convenient praepositi collegiorum, item omnes cujuslibet facultatis doctores et baccalaurei theologiae qui tum in universitate aderunt.' *Ordinationes Reginaldi Poli* in Lamb, *Documents*, p. 238. It will be noted that the new Elizabethan statutes *limited the right of nomination to the Heads alone;* on which see Lamb's comments, *Observations*, p. xli.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 239–40.

[3] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, Append. no. viii: author's *History*, vol. I 42–43.

colledge,' with Perne, Hawford, Kelke, Meye, Chaderton, Harvey, Ithell, and Byng as his assessors, he proceeded to interrogate the refractory lady Margaret professor whom he had summoned to his presence. 'And then and there,' to quote his own record of the proceedings, 'Mr Vice-chancellor did charge the said Mr Cartwhryte with certain articles or propositions of doctrine *contrarie to religion, receyved and allowed by publicke authoritie in this realme,* taught openlie by him in his lecture, and otherwhere; and by him also put in wrytynge, with subscription of his hande; and divulgate by hym, as matter that he will stand to: and that hereof he hath been before tyme noted by the more part of Doctors of th' Universitie, before Mr Dr Meye late Vice-chancellor: and hath been admonyshed divers tymes by hym, to revoke the same: and, upon his refusal, hath been punished by substraction of his stipend. And therefore the said Mr Dr Whitgifte, now Vice-chancellor, required his absolute answer, whether he did mynde to teach his auditors otherways, revokynge that he hath before tawghte; or wil still abyde in the mayntenance of the same.'

He is summoned before them and required to declare whether he still adheres to certain doctrines charged against him.

Cartwright does not appear to have impugned the authority of his judges or the technical justice of their proceedings. He not only, however, admitted that he had openly taught the articles in question, but he expressed his determination to continue 'to mayntain and defend them, as trewth.' He was therefore requested to retire for an interval and reflect upon his final decision. When he returned, his purpose was unshaken; and Whitgift, with the full concurrence of the other Heads present, proceeded accordingly to declare him 'removed from his said lecture' and to pronounce the chair of the professorship void[1].

He refuses to retract and is deprived of his professorship, Dec. 1570.

In the following September[2], Whitgift, in his capacity as master of Trinity, proceeded to deprive Cartwright of his fellowship on that foundation. He alleged, as a formal justification of this step, the fact that Cartwright was not, as

He is deprived of his fellowship: Sept. 1571.

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[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, Append. no. viii.

[2] This event is erroneously placed by Cooper in his *Annals* (II 310) under the year 1572. He was in the first instance misled by Strype (see *Ibid.* p. 257, n. 2). In his *Athenae* (II 361) the correct date is given.

required by the college statutes, in holy orders, although he had been a senior fellow of the society for more than seven years. There is no doubt, however, that the proceeding, at the time, was regarded as harsh and arbitrary, and did much to render Whitgift unpopular in the college, for the statutory requirement was one which amid the religious excitement and doubt that then prevailed few masters of colleges found it expedient or possible to enforce. At All Souls', Oxford, at this very time, out of forty fellows whom the statutes required to be in priest's orders only two had complied with this condition[1]. But the antagonism between Whitgift and Cartwright had now assumed a directly personal character[2], and the latter, after an ineffectual remonstrance against his deprivation, ultimately left both Cambridge and England for Geneva. The school of that famous city, but recently raised to the rank of an *academia*, must have contrasted somewhat unfavorably with Cambridge, for it still offered little more than instruction conceived on the narrow basis which Calvin had laid down for ministers designed to be teachers of the churches which he had founded[3]. In Theodore Beza, however, Cartwright found at once a scholar who could appreciate his extensive learning, a theologian who approved the doctrines which he espoused, and a friend who could sympathise with the sacrifices he had made. In the following

He retires to Geneva.

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[1] Parker writing to Burghley (17 Aug. 1572) refers to a case at All Souls' as 'against the founder's ordinance, willing them all to be inclined to be priests, and at convenient time to take the same order.' 'They be so much offended now with the ministry,' he adds, 'that *of forty such fellows in the house, there are but two priests*, and whether this be a good example to the university for men to run in open perjuries, and whether it be good to the governance that so few priests and preachers (especially in the university) should be, I leave that to her Majesty's consideration and your wisdom.' *Parker Correspondence*, p. 396. Compare statute 12 of *Trinity College Statutes* (both 1552 and 1560) *infra*, Append. (A).

[2] By the form of oath administered to a fellow at Trinity at that time on his admission, he was bound to shew to the master 'kind feeling' (*benevolentiam*) and also to give him every assistance in his power. Whitgift afterwards reproached Cartwright with disregard for this oath in that he had behaved to him with open disrespect in the college. See Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, I 44; and compare [*infra*, Append. (A)] statute 12 of *Trinity College Statutes* (1560) and Whitgift's *Works*, I 15.

[3] Geneva was first created an 'Academia' in 1559. 'An elementary school, and a seminary for ministers,—this was what was wanted, and this was what Calvin supplied.' Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, p. 10.

Efforts made by his friends to restore him to the university.

year, an earnest, almost passionate, appeal on his behalf was addressed to Cecil by one of his warmest admirers, who implored that he might be permitted to return to Cambridge and to fill the vacant Hebrew lectureship in the university[1]. But whatever influence Edward Dering might have once possessed with Cecil he had by that time forfeited[2], and his letter only drew from the chancellor a cold intimation of his inability to interfere in Cartwright's behalf. From this point, accordingly, Cartwright,—'forced,' to quote the expression of Fuller, 'to forsake the spring,'—'betook himself to the stream' and his subsequent career, and even his memorable controversy with Whitgift which riveted the attention of all sections of the Protestant church and gave birth to the great work of Hooker, must be considered to belong rather to our national religious history than to that of the university. One incident, however, in his life, is too closely associated with the latter to be passed by unnoticed. It was nearly a quarter of a century after the events above narrated, that it was known that he was again to visit the community which he had once so powerfully agitated and influenced, and was to preach a week-day sermon at Great St Mary's. His experiences during the intervening years,—persecution, imprisonment, and wide-famed controversy, with the Brownists on the one hand and the Anglican clergy on the other,—had by that time given a singular and almost romantic interest to his career; while, as mostly happens with natures of sterling worth, their effect on himself had been chiefly to bring out into stronger relief the finer traits of a really noble character. The whole university, we are told, was stirred by the announcement of his arrival. Grey-headed seniors, who as youths had kindled as they listened to his eloquence in

He preaches again at Cambridge some twenty years afterwards.

Enthusiasm excited by his appearance.

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[1] 'Cevallerinus revocatus ad patrios coetus, quibus ita statuit inservire, ut nostram Cantabrigiensem academiam aliquando relinquat. Cartwrightum ejus loco Hebraica praeloquentem si tu dederis academiae, votum nostrum expleveris, patrocinii tui alumnos bearis, omnium in te amorem amplicaveris, etc.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* LXXXV, no. 75. Dering however appears to have been an extremely injudicious advocate, for he inserts in the conclusion of his letter a series of invectives against the episcopal order in England which fairly justify Strype in describing this communication as 'indecently writ.' See *Annals*, II i, c. 20.

[2] See *infra*, pp. 234–5.

the lecture-room or in the pulpit,—young men, to whom that eloquence was but a tradition, and he himself but a name,—alike ran, 'like boys,' to gain a place where they could hear him[1]. He was hospitably entertained by the distinguished head of that new college which had risen up since his departure,—a foundation designed as a school of doctrine in harmony, to no small extent, with the principles which he avowed. Old acquaintance pressed in, to grasp his hand, and exchange a few words of greeting; and expressions of courtesy and mutual reconciliation imparted to this, his final visit, an interest which it was afterwards grateful to recall.

His removal from his professorship not open to the charge of special harshness.

But while there is much in Cartwright's genius and heroic disregard of consequences which wins for him the sympathy of modern readers, it does not appear, when we consider the whole circumstances of the case and the prevailing tone of the age, that Whitgift and his coadjutors can fairly be accused of any exceptional harshness in removing him from his *professorship.* Cartwright's teaching was manifestly an element of disquiet in the university; his views were believed to threaten the stability of the Crown[2]. In no Protestant seat of learning, in those days, was any creed recognised as lawful save that of the dominant majority. Had any professor of theology ventured to maintain the Lutheran creed at Königsberg, he would have been expelled like George Sabinus by the Osiandrians. Had he ventured to assail the Genevan doctrines at Wittenberg, he might have been excommunicated, like Schlüsselberg, by the Calvinists,—at Heidelberg he might have been beheaded, like Sylvanus. A defence of Calvinistic dogmas at Jena would scarcely have been more tenderly dealt with by the ascendant Lutheran party in that university; resistance to the same doctrine at Geneva[1] might have brought upon him the fate of Servetus.

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[1] Clarke (Sam.), *Lives of thirty-two Puritans*, p. 19.

[2] It must however be observed that Cartwright and his party appear to have been careful at this period to say nothing which could be construed into a repudiation of the Royal Supremacy. This observation is all the more necessary in that we find even so well-informed a writer as the late Professor Brewer apparently under the impression that the Royal Supremacy in matters ecclesiastical was *from the first* the great stumbling-block with the early Puritans. (See his *English Studies*, p. 303.) On this point the language of Whitgift, so late as 1574, must be taken as decisive: 'In the same part their speech of the queen's supremacy is very suspicious: and it would be demanded of them what they think indeed of her majesty's authority in ecclesiastical matters; for in this point they have hitherto dealt very subtilly and closely.' *Defense of the Aunswere to the Admonition*, etc. Whitgift's *Works* (ed. Ayre), III 510. Beza's treatise, *de Jure Magistratuum*, which exercised immense influence among the Puritan party in England, first appeared in 1572.

That however which most effectually contributed to enlist the sympathies of the great majority in the university in Cartwright's favour, was the fact that the measures put in force against him were associated with an arbitrary and fundamental change in the constitution of the academic body itself. The new statutes were eminently unpopular. Nor was it indeed to be expected that a series of innovations whereby a system of a fairly representative character was set aside for one more nearly resembling an oligarchy, should prove acceptable to those who found themselves thereby reduced to a state of comparative powerlessness in the direction of affairs. The largely increased authority vested in the Heads and in the *caput* was not the only innovation which tended to such a result. Formerly the election of the proctors had been, like that of the *caput*, entirely in the power of the regents. It was now enacted that they should be nominated according to a cycle of colleges, the regents retaining only the right of approving the candidates thus brought forward. At the same time, the functions of the proctors themselves were so materially circumscribed that their office lost much of its ancient importance. They still indeed retained that special authority in the act of creation and admission to the regency which represented the peculiar prerogative of their office throughout the universities of Christendom; and it still devolved upon them to regulate the disputations of the students of law and of medicine and of the masters of arts[2]. The

Unpopularity of the new statutes.

Further account of their provisions.

Changes with respect to the election of proctors.

Material diminution of their powers.

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[1] In the year 1576, however, Geneva, partially from motives of expediency, abolished the subscription to Calvinistic doctrine, the authorities declaring that 'it does not seem right to press a young conscience to sign what it doth not as yet understand; *and further that they of Saxony have taken occasion herefrom to compel those who go from hence to them to sign the Confession of Augsburg.*' Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, p. 13.

[2] See Statutes vii, xix, xxxv, xliii; and Peacock, *Observations*, Append. A. p. xxviii.

power of inflicting fines and punishments, however, was given to the vice-chancellor; while 'whatever authority was given them, by the ancient statutes, of regulating the times and subjects of the public readings and disputations, of imprisoning scholars, of suspending gremials from their votes in the congregations, or from degrees taken or to be taken, and even in extreme cases, of acting in defiance of the chancellor himself, was now either abrogated or transferred to the chancellor and his assessors. The custody of the public and of the private chests, and the administration of the finances of the university, were given to the chancellor and the proper *custodes*. The proctors, in fine, no longer continued to be the chief administrative officers of the university, as the organs of the house of regents, but were made, in all their functions, that of *creation* excepted, subordinate to the authority of the chancellor[1].'

Order of studies and conditions of graduation.

The order of studies, and the succession of lectures and exercises for different classes of students and graduates, were left in nearly the same state, though somewhat more strictly defined, as in the statutes already in force. But the conditions of graduation, at least for the superior degrees, were made generally more severe, both with respect to time and exercise. All graces for dispensations with respect to these latter points were not only forbidden, but declared to be null and void if passed; and should the *caput*, at any time, venture to pass a grace, authorising the vice-chancellor to admit any one, except noblemen and *quasi nobiles*, to a degree without the completion of the ordinary requirements, such a proceeding, it was declared, would render every member of the *caput* subject to the imputation of perjury. 'This rigorous and absolute prohibition of dispensations,' is described by dean Peacock, as 'most seriously affecting the privileges and administration of the university inasmuch as it totally deprived the university of the power (which it formerly possessed in common with every other university in Europe) of conferring degrees upon distinguished men[2].' It is, however,

Dispensations with respect to degrees and exercises forbidden.

Dean Peacock's observations.

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 48.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 50.

deserving of note that in the 'Objections' subsequently brought forward against the new statutes[1], this view of the effects of the above prohibition does not appear to have occurred to the objectors,—the special objection urged being limited to the practical injustice that might result in the case of illness on the part of any graduate at the time when he was required to keep his acts[2]. Five years later, the statute was further interpreted by the chancellor and the Heads, by whom it was declared that the prohibition applied only to those who were resident in the university: 'but that to those who lived elsewhere, and had at any time given themselves to learning and other scholastic exercises in the university, and were adorned with the degree of master of arts, or bachelor of law or physic, whose learning and probity of life were known to the university,—some of whom,' the interpretation goes on to say, 'are promoted to dignities and functions ecclesiastical or civil in the commonwealth, and, for the most part, being hindered by their various employments, cannot be present at the examinations required by statute,—dispensations might be granted after the expiration of the statutable time required for their degrees[3].'

The statute subsequently slightly modified.

'Mandate degrees.'

In other cases, prior to the recent modification of this statute, the want pointed out by dean Peacock was met by the expedient of *mandate* degrees, or degrees conferred by royal command in response to the petition of the university that the requisite dispensation might be granted, 'any statute to the contrary notwithstanding[4].'

'The university,' continues dean Peacock in concluding his careful outline, 'continued to retain the power of making new statutes "for the increase of learning, and the preservation of discipline and good conduct amongst scholars," provided they neither detracted from, nor interfered with, the royal statutes: all other statutes and customs which were contrary to them, were declared to be abrogated and rescinded.

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[1] *Infra*, pp. 236-7.

[2] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 375; Cooper, *Annals*, II 302.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, II 328. 'The interpretation, or rather statute which was founded upon this petition, and which was sanctioned by lord Burleigh, forms the only considerable alteration which the statutes have undergone since the time that they were first given; and if the spirit of its provisions had been more strictly adhered to, its operation would have tended to increase, and not to lower, as it has done, the credit of our superior degrees, and to cement, instead of dissolving, the connection of the university with its most distinguished and influential members.' Peacock, *Observations*, p. 57.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 50, n. 1.

Extension of the period of regency.

'The period of the necessary regency of masters of arts was extended to five years, after which they became, *ipso facto*, non-regents. No provision was made in the statutes for any dispensation from this law.

The chancellor's court.

'The constitution and general jurisdiction of the courts of the chancellor and commissary were not materially altered from the provisions of the ancient charters and statutes. Causes in which a master of arts or superior graduate was concerned were reserved to the first; all others (including those which arose at Midsummer and Sturbridge fairs) were left to the latter. The proceedings of the chancellor's court were directed to be governed by the principles of the civil law[1]; and they were also required to be prompt and expeditious, and, if possible, to be determined within three days, *omni juris solemnitate remota.* An appeal might be made within two days from the decision of the chancellor to the university, the appellant being required to lodge his complaint, within three days afterwards, with one of the proctors, and to deposit 20*s*., which he forfeited if he failed in his appeal or if he neglected to prosecute it, after delegates had been assigned. Three at least, and at most five, delegates were nominated by the *caput* and the two proctors, whose names were submitted to the regents and non-regents for their approbation. If the list was rejected once, one or more names might be changed, and the revised list submitted to them again: after three such changes and rejections, the final nomination of the list was left with its original framers.

Its proceedings to be regulated by the civil law.

Right of appeal from the chancellor's decisions.

Powers of the chancellor in punishing delinquent members of the university.

'The chancellor was authorised to punish all members of the university (*ignavos, grassatores, rei suae dissipatores, contumaces nec obedientes*) whether undergraduates or graduates, with suspension from their degrees, *imprisonment*, or any light punishment, by his sole authority; but he could not *expel* a scholar or student, or imprison a doctor or head of a house, without the concurrence of the major part of the heads of houses[1].'

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[1] Dyer (*Privileges*, etc. II 447) comments on the preamble to the statutes as characterised by 'the most authoritative, imperial style, in imitation evidently of the Prooemium of Justinian's *Institutes*.'

Edward Dering: *b.* (circ.) 1540. *d.* 1576.

The unsparing censure directed against Whitgift by not a few writers, as the chief instigator of the policy which ultimately drove the Puritan party into open rupture with both Church and State, is hardly borne out by the evidence at this period. Within a few weeks after the new statutes had come into operation, we find one of the most able and zealous members of the party in Cambridge giving expression to his opinion of their merits in a letter to Cecil, which when compared with the sycophantic tone of most of such appeals in those days, is remarkable for its candour and boldness. The writer was a fellow of Christ's college, named Edward Dering, the same who afterwards pleaded on behalf of Cartwright with Cecil,—a scholar who, though prematurely lost to learning, lived long enough to produce among his contemporaries the impression that, to rare attainments and distinguished virtues, he added the possession of unusual original powers. Parker, much as he disapproved his Puritanism, speaks of him as reported to be the most learned man in England[2], and singled him out for the onerous task of refuting the ponderous and malignant treatise of Nicholas Sander, *de Visibili Monarchia Ecclesiae*. The letter which Dering now addressed to Cecil is distinguished, like many of the manifestos of the early Puritans, for its courage rather than its discretion. He flatly upbraids the chancellor with having sent 'unrighteous statutes' to Cambridge, and prays

His talents and learning.

His letter to Cecil with respect to the new statutes: 18 Nov. 1570.

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[1] *Observations*, pp. 51–53.

[2] *Parker Corresp.*, p. 413. Strype (*Life of Parker*, bk. iv, c. 16) understands Parker to be speaking sarcastically, which I rather doubt; but it is evident that the archbishop was dissatisfied with what he saw of Dering's reply to Sander, in which he says 'too much childishness appeared.' Bartholomew Clerk and Ackworth appear to have answered Sander more to Parker's satisfaction. See Strype, *Ibid.* Dering, I may add, was also employed by the Privy Council to draw up a series of answers to a book which at the time was supposed to have been written by Cartwright. See Lemon, *Calendar of State Papers* (1547–80), p. 470 *Parker Corresp.*, p. 434: and particularly Cooper's observations in *Athenae*, I 357.

that his eyes may be opened to the true state of affairs. The doctors and heads of houses are denounced as 'doing much hurt to better men than themselves.' Perne, Harvey, Caius, Hawford, and Ithell are described as 'al ither enemies unto God's gospel, or so faint professors, that they do littel good in the churche.' Mey and Chaderton exhibit 'small constancie ether in ther life or in ther religion.' It is, however, deserving of note that in referring to Whitgift, he speaks of him as 'a man whom I have lovyd[1].' 'But yet,' he continues, 'he is a man, and God hath suffred him to fall into greate infirmities. So froward a minde against Mr Cartwright, and other sutche, bewrayeth a conscience that is full of sickness. His affections ruled him, and not his learning, when he framed his cogitations to get new statutes[2].'

His description of the heads of houses.

The malcontent party proceed to petition the chancellor: 6 May, 1572.

It may be supposed that the representations of a single individual, pitched moreover in such a key, would not be likely to prevail much with Cecil, but the discontent of the university did not fail, in due course, to find more effective expression. When it was proposed that the thanks of the university should be forwarded to the crown and to the chancellor for the enactment of the new statutes, the authorities were unable to carry the vote, and both regents and non-regents now began to assemble in frequent conclave to discuss the most unpopular provisions of the new code and to prepare a grand remonstrance[3]. A petition was drawn up, signed by no less than 134 members of the university[4], and that it represented the opinion of a highly intelligent section may be inferred from the fact that among those who

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[1] Brook in his *Life of Cartwright* (p. 67) somewhat disingenuously suppresses this testimony in Whitgift's favour.

[2] Strype, *Life of Parker*, Append. no. lxxviii. 'I observe by the way,' says Strype, 'of what masters he is silent: namely, 'of Pembroke Hall, who was Dr Fulke; of Magdalene, Dr Kelk; of St John's, Longworth or Shepherd; of Benet, Aldrich; of King's, Dr Goad. And these were Puritans, or favorers of them.' *Ibid.* bk. iv, c. 16. It is to be noted that three years later, Dering, who had been suspended from preaching, was restored to that function, and employed by the Privy Council to answer the *Second Admonition to Parliament*, by Cartwright. *Parker Corresp.*, p. 434.

[3] These facts rest upon the statement of the petitioners themselves: see Lamb, *Documents*, p. 391.

[4] The names are printed in Lamb, *Ibid.* pp. 358–9.

Names attached to the petition of those who subsequently acquired distinction.

attached their signatures were Richard Bancroft (afterwards archbishop of Canterbury), Richard Fletcher (afterwards bishop of London), Robert Bennett (afterwards bishop of Hereford), Godfrey Goldisburghe (afterwards bishop of Gloucester), Humphrey Tindal (afterwards dean of Ely, and president of Queens' college), Laurence Chaderton (afterwards master of Emmanuel college), Edmund Barwell (afterwards master of Christ's college), Thomas Legge (afterwards master of Caius college), Edmund Hound (afterwards master of Catherine hall), John Bell (afterwards dean of Ely and master of Jesus college), and Richard Cosin (afterwards dean of the Arches[1]). All of these, however, appear to have been, at this time, under thirty years of age, and Parker and Cecil would probably recognise in the presence of their signatures little more than an expression of the feelings of a number of youthful regents smarting under the curtailment of their privileges and actuated by misplaced sympathies and excessive zeal, which were destined before long to cool down and die away. The points especially singled out for complaint in this petition were :—the new provisions relating to the election of the vice-chancellor[2], to the nomination and election of the lecturers, bedells, and other officers, and to the election of the *caput*[3];—the negative voice of masters of colleges, and the powers which they were to possess of interpreting the statutes, and of deciding upon the fitness of the proctors and taxors;—the open scrutinies, the order at the Commence-

The party almost entirely composed of the younger members of the university.

The chief subjects of complaint.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 279.

[2] 'The free election of the vice-chancellor,' the petitioners allege, 'was the speciall meanes to cause masters of houses in their great autoritie, which they had before *to favour learning, vertue, and reward men*, both abrode in the universitie and at home in their colleges, that they might be thought worthy by the judgment of the body to be preferred to that credit.' Cooper, *Annals*, II 282.

[3] 'The accustomed choice of the head was in the election of the bodie every congregation, saving in two or three sett assemblies, for that sum men peradventure of preposterous affection might staie such graces as the wholl universitie knew worthie of preferment, and unles it was for that D. Pearne, Baker, and Porie, weare sumtimes denied by the bodye to be in the head, we knowe no great reason of innovacion of so aunciente a custome, whereas now the head is both certaine for everie congregation and continuing the whole yeare, and most of the heade be masters of colleges; wherebie *it falleth oute that nothinge can passe all the whole yeare whereof they mislike*, or anie one of them.' *Ibid.* II 289.

ment, the prohibition of dispensations, and the general imperfection of the statutes. To this petition the Heads replied in a series of rejoinders the very heading of which breathed a somewhat defiant tone[1]. They represented the agitation in progress as chiefly caused by the intrigues of the two proctors, Beacon and Purefoy, who, in their irritation at the diminution in the prerogatives of their office, were, they alleged, sowing discontent among the young regents by means of false representations[2]. To these rejoinders the regents again prepared a series of replies[3].

Burghley refers the decision of the matter to Grindal and Sandys.

The cares of office pressed too heavily upon Burghley (as he must henceforth be designated) to permit of his perusing these several documents and estimating the comparative value of the arguments therein contained. He was content to refer the whole dispute to the arbitration of Grindal and Sandys, with whom (at the instance of the Heads) Parker and Cox, bishop of Ely, were subsequently joined[4]. Their action was singularly prompt, for on the twenty-seventh of May they summoned the contending parties to appear before them at Westminster, and their final decision was communicated to Burghley in the following letter, on the thirty-first of the same month[5]:—

'To Lord Burley,

Decision of the arbitrators, Parker, Grindal, Sandys, Cox, and Robinson communicated to Burghley 31 May, 1572.

'Your honor requested us two archbishops, the bishop of London and the bishop of Elye, to peruse the bill of complainte of the young men against their elders, masters of colleadges, &c.

'We have deliberatelie conferred their objections, awnswers, and replies, which we now send to your lordship herewith, *besides that we hearde both the parties challenging the one the other at full:* In fyne, we perceive, by due consideration, that the meaning of the proctors is to finde manie matters amiss in the newe statutes, for the whiche they seke reformation. We think that the statutes as they be drawen, maie yet stand, and no greate cause whie to make anie alteration. We think also that theis younger men have been farre overseen to seek their pretended reformation by disordred meanes, and namelie in going from college to college to seke subscription of names, without the license of the vice-chancellor, etc. The consideration whereof for firm satisfaction or reconciliation we refer to your order and wisdom. And thus we commend your lordship to the grace of God.

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[1] '*An Answere to the pretensed grieffes of certayne of the Bodie of the Universitie for the necessarie and profitable Alteration of certayne Priviledges and Customs greatlie abused by Divers of the foresaid Bodie, the which be reformed only for the Advancement of Vertue and Lerninge and the Maintenance of good Ordre, set fourthe by the Queens Majesties Authoritie and publikelie redd and generally received by the whole Universitie with great Quietnesse until these two Proctors Mr Beacon and Mr Purefye entred into their Offices.*' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 377.

[2] See Lamb, *Ibid.* p. 355.

[3] The 'Objections,' 'Answers,' and 'Replies' are printed in Lamb, *Documents*, pp. 363–399; Cooper (*Annals*, II 282–303) gives each Objection with the Answer and Reply (if there be any) immediately subjoined.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, II 280–1.

[5] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 357.

From Lambith the laste of Maye, 1572,

Your lordship's in Christe,

MATTHUE CANTUAR.
EDEN. EBOR.
ED. LONDON.
RICHARDE ELYE.
NIC. BANGOR.'[1]

The opposition to the new statutes dictated rather by a regard for the maintenance of privileges than for the interests of students.

Dean Peacock's criticism on the whole body of statutes.

With this report the active opposition to the new statutes appears to have come to an end. It is indeed a significant fact that the criticism to which they were subjected turned almost solely on the provisions affecting the relative privileges and rights of parties, while those which related to the conditions of study, and which were even yet more open to objection, were left unchallenged. Of these latter, dean Peacock observes that 'they were adapted, in fact, to those persons only who were presumed to be continually resident in the university, from the period of their first admission until they had attained to the honours of the doctorate,—a period of nineteen years in the faculty of theology, and of at least thirteen years in those of civil law and medicine. The continued commorancy of bachelors of arts in the university, during the three years which separated the first and second degrees in arts, and the actual continuance of the regency during an additional period of five years, though partially enforced by the obligation of an oath, would appear to have been habitually disobeyed from the period of the first promulgation of the statutes: and the necessary supply of the public service, both in church and state, was incompatible with their continued residence in the university, and with the performance of that strict succession of academical duties and exercises which the statutes contemplated.' The same careful investigator of the statutory history of the university inclines however to the opinion, derived from one or two significant facts, that the subsequent administration of the statutes was 'very irregular,' and that 'some of their most essential provisions were neglected or violated[1].' 'They were destined,' he observes, in summing up his criticism, 'to experience the fate which has attended all systems of statutes or laws which have attempted, by being themselves unchangeable, to fix immutably the changeable character of the wants and habits of mankind. The Elizabethan statutes provided most cautiously against the introduction of those amendments in the academical constitution and administration which might adapt them to the changes, which the lessons of experience, or the advancement of knowledge, might render necessary or expedient; and we consequently find that, in later ages, they either tended to check or to retard the progress of improvement in the system of academical education, or assumed, when their provisions were no longer maintainable, that unreal yet embarrassing character which belongs to laws, which, though enforced by the most solemn obligations, are either in-possible to be obeyed, or have long been habitually and systematically neglected[1].'

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[1] Lamb, *Documents*, p. 360. Nicholas Robinson, bishop of Bangor, was subsequently invited to give his assistance 'as sumtime twise proctor in Cambridge' and one who had 'good understanding in causes there.' Parker to Cecil, 1 June, 1572: *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* LXXXVIII, no. 1. He was a member of Queens' College and distinguished as a scholar by his researches in connexion with British and Welsh antiquities. Cooper, *Athenae*, II 503–4.

Parker, in the letter to Cecil above quoted, gives in a less formal manner the conclusions at which he and his fellow-arbitrators had arrived. 'We see nothing,' he says, 'by their objections, but mere quarrels of envie against their rulers. And wheare they pretende by their subscriptions to haue a reformacion of manie things amisse in the statutes, they utter in their objections a stomach for that they wante their olde libertie in elections rather than anie apparent matter touching anie statute.'

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[1] *Observations*, pp. 55–56.

General results of this contest as regards the relations of parties.

The friction resulting from the above memorable contest did not tend to improve the relations of the two parties in the university. Whitgift, if we credit the petitioners, conducted himself in an arbitrary, and on one occasion in an illegal, manner[2]. His determined nature was roused by the opposition he encountered, and his alienation from the Puritan party had now become complete. In his own college the animosity he had evoked manifested itself in so decided a manner that he at one time formed the design of altogether quitting the university. The other Heads, however, held him to be one whom, to quote their expression in a letter to Burghley, 'they could not want[3].' The chancellor's intervention was solicited and successfully exerted; and Whitgift's rule at Trinity was prolonged, greatly to the advantage of that society, for another six years. He still however continued to be the most prominent leader of the Anglican party at Cambridge, and the appearance of his *Answer* to the *Admonition to Parliament* (at that time supposed to be the work of Cartwright) exposed him to renewed attacks from the Puritans. He had ventured to compare them to the Arians of old, whose policy was that of constant unvarying opposition to the ordinances and observances of the church. On the other hand, the writers of the *Admonition* had, by their vehemence, still further widened the breach between their party and the supporters of the existing university discipline, by their denunciation of all theological degrees, which they declared ought to be abolished

Whitgift proposes to leave Cambridge but is dissuaded from so doing.

His *Answer* to the *Admonition*.

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[1] *Ibid.* pp. 58–59.

[2] The 'Objectors' complain that 'Men dare not give theire voices according to their conscience for feare of displeasure, and not without cause, for D. Whitgift in a scrutinie, some gyving theire voices simplie and freely, was exceeding'ie movcd and called for pen and ynke to write their names, thinking that with so terrefying of them, they wold for feare give as he would have them.' The Heads responded to this allegation by a flat denial that any intimidation had been resorted to. The 'Objectors' also allege that the open scrutinies led to a large majority of the non-regents giving no vote whatever. See Lamb, *Documents*, p. 373; Cooper, *Annals*, II 299.

[3] The letter was signed only by Perne, Hawford, Chaderton, Harvey, Ithell, and Byng. See Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 5.

as inconsistent with the primitive constitution of the Church[1].

General unpopularity of the Heads.

The other Heads shared, for the most part, in Whitgift's unpopularity, although in a minor degree in proportion as their inferior abilities and energy rendered them less conspicuous. Their position, in not a few cases, was rendered indeed almost untenable owing to the opposition they encountered in the several societies over which they respectively presided. In a letter addressed to Burghley in the year 1572, we find them declaring that, in many of the colleges the fellows 'study and devise only how to molest and disquiet their governors.' The immediate occasion of this complaint was a sermon preached at St Mary's by William Chark, a fellow of Peterhouse, wherein he had availed himself of the opportunity to deliver a violent tirade against all kinds and degrees of office and dignity in the Church, stigmatising them as mere devices of Satan. His indiscretion drew upon him the censure of the authorities; and as, like Cartwright, he stubbornly refused to retract his assertions, he too was ultimately expelled both from his fellowship and from the university[2]. The severity of his treatment would seem to be to a certain extent justified by the licence in which the Puritan preachers at Cambridge were at this time indulging, the scurrilous personalities to which they resorted being such, that Whitgift, Perne, and Mey, in a letter to Burghley, can only compare them to the scandalous satire of individuals which distinguished the productions of the comic muse of the ancient Athenian stage[3].

William Chark's sermon and its consequences.

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[1] Academic as well as ecclesiastical dignitaries were especially denounced by the writers: 'Lordly lords, archbishops, bishops, suffraganes, deanes, *universitie doctors and bachelors of divinitie*, archdeacons, chancellors, and the rest of that proud generation must downe, hold they never so hard: bicause their tyrannous lordship cannot stand with Christ's Kingdome.' *Pref. to the Admonition.* Similarly we find Parker referring to Thomas Aldrich, who had been promoted to the mastership of Corpus on his recommendation, but had subsequently gone over to the Puritan party, as 'an head precision in despising of the degrees of the university, and a great maintainer of Mr Cartwright.' Letter to Burghley, 15 June, 1573; *Parker Corresp.*, p. 427.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, II, i, c. 20; *Life of Parker*, bk. iv, c. 18; Cooper, *Annals*, II 312–3.

[3] This letter refers to 'divers younge preachers,' who, the writers declare, 'are not afraide to ympunge openly in pulpette not only the booke

Arrival of the news of the massacre of St Bartholomew.

Its effects among men of learning.

It was while this ferment was still at its height, in the month of August, 1572, that the news of the massacre of St Bartholomew arrived in England. The impression produced by that sinister event in the different centres of learning throughout Europe was deep and permanent. Joseph Scaliger, bending with a true student's concentration over the page of Homer, to learn only on the following day the horrors of the night,—Ramus, falling beneath the assassin's hand, to be cast a disfigured corpse into the blood-stained waters of the Seine,—young Casaubon, fleeing with his father to the caves of Dauphiny, there sadly but resolutely to continue his study of Isocrates *ad Demonicum*,—Cevallerius, taking refuge in the forests and escaping only to fall a tardier victim from the sufferings there endured,—Muretus, at Rome, drawing up in choice classic phrase his eulogy of each foul atrocity,—are but a few of the examples that serve to shew how the fell deeds of *les noces vermeilles* darkened the career or warped the sympathies of the scholar and the theologian. In England the intelligence was received with unsurpassed emotion. The French envoy had to listen while Elizabeth, forgetful of her wonted guile, and rising to the full height of her imperial nature, uttered words of true womanly scorn,—while Burghley, as he too laid aside his habitual wariness, declared in the council chamber that no more atrocious crime had disgraced humanity since the crucifixion of the Founder of their common faith. The exultation of Sander and Louvain only brought into stronger relief the honest indignation of Parker and Cambridge. The fate of the illustrious Ramus could hardly fail indeed to be heard with peculiar commiseration in the latter university. His conversion to Calvinism, his intrepid assault on the traditional Aristotelian logic, appealed, in almost equal measure, the one to the sympathy of the Puritan and the other to the interest of the logician, and his works, which Ascham appears to have first brought under the notice of his country-

Assassination of Ramus.

His name well known at Cambridge.

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of common service: but also particularlie discribe and name men of all degrees both honorable that be absent and other that be present, according to the license of the olde poetes.' Cooper, *Annals*.

men, were already well known to not a few Cambridge scholars. It was felt that his life had been consecrated to a noble purpose, and wise and good men recognised in his fate the martyr to the cause of university reform not less than to that of Protestant belief.

Spirit of retaliation provoked in England by the massacre.

Violence and wrong ever beget their like; and the most unjustifiable measures directed against the English Catholics under Elizabeth date from the tragedy of St Bartholomew. 'This barbarous treacherie will not cease in France,' wrote Sandys to Burghley, 'but will reach over to us;' and his advice, 'furthwith,' as the first indispensable measure, 'to cutte of the Scottish quene's head[1],'—shews how the spirit of retaliation had been evoked. The treatise of Nicholas Sander, *de visibili Monarchia*, which found its way to England about this time, still further roused the susceptibilities of both the politician and the theologian. The deliberate and unscrupulous malice which dictated its numerous calumnies and threw a foul slur over the whole character and principles of the English Reformation, rendered small service to the cause of Catholicism, and the disposition which had hitherto to a great extent prevailed, to connive at adherence to the Roman faith and even at the private celebration of its rites, considerably lessened. Among the more illustrious sufferers by this change of national feeling was Dr Caius. The severity with which he had treated the malcontents in his own college, his somewhat peevish censures of the prevailing tone and discipline of the university, and his occasional disagreements with those of his own standing, combined to render him at this time singularly unpopular at Cambridge. The loyal Anglican and the zealous Puritan regarded him with almost equal suspicion. It now transpired that he still retained, stored up in the college, a collection of ornaments, books, and vestments, such as were used in the celebration of the Roman religious service. Discoveries of this kind were especially irritating to the ecclesiastical authorities, as indicating on the part of the possessor the expectation and the

Indignation excited by the *de visibili Monarchia* of Sander.

Dr Caius among the sufferers by this feeling.

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[1] Ellis's *Letters* (2) III 22.

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The 'popish trumpery' in his keeping at the college seized and destroyed.

hope that the Catholic faith might yet regain the ascendency to the subversion of their own Church[1]. Towards the close of the year 1572, an order accordingly came down to the vice-chancellor from Sandys, in his capacity as bishop of London, to enquire into the matter,—a measure which eventually resulted in the arbitrary destruction of the whole collection. According to Dr Caius' own statement, this wanton act was suggested by some of the disaffected fellows of the college at a convivial meeting,—they having, he adds, been at the trouble of keeping watch all night in order to prevent any of the properties in question being privately conveyed away out of the college[2]. However this may have been, it is beyond dispute that, on a certain dull December day, the monotony of college life at Caius was broken by an extraordinary spectacle. A bon-fire was lighted in the first court, round which for the space of three hours were to be seen, toiling resolutely and perspiring, Dr Byng, the vice-chancellor, Whitgift, and Roger Goad, the provost of King's College, as they brought forth the contraband properties and hurled them into the flames. The 'popish trumpery,' as Byng styles it, in his triumphant account of the proceedings to Burghley[3]—vestments, albs, tunics, and stoles, the pix and sindon and canopy, 'tables of idols' and mass-books, sufficient to furnish forth half-a-dozen distinct and contemporaneous celebrations of the Roman service,—crackled on the blazing pyre. While brazen saints and cherubim, as offering too stubborn a resistance to a like process of destruction, were pommelled with pious zeal out of all resemblance to humanity[4].

Singularity of the scene.

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[1] Sir Thomas White, the founder of St John's College, Oxford, had acted in a similar manner to Dr Caius, although he took the precaution of removing the articles in question to his own house. 'Englishmen,' observed Mr Green, 'had seen English religion change too often to believe that it would change no more.' See his *History of the English People*, II 329.

[2] 'Nec hoc factum est, nisi instigantibus quibusdam male affectis sociis, quorum alii rem procuraverunt convivio, alii, ne conserventur, aut noctu sustollantur, pervigiles extiterunt. Sed ex his alios Deus morte sustulit, alios aliis modis subduxit, non sine ignominia.' *Annales Collegii*, ann. 1572. The divine justice must have been singularly prompt if it thus displayed itself in the six months that intervened before Dr Caius' death.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, II 314.

[4] 'malleio contuderunt.' Caius. 'defacid.' Byng.

There can be no doubt that the personal indignity to himself involved in this invasion of his property was keenly felt by Dr Caius, who records in plaintive terms the ingratitude thus shewn for his manifold services to the college and to learning[1]. In the following year we find him devoting his leisure to the compilation of his *History of the University*,—not improbably for the purpose of thereby gaining some distraction from his harassed feelings. It was his last service to letters. Blomefield, indeed, suggests that his life was shortened by the growing intolerance of the times[2], his death, which took place in London, having occurred only seven months after the event above described. By his will, dated a few days before, Parker, with whom (notwithstanding the divergence of their views on religious questions) he seems always to have been on friendly terms, was named his literary executor; and, availing himself of powers conferred by a grant obtained from the society in the preceding September, he nominated Thomas Legge of Jesus College his successor in the mastership[3]. He was interred in the college chapel; where the brief inscription on his monument[4] arrests by its severe simplicity, far more effectively than any long and ornate eulogy could do, the attention of the observer.

His death: 29 July, 1573.

Provisions of his will.

His epitaph.

With all his eccentricities and prejudices, the reputation which he achieved,—a reputation almost unique of its kind,—may fairly be considered to surpass that of any other Cambridge Head of the sixteenth century. Fisher outshines him indeed as a benefactor. Parker rendered greater services to literature. Gardiner and Whitgift both played a more conspicuous part in moulding the present and the future of the university. But as one who was at once a man of science and a man of letters, and unselfishly devoted to

His attainments and services to science and learning entitle him to a high place in the esteem of the university.

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[1] —'tantus erat illis fervor in religionem, ut nec beneficia personarum nec gratia in academiam, aedificio et editis libris, suadere potuit moderationem.' *Annales Collegii*, ann. 1572; Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. iii, c. 4; Cooper, *Athenae*, I 314.

[2] 'Disturbed as may be guessed, at the furious and rash zeal of those times.' Ives's *Select Papers*, 65.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 314.

[4] Vivit post funera virtus.
Fui Caius.
Aetatis suae LXIII.
Obiit xxix Julii A.D. 1573.

both,—who, to a shrewd insight into the conditions essential to the advance of knowledge united a practical excellence which placed him at the head of his profession in England,—and who, lastly, to quote the eulogy of Camden, 'in the end gave all his wealth to learning[1],'—Dr Caius presents us with a combination as interesting as it is rare and undoubtedly realises most fully the true conception of academic eminence.

Death of Parker: 17 May, 1575.

Before another two years had passed away, the university was bereft of a yet more conspicuous patron. For some years past, Parker's health had been declining, and the 'rheumatic Tempsis,' as he styles it, had often proved an effectual barrier to his passage over from Lambeth to attend the meetings of the Privy Council. In March 1575, more alarming symptoms began to manifest themselves, and in the following May, he was removed by death alike from the rule of the Church which he had so ably governed and invigorated and from his watchful protectorate of that university which he had loved so well and so faithfully served. The last matter that called for his interference at Cambridge had been one which occasioned him no little pain. Robert Aldrich, who had been promoted to the headship of Corpus College mainly through Parker's interest exerted on his behalf, had gone over to the Puritan party and had given notable proof of his change of sentiments by a persistent refusal to proceed, as required by the college statutes, to his degree of B.D. He was ultimately summoned to London by Burghley and formally censured,—a proceeding which was followed by his resignation of the mastership[2]. The extant letters written by Parker in his declining years indicate very plainly that his temper was sorely tried by 'these irritable precisions at Cambridge[3],' as he terms them, and by whom he in turn was styled 'the pope of Lambeth.' His undiminished care for the university in his latter years was proved (if proof could be required) by the altered aspect of

His last troubles at Cambridge.

His forbearance much taxed by the Puritan party.

His benefactions to the university:

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[1] *Life of Elizabeth*, p. 200.

[2] Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. iv, c. 27; *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 8; Append. no. xv; Cooper, *Annals*, II 317–8.

[3] See *Parker Corresp.* 418, 419, 426, 434, 437.

one of the principal academic thoroughfares and by a noble benefaction to the university library. On the site now occupied by the senate-house and the open space in front, there stood at that time a number of humble tenements, the residences of townsmen, which altogether intercepted the view of the Schools from Great St Mary's. Of these the greater proportion remained standing until the erection of the senate-house in 1722. By Parker's generosity, however, a sufficient number were now purchased from the authorities of King's College and Corpus, to admit of the opening up of a new street, known as University Street, and also as the Regent walk, which from that time until 1722, formed the main approach to the Schools. 'This way to the Schools,' says the chronicler, 'he also paved, and built a brick wall on each side against the Schools and half way of the street, and topped the walls with square stone; and then gave this way and these walls to the university.' In addition to this, says Strype, he repaired the Common Schools, 'greatly fallen then into decay and wanting both lead, timber, and roofing[1].'

University Street.

Repair of the Schools.

Dissatisfied with what his own resources enabled him to do, Parker had successfully exerted his influence to excite a like generosity in others. Sir Nicholas Bacon, his brother-in-law, who had been his fellow-student at Corpus, stimulated by his persuasion and example, became a distinguished benefactor both to their common college and to the university library[2]. In pleasing contrast to the prevailing strife of parties which demands so large a share of our attention at this period, we may turn aside to note Dr Perne going up to stay with the archbishop at Lambeth the year before the latter's death, there to concert measures for augmenting the stores of the university library[3]; and, backed by his strong

His influence productive of benefactions from others.

His efforts in conjunction with Perne on behalf of the university library.

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[1] See in Strype, *Life of Parker*, Append. no. XCVII, 'An Indenture of the University Street and for Repairing the Books in the University Library, which were of the Archbishop's Gift.' *Ibid.* bk. iv, c. 42.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] While at Lambeth, Dr Perne applied to the registrary for a catalogue of the books which the university library then contained. 'From a copy of this list now in the registrary,' says Mr Bradshaw, 'and from a somewhat similar list published by Dr Caius in his *Historia*, we learn that the library contained scarcely 180 volumes, or little more than half what it had had just a century before.' (See Vol. I. p. 323.) 'The archbishop sent down a hundred

support, proceeding to plead personally and not unsuccessfully for donations of books with Burghley, with my lord of Winchester, Robert Horne, and with my lord of Durham, James Pilkington. On his return to Cambridge, Perne could not refrain from giving emphatic expression to his gratitude for Parker's 'great charges divers ways bestowed upon the university,' which he declares had resulted in 'a singular and perpetual commodity to the same' and had also 'brought no less beauty and ornament in the setting forth of all those places where his grace had bestowed any cost.' 'The which,' he goes on to say, 'doth appear in your grace's college, in St Mary's Church, in the houses and street between St Mary's Church and the Schools, in the School gates; and now last of all, in the singular beauty that the comely order of your grace's books doth bring to the university library, to the great delectation of the eye of every man that shall enter into the said library.' 'I do judge,' adds Perne, 'the mind of other that loveth learning and the university by my own great delectation, that I do conceive of that comely placing of the said books, the which shall be a perpetual testimony of your grace's singular goodness and great kindness to the university[1].'

Perne's spontaneous testimony to his great services to Cambridge.

Parker's bequests to Corpus Christi, to Caius College, and to Trinity Hall.

The archbishop's noble benefactions to his own college almost entitle him, as Strype observes, to be regarded as its second founder. The great collection of manuscripts which he bequeathed to the society, to be guarded by restrictions which though they now appear illiberal were largely justified by the unscrupulous practices of that time, is one of European reputation. New fellowships and scholarships and costly plate served still further to perpetuate his memory on that foundation[2]. At Caius, his intervention in the disputes between master and fellows had in no way alienated his good will towards the society, where he was again the donor of plate and of books, and also the founder of a physical scholar-

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volumes all carefully picked, and among them 25 thick volumes made up from some of the choicest manuscripts in his own library.' *The University Library*, p. 14.

[1] Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. iv, c. 42.

[2] *Ibid.* bk. iv, c. 47.

ship[1]. Like bequests and the foundation of a law scholarship entitle him to the grateful remembrance of Trinity Hall[2]. Of his numerous legacies in support of religion, education, and charity throughout the realm we cannot here make mention. On those other merits which so well became the primate and the scholar,—his princely patronage, which might compare with that of the Medicis, of all the arts that contributed to enrich the productions of the *scriptorium*,—his discerning estimate of the value of the Anglo-Saxon literature,—his concern for the preservation and study of the *origines* of our national history,—it is unnecessary that we should dwell[3]. But as regards the two main charges which detraction has urged against his memory,—that of undue severity in his ecclesiastical rule and that of undue licence in his editorial labours,—it is but just to remember, in the one case the decisive action demanded by the restless temper and dangerous aspects of the times, in the other, the laxity conceded by the uncritical spirit of the age[4].

His more general claims to the national gratitude as an enlightened patron of learning.

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[1] *Ibid.* and Append. no cv.

[2] *Ibid.* and Cooper, *Athenae*, I 336.

[3] See Strype's laborious and exhaustive series of 'Observations on Archbishop Parker,' at the conclusion of his *Life*. Parker's vindication of himself from the charge of aiming at the accumulation of wealth may be found in his *Correspondence*, pp. 453–5. I cannot but note here the special unfairness with which Mr Froude in his *History* (x 410–11) has insisted on this feature in Parker's conduct while passing by in silence his noble benefactions and ignoring the far greater revenues accumulated by Burghley.

[4] In connexion with Parker's free dealing with the text of Matthew of Paris, we may compare bishop Geste's avowal of his treatment of the text of the Psalms in his capacity of translator: 'Where,' he says, 'in the New Testament one piece of a Psalm is reported, I translate it in the Psalm according to the translation thereof in the New Testament, *for avoiding of the offence that may rise to the people upon diverse translations*.' Letter to Parker (circ. 1565), *Parker Corresp.*, p. 250.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER TO THAT OF LORD BURGHLEY.

Changes for the worse at both universities: (1) in the adoption of a less liberal constitution; (2) in a narrowed conception of their educational functions.

NOTWITHSTANDING the increasing external prosperity of both Oxford and Cambridge during the closing years of Parker's life, the general efficiency of both universities appears at the same time to have undergone a material decline. Their former liberal constitution had been supplanted by the rule of an oligarchy which, however judiciously it might be administered, was singularly liable to abuse. The ancient and catholic conception of their functions as great schools of all the sciences and of all learning, had narrowed to one whereby they came to be regarded as little more than seminaries for the education of the clergy of the Established Church. In this change, however, they only reflected the dominant policy of the state. 'There is no middle course in dealing with religious sectaries,' observes Hallam in his admirable criticism of this period, 'between the persecution that exterminates and the toleration that satisfies;' and the justice of this observation is forcibly attested by the history of the universities. Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, enforced ceremonial in religious worship, were stumbling-blocks which more and more shut out the conscientious Puritan, with whom dissatisfaction developed into defiance and resentment into retaliation. The 'non-complier' became the seceder, the member of a distinct and fast multiplying sect, whose most zealous and unscrupulous representatives lampooned the bishops, derided the constitution of the English Church, and advanced doctrines which seemed to not

The Puritan and the Catholic alike begin to be shut out.

a few to threaten the stability of the crown itself. The Catholic, on the other hand, exposed to the full brunt of the animosities evoked by the uncompromising policy of Pius V and the horrors of St Bartholomew's Eve, found himself subjected to a rigorous scrutiny which no longer allowed of the former evasions and which occasional outward compliance had ceased to satisfy. The oath of supremacy was administered in a form that admitted of no reservations. The presence of those who secretly favoured the ancient faith was no longer connived at, but became the subject of systematic enquiry and sometimes of loud complaint. Of this change of feeling, the experience of Dr Legge, the master of Caius College, affords a striking illustration,—especially when contrasted with the indulgence extended to his predecessor. Although far better qualified than Dr Caius to win popularity, by virtue of his conspicuous ability as a tutor and of his real worth and kindly nature, his suspected leanings to Catholicism marked him out for no little molestation from some of the Puritan fellows. Their representations aroused the jealous spirit of archbishop Sandys, who on learning that some of the Catholic gentry in his diocese were sending their sons to be placed under Legge's instruction, did not scruple to write to Burghley to urge that the master of Caius should be prohibited from receiving pupils 'to breed and train up in popery[1].' Not less harsh was the treatment of Richard Swale, whom Sandys included in the same indictment—a fellow of the same college and equally distinguished with its head as a successful tutor. Swale appears to have treated the charges preferred against him with a contempt which they probably merited but which brought him under Burghley's serious displeasure, and in the sequel the intercession of Sir

Persecution directed against two tutors of Caius College.

Dr Legge. *b.* 1536. *d.* 1607.

Sir Richard Swale. *b.* 1545. *d.* 1608.

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[1] 'All the popish gentlemen in this country send their sons to him. He setteth sundry of them over to one Swayl, also of the same house; by whom the youth of this country is corrupted: that at their return to their parents they are able to dispute in the defence of popery: and few of them will repair to the church.' Sandys to Burghley, 11 Feb. 158½. Strype, *Annals of the Reform.*, II ii, c. 21; Cooper, *Athenae*, II 455; *Annals*, II 388. Dr Legge, it is to be noted, was one of those who petitioned against the new statutes (*supra*, p. 236),—a fact which would rather seem to imply that he sympathised with the Puritan party.

Christopher Hatton and his own abject submission scarcely availed to avert the forfeiture of his fellowship[1]. Among his pupils at this time was a young Protestant refugee from Antwerp, whom he would seem to have inspired with his own love of learning and whom he certainly did not pervert from his allegiance to the reformed faith. This was no other than Jan Gruter, a scholar whose indefatigable industry in after life moved even Joseph Scaliger to admiration, and whose *Inscriptiones* marks an era in the history of European learning[2]. It is difficult not to infer that there was a strong element of malice and injustice in the persecution directed against both Legge and Swale, when we note their subsequent careers and that of their illustrious pupil. The first, although we find him committed in 1581 to the Fleet for alleged contempt of the royal letters, completely triumphed over the machinations of his enemies, and for nearly five and thirty years continued to rule over the society at Caius, distinguished as a discerning and liberal promoter of letters and of studious merit, and eventually bequeathing a noble benefaction to the college[3]. Swale's distinguished services to the state gained for him the honour of knighthood from king James, while his attainments as a civilian led to a marked recognition in his appointment as one of the learned laymen who were selected to assist at the Hampton Court Conference[4]. Both Legge and Swale must, we cannot but think, have often noted Gruter's steady rise to fame. He ultimately settled down at Heidelberg which, for nearly half a century from this time, stood foremost among the schools of continental Protestantism[5]. There he carried on his monu-

Jan Gruter. *b.* 1560. *d.* 1627.

Subsequent careers both of tutors and pupil.

Gruter at Heidelberg.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 492.

[2] Hallam, *Hist. of English Lit.* II⁷ 387–9; Gruter's father had been one of those who signed the 'Beggars' Petition' at Antwerp; his mother, who was of English family, possessed considerable attainments as a linguist, and also as a classical scholar. See Niceron, IX 388–9.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 454–6; *Documents*, II 386.

[4] Cooper, *Ibid.* II 492.

[5] Hautz states that towards the close of the sixteenth century the number of matriculations was usually over a hundred; in 1607 it was 212. *Gesch. d. Univ. Heidelberg*, II 148. 'In dem blühenden Zustande, in welchem die Universität eine lange Reihe von Jahren als Pflanzschule des europäischen Calvinismus gewesen war, blieb sie bis zu den Verheerungen des 30jährigen Krieges.' *Ibid.* II 161.

mental labours. There too his watchful and untiring assiduity, as university librarian, augmented and enriched that splendid collection of books and manuscripts which excited the admiration of all learned Europe until scattered by the destroying hand of Tilly[1].

Change in the feelings of the Catholic party with respect to the universities.

There were however others at Cambridge at this time to whom the suspicion that attached was more just and who consequently found the changed tone of the university no longer tolerable. Slowly, but with increasing force of conviction, the Roman Catholic scholar awoke to the consciousness that England had ceased to be his home,—that the parish church was no more to be his house of worship[2], or the university the place of his education and the fountain head of his theology. Alike in politics, in faith, and in learning, he became an alien to the country of his birth. Sander, in adverting to the change, and to the loss thus inflicted by the departure of not a few able men, declares, with his usual recklessness of assertion, that Oxford and Cambridge had now become training schools only for 'declaimers of novel doctrine and for grammarians[3].'

Seminaries for the English Catholic youth now founded abroad.

Foundation of the UNIVERSITY OF DOUAY; 1559.

To the many scholars who under these influences began in rapid succession to take their departure from England, Louvain appears at first to have afforded the chief asylum. Another, and in some respects a more convenient, point of reunion now however presented itself at Douay, where, so early as 1559, pope Paul IV, alarmed at the spread of heresy in the Netherlands, had deemed it expedient to sanction the foundation of a new university[1]. The school of learning that thus grew up in the ancient little town in Artois (which province at that time lay mainly in the Low Countries) might fairly claim to be, in Fuller's phrase, 'colonia deducta' from Louvain. The charter of its foundation, given in 1561 by Philip II, directed that it should be organised on the model of that famous university, and to Louvain Douay was indebted for its first professors[2]. Its curriculum included all the five faculties,—theology, canon and civil law, medicine, and arts. It was empowered to confer degrees in each branch, and it is deserving of note that, in pursuance of the design which dominated the whole conception, the academical status already acquired by those students who came from Oxford or Cambridge was always recognised[3]. There were at first no colleges; but in 1568, Dr William Allen, a fellow of Oriel College, Oxford, opened a house for the reception of English Catholics, which soon acquired some celebrity. The majority of the students came from Oxford, and among their number was the well-known Dr Edmund Campian, a fellow of St John's College, and Morgan Philips, formerly president of Oriel[4]. The Cambridge element was much smaller, but it included Thomas Baily, who had before been master of Clare Hall, and his intimate friend and close companion in exile, Laurence Webb of St Catherine's; Richard Hall, a fellow of Pembroke, and the real author of the notable *Life of Bishop Fisher* which passes under Thomas Baily's name[5]; and John Sanderson, who had been expelled from his

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[1] The numerous and excellent manuscripts of classical authors at Heidelberg were a special attraction to scholars and even to the printers at this time. See Hautz, *Ibid.* II 39, 147, 167.

[2] We have it on the authority of Sir Edward Coke, the correctness of whose statement was admitted by Parsons, the Jesuit, that down to the eleventh year of Elizabeth the English Catholics felt no scruples in attending the parish churches. See Berington's Introd. to *Life of Gregorio Panzani*, p. 19; Hall (Bp.) *Defence of the Humble Remonstrance*, p. 24. As late as in 1582 Mary, queen of Scots, sent a petition to the pope, requesting him to permit fifty of her Catholic adherents to attend the Protestant service. See *Douay Diary*, Append. p. 335.

[3] 'academias...olim maximarum artium ac praesertim S. Theologiae studiis florentissimas, nunc, ut temporibus sectarum fit, novorum oratorum et grammaticorum tantum nutrices.' *De Origine Schismatis* (ed. 1585), p. 159.

Its relations to Louvain.

Foundation of the English College at Douay: 1568.

Scholars from Oxford and Cambridge who emigrated thither.

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[1] Introd. to *Douay Diaries* (in *Records of English Catholics*), by Dr T. F. Knox, p. xxvii. For the different objects included in the design of founding the college, see Allen's account in his *Apology for the English Seminaries*, pp. 21–26. Among other motives, he describes it as the design of the founder 'to draw divers youths, who then for their conscience lived in the Low Countries, from sole, several, and voluntary study to a more exact method and course of common conference and public exercise, to be pursued by their superiors' appointment, rather than their own choice; that they might be more apt to serve their country, when it should please God mercifully to reduce them home again.'

[2] Ram, *Analectes pour servir à l'histoire de l'université de Louvain*, no. ix, p. 121.

[3] Introd. to *Douay Diaries*, pp. xxxi and xxxii.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. xxx and xxxi, where a detailed list of the more eminent students from Oxford is given.

[5] Dodd, *Church History*, pp. 158–162; Cooper, *Athenae*, II 108, 510,

fellowship at Trinity College for suspicious doctrine and contumacy, and who afterwards became divinity professor at Rheims[1]. In the year 1575, the college was materially aided by a grant from Gregory XIII of a pension of one hundred gold crowns per month, and in the following year the number of the students, all of whom came from England, reached a total of 120; while the number of English students in the university at large amounted to nearly 200[2].

But in the meantime, as the revolt spread in the Netherlands, the position of the English exiles at Douay became one of considerable danger. They were many of them pensioners of the Spanish crown, and as a body they had enjoyed the special favour and protection of Philip II. At last the arms of the Prince of Orange achieved a signal success. A new governor entered Douay; and in March 1578, a proclamation was issued commanding the immediate departure of the students. The measure had not been unforeseen; and the society was forthwith transferred to Rheims, where, though regarded with little favour by the resident population, it enjoyed the powerful protection of the Guises[3]. At Rome there had long existed an ancient English hospital, the representative of that yet older and extinct foundation which had derived its origin from the liberality of king Ini some eight centuries before. To this humble institution the patronage of pope Gregory XIII now imparted new life and importance. He endowed it with additional revenues and granted it a new charter. In the preamble to this document the pontiff takes occasion to express his deep commiseration for the unhappy state of that distant land which it had been the glory of his predecessor, the greatest of the Gregorys, to win from barbarism to Christianity. He declares himself moved with compassion for those English youth who, abandoning their country, their parents, and their worldly possessions, were now flocking to Rome to gain the requisite instruction

The University removed to Rheims.

The English College at Rome.

The College re-endowed by Gregory XIII in 1579.

351, 368–9. 'Both Baily and Webb,' says Dr Knox, 'lived and died in the service of the seminary, the former in 1591 and the latter in 1608.' Introd. to *Douay Diaries*, p. xxxvi.

[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 351–2.

[2] Introd. to *Douay Diaries*, pp. xxxv and xxxviii.

[3] *Douay Diaries*, Introd. pp. xlix-lvii.

in the doctrines of the one true Church, with the design of afterwards returning to aid in the work of its restoration in their native land[1].

The funds assigned for the endowment of the college were supposed to be adequate for the maintenance of fifty students who were admitted without regard to those local limitations in force at Oxford and Cambridge[2], and the proportion of young Welshmen whose names appeared on the 'Pilgrims' Register,' as it was termed, was considerable. In the statutes we find philosophy and theology designated as the main studies; but it is deserving of note that Greek and Hebrew are also mentioned as desirable subjects of acquirement[3].

Foundation of the Colleges of the SOCIETY OF JESUS:

It was in the year 1551, while Ignatius Loyola still lived, that the Jesuit College at Rome had been founded under his auspices. Of the new system of education conceived and carried out with so much success by himself and by his followers, we may have occasion to speak in another chapter. It may suffice here to observe that it soon developed into distinct and formidable rivalry of all that was best in the universities of Protestantism. In its subject-matter and its method the scheme drawn up by Lainez was an avowed imitation of that of John Sturm of Strassburg[1]. To the craving for theological speculation which now absorbed nine-tenths of the intellectual power of learned Europe, Jesuitism offered a revival of the ancient 'disputation,' conducted with an array of learning and a dialectic skill which Calvin or Ramus might envy[2]; and before the close of the century, the writings of the Order had become the recognised sources for the most authoritative exposition of Tridentine doctrine and of the Roman practice[3]. In the general conception of their educational system, we are however presented with something to which as regards its subtlety and scope Protestantism could offer no parallel,—a skilful adaptation of means to ends, derived from a careful study of human nature, which moulding with marvellous tact the whole character and aims of the individual soon attached to itself in every important centre a band of enthusiastic and devoted adherents.

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[1] '...versantur quotidie ante oculos nostros juvenes ex illo miserrimo regno huc profugientes, qui, divino spiritu ducti, patria, parentibus et bonis relictis, sese nobis ad catholicae religionis, in qua nati sunt, institutionem suscipiendam miserabiliter offerunt, eo animo, ut salutem sibi primum comparent, deinde vero ut, post adeptam divinarum rerum scientiam, in Angliam ad alios qui a via veritatis declinarunt erudiendos revertantur.' Dodd, *Church Hist.* II Append. no. lvii. So Richard Haddock (one of the students) writing to Dr Allen says: 'And, for obedience to his Holiness, we had sufficiently shewed it......in not remaining in our country, *where we had been able to have lived unto ourselves;* but, desirous of more perfectness, we were come where we might learn to serve God and His church, as more profitable members of the same.' *Ibid.* Append. no. lix. It is deserving of note that each student, on being admitted to the college, was required to take an oath of which the following constituted the main clause: 'et promitto juroque omnipotenti Deo me paratum esse animo, ac futurum semper...ut suo tempore sacros ordines suscipiam, *et in Angliam ad proximorum animas lucrandas revertar*, quandocumque superiori hujus collegii, pro sui instituti ratione, illud mihi praecipere visum fuerit in Deo.' *Ibid.* Append. no. lvii. See also Morris, *Life of Father John Gerard*, p. 26³. When we consider that the admission of these English youth was granted only on conditions which bound them over to risk their freedom, if not their lives, in the service of the Holy See, our sense of the disinterestedness of pope Gregory's liberality becomes somewhat qualified. A similar condition was in force at Douay. See *Douay Diaries*, Introd. p. xxvi; also Sander, *de Origine Schismatis* (ed. 1585), 188.

[2] No account again was taken of English academical degrees, and this appears to have given rise to considerable dissatisfaction. *Ibid.* p. xxxii.

[3] Dodd, *Ibid.* Append. no. lvii: see also Hallam, *Hist. of Lit.* II⁷ 65.

Their method of instruction.

They become the recognised interpreters of the doctrines of the Church of Rome.

The order and the localities in which their colleges arose mark the progressive stages of an elaborate experiment. The first, founded two years before that at Rome, was placed where, on the monotonous and thinly-populated coast of Valencia, the little town of Gandia looks forth from amid its smiling gardens and calm seclusion on the western waters of the Mediterranean. The college at Rome, which followed next, must be regarded as appealing at that time to a political

Their College at Gandia: f. 1549.

Their College at Rome: f. 1551.

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[1] The author of the Jesuit *Lehrplan* (p. 362) published in 1833, expressly refers the educational system of the society to their desire to provide a counterbalancing attraction to the influence of Sturm.

[2] Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste* (ed. 1874), II 22.

[3] On this point it may be worth while to cite the observation of a contemporary Master of St John's, who writing in the year 1588 says, —'we must, lest we should seem to construe the doctrines of the papists otherwise than the practice of the Roman Church requires, or to take for granted what they grant not, or to ascribe to them opinions which they disclaim, take care to follow this order, namely, first to enquire what the Council of Trent hath determined upon every question, and then to consult the Jesuits, the most faithful interpreters of that Council.' Whitaker, *Disput. de Sacra Script.* (transl. by Fitzgerald), p. 19.

The Jesuit movement in the Universities.

Julius III. grants the Order the privilege of conferring academic degrees.

rather than an intellectual centre. Then followed the systematic attack on the universities. Already, so early indeed as 1550, pope Julius III., careless and unapprehensive in the epicurean enjoyment of his brief pontificate, had granted to the new order the right of conferring degrees 'after the manner of the universities[1].' A sagacity far inferior to that which directed the tactics of the Jesuit body, might however perceive that such a privilege would avail them little unless they could contrive to bring the merits of their new method and their whole system into more direct comparison with those that still prevailed at the chief centres of education; and just as, four centuries before, the Dominicans and Franciscans had opened their schools and succeeded in establishing themselves in the theological chairs of the universities[2], so, in the sixteenth century, we find the Jesuits making good their position at the same centres and bringing their influence to bear with a like remarkable success on the youth and the best promise of each academic community. In Germany the movement constitutes one of the most remarkable features of that reactionary triumph of Latin over Teutonic influences which characterises the latter part of the sixteenth century. From three principal centres,—Augsburg, Cologne, and Ingolstadt—they spread over the whole country, and at the last-named university, where we first hear of them about the year 1564, they formed a school of theology which rivalled Louvain and might compare in studious activity with Wittenberg or Geneva[3]. Even in Protestant universities, though unable openly to carry on their work of propagandism, they were ever watchful to seize the first opportunity; and Heidelberg, after a long and successful resistance to their efforts, found them borne in upon the wave of invasion which, in the

Their rapid success in Germany.

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[1] '—privilegia, societati Jesuitarum ante concessa, pontifex confirmat; imo iisdem indulget ut suos discipulos ad gradus baccalaureatus, licentiatus, magisterii et doctoratus, *universitatum more*, promovere queant.' See Jourdain (C.), *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, etc. *Index Chartarum*, no. 1815, p. 361. 'Ce qui tend à la ruine des universités:' see summary of the decision of the bishop of Paris (Eustache du Bellai) in Crevier, VI 6.

[2] See vol. I of author's *History*, pp. 105–7 and 118–121.

[3] Ranke, *Die römischen Päpste* (ed. 1874), II 22; Prantl, *Gesch. d. L. M. Univ.*, II 251.

They establish themselves at the Collége de Clermont, in Paris.

following century, marked the advance of Tilly[1]. In Paris, which they necessarily looked upon as an all-important centre, they very early succeeded in establishing their footing at the Collége de Clermont. The university, which had not as yet been overtaken by the desolation which followed upon the civil wars, was however as keenly alive to the dangers of a proselytising fraternity and novel teaching as in the days of William St Amour, and so early as the year 1554, the theological faculty had already placed on record their deliberate censure of the new order as tending by its activity 'to disturb the peace of the Church and to subvert the conception of the monastic life[2].' Eventually indeed Paris succeeded in bringing about their expulsion, just as she had once succeeded in excluding the teachers of the civil law, but her triumph turned signally to her own loss. The undeniable merits of the new teaching,—the unselfish devotion of its professors, the excellence of their manuals of instruction (especially when contrasted with the antiquated text-books still used in the Catholic universities), and the rapid progress made by their pupils,—were patent to all educated minds and won the approval even of Protestant communities. The great majority of the middle-class youth who had before flocked to Paris were consequently gradually attracted to the provinces, where the colleges of the Jesuits now rose in rapid succession throughout France—at Toulouse, Bordeaux, Auch, Agen, Rhodez, Perigueux, Limoges, Le Puy, Aubenas, Beziers, and Tournon, in Flanders and Lorraine,—'places,' observes Mr Pattison, 'beyond the jurisdiction of the *parlement* of Paris, or even of the crown of France. The banishment of the

The Order is formally condemned by the theological faculty of the University.

Their expulsion from the University.

Rapid rise of the Jesuit Colleges throughout France, greatly to the loss of the University of Paris.

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[1] Hautz, *Gesch. d. Univ. Heidelberg*, II 162.

[2] 'Quod nova illa societas, insolitam nominis Jesu appellationem sibi vindicans, videtur in negotio fidei periculosa, pacis ecclesiae perturbativa, monasticae religionis eversiva, et magis in destructionem quam in aedificationem.' Jourdain, *Hist. de l'Univ. de Paris, &c. Index Chartarum*, no. 1863, p. 366: see also Bulaeus, VI 572. So Whitaker, master of St John's, writing in 1588, describes the Jesuits as having 'left the shade of ancient sloth and inactivity, in which the other monks had grown grey' and having 'come forth to engage in toils, to treat of arts and sciences, to undertake and carry through an earnest struggle for the safety of the common interests.' *Epist. Dedicatory to Burghley* (p. 4), prefixed to *Disputation on Holy Scripture, &c.*

Society of Jesus from the district of Paris had been by *arrêt* of the *parlement* of Paris alone, and had never been confirmed by the crown. Lyons loudly demanded a Jesuit college, and even the Huguenot Lesdiguières, almost King in Dauphiné, was preparing to erect one in Grenoble. Amiens, Reims, Rouen, Dijon, Bourges, were only waiting a favourable opportunity to introduce the Jesuits within their walls[1].'

The Jesuits acquire the control of the English College at Rome.

It was at Rome, however, that the Jesuit teaching appears to have gained its first English converts, and the ingenuous and inexperienced youth of the English college afforded an easy conquest[2]. A brief and ineffectual opposition was offered indeed by Lewis, Chenock and others in whose hands the direction of the college had been originally vested, and the struggle is to be noted as one of the earliest instances of that bitter rivalry and warfare,—a feature over which both the contending parties have sought to draw a veil,—that now began to be waged between the new order and the secular Catholic clergy[3]. If we may credit Sachinus[4], the Celtic element in the college sided with their original teachers, while the 'Saxons,' as they were styled by the opposite party, espoused the cause of the new-comers. But in the end, the adroit blandishments of Aggazzari, father Holt, and others, completely prevailed and the Jesuits succeeded in altogether ousting their opponents and in gaining the entire control of the college and its revenues[5].

Other foundations, also under Jesuit management, for the education of the English Catholics abroad.

Among other foundations for the purpose of affording an education to the English Catholic, that founded at Valladolid in 1590[6], that at Seville in 1592[7], and that at St Omer in

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[1] *Life of Isaac Casaubon*, p. 181.

[2] 'For my part,' writes poor young Haddock (in the letter quoted above, p. 256, n. 1), 'I do promise him very hardly the friendship of any Catholic Englishman, that proclaimeth himself enemy unto the Jesuits;'—language which sufficiently shews how the English youth had been won over.

[3] I am indebted to Dr Jessopp for some valuable suggestions with reference to this feature in the early history of Jesuitism.

[4] *Historia Societatis Jesu*, iii 1; vii 1; Ranke, *History of England*, I 294.

[5] See the different accounts in Appendix to Dodd, *Church Hist.* II cccxlvi–ccclxxviii; also John Gerard's account of his experiences at the college in his *Life* by Morris pp. 25–273.

[6] More, *Hist. Prov. Anglic.* pp. 156–159; Dodd, *Church Hist.*, II 176, n. 1.

[7] More, *Ibid.* pp. 161–163; Dodd, *Ibid.* Append. no. lxii.

1594, owed their origin to the exertions of Robert Parsons, the inspiring genius of the Jesuit order in England. Of these the last-named long continued to be favourably distinguished by its excellent discipline and by the success with which its teachers communicated to their scholars the acquirement of an accurate and elegant Latin scholarship.

Influence of these new centres upon the subsequent history of England.

On the important results that followed upon this close conjunction of the aggressive spirit of Jesuitism with the forlorn hopes of the exiled English Catholics, and the influence thus gained by the new order over the minds of men in whose breasts the consciousness of expatriation and a sense of wrong were ever brooding, it is almost superfluous here to insist. It was at these centres that those sinister designs were nurtured and those plots devised which for more than a century continued to disturb the civic peace of England and were the bane of her political life. It was thither that the English Catholic looked for the accomplishment of what he most desired[1]; it was thence that the English Protestant anticipated whatever he most dreaded. Thence came the fierce appeals which most effectively stimulated the Catholic party at home to resistance and rebellion[2]. Thither went forth the funds[3], the sympathy, and the loyal feeling which under happier guidance might have been gathered into the common stock of English piety and English patriotism. There were composed the tracts, the dissertations, the histories, which, with a malice that knew no mercy and a mendacity that recognised no law save that of expediency, defamed the characters and aspersed the motives of all who aided the English Reformation or built up the union of the Church and the Crown[1].

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[1] 'Et vos quos celeberrima Gregorii Papae seminaria Romae et Rhemis alunt, patriae nostrae nutantis jam et ad interitum inclinantis subsidium et spes.' Hide, *Epist. consol. ad afflictos Catholicos*, *Douay Diaries*, p. 160.

[2] Note the expression of Sander: 'fingunt eos, multa in necem reginae *Romae Rhemisque* machinatos.' *de Origine Schismatis* (ed. 1585), p. 191. 'The college' (at Douay and Rheims), says Dr. Knox, 'was in fact a centre of influence affecting in manifold ways the fortunes of the whole Catholic body whether in England or in exile.' Introd. to *Douay Diaries*, p. cviii.

[3] 'It is incredible,' says Fuller, 'what a mass of money (much in specie, more in exchange) was yearly made over out of England, for the maintenance of these colleges;...... especially from Catholics possessed of considerable estates out of abbey lands, his Holiness dispensing with them to hold the same with a clear conscience, if bountifull on all such occasions.' *Church History*, c. xvi.

Apparent success of Whitgift's policy, judged by its results at Cambridge.

It does not appear that Whitgift or any member of his party was troubled with much misgiving as to the ultimate results of a policy which was driving forth from the university and from the country so many able and learned men,—Puritan as well as Catholic. Firmly convinced in his own mind that Parker's vigorous measures had been rendered necessary by the exigencies of the times, the master of Trinity was fully resolved to sustain those measures, and even to carry them to further lengths. Already, indeed, judged by their more obvious results at Cambridge, they might appear to have been dictated by a just appreciation of circumstances. The tree thus sharply pruned was giving promise of greater fruitfulness; and the growing numbers of the university had been accompanied by a considerable increase in the supply of those competent to preach. In marked contrast to the testimony given ten years before[2], we find Richard Cox, bishop of Ely, stating in a letter to Bullinger in 1568, that there is an 'abundant crop of pious young men' in the two universities[3]; and Whitgift, in a letter to Parker written only a few months before the death of the archbishop, says that Cambridge alone had turned out fully 450 competent preachers since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign[4]. It serves to illustrate the unfairness and misrepresentation too common among the Puritan writers of the period, that we find an eminent member of the party, writing at almost exactly the same time as Whitgift, asserting, much in the same depreciatory spirit as Sander, that for some years past the two universities had scarcely produced 'one really well qualified preacher.' Such is the declaration of Walter

Ri. Cox and Whitgift both testify to the increase in the number of competent preachers.

Remarkable counter-statement of Walter Travers.

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[1] Berington in the Introduction to his *Life of Gregorio Panzani* (pp. 21–26) deprecates the endeavours of the Catholic party at this period to found centres of education abroad, inasmuch as, he says, those educated there imbibed an ultramontane spirit which exposed them to yet greater persecution in England and rendered their toleration by a Protestant ruler impossible.

[2] See *supra*, p. 170.

[3] *Zürich Letters* (1), p. 208.

[4] Strype, *Life of Parker*, bk. iv, c. 34.

Travers, who as a fellow of Trinity College had enjoyed opportunities of observation not much inferior to those of the master himself. The passage occurs in the course of a gloomy and morose description of the state of Oxford and Cambridge at that time which he takes occasion to insert in his best-known treatise, the *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae Explicatio*, which first appeared in 1574, and of which we shall hear more anon. He pictures to himself the original founders of the different colleges, and more especially the royal founder of his own college, looking down on earth, and deploring the present condition of those societies which their pious munificence had first called into existence, but in which they would now, he affirms, be able to recognise only—'the haunts of drones, the abodes of sloth and luxury; monasteries whose inmates yawn and snore, rather than colleges of students; trees, not merely sterile, but diffusing a deadly miasma all around.' It is deserving of note that he describes the two universities as 'set on fire *by causes most trivial in themselves*,' but bereft, as the result, of many good and eminent men and of their most pious and scholarly students, while the Church herself was 'disappointed of her long-hoped-for desire[1].' It does not however appear to occur to him that, if the original grounds of dispute were thus 'trifling,' all the more blame must attach to Cartwright (who himself had not disdained to

His description of the state of the colleges at this time.

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[1] The whole passage from this somewhat rare book well deserves quotation: 'Quid si illum, tanquam Herculem, in heroum numerum ultimum in hunc senatum relatum, Henricum octavum, qui caeterorum nomine (quod postremus sit) cum Academiis agere possit: quid illi responderent conquerenti, quae ad bonarum litterarum honesta studia amplissime et munificentissime collata essent, ad otium luxumque converti apium alveos in fucorum latibula: oscitantium et stertentium monasteria haec esse non studiosorum collegia? arbores non modo steriles, sed etiam succrescentibus plantis pestifera quadam umbra noxias in iis locis esse, quae illi pretiosissimorum fructuum pomaria et *τιμιωτάτων φυτῶν φυτευτήρια* esse voluerunt. Academias sacri per totum regnum ministerii esse oportere: *nunc vix aliquot annis unum tanto muneri gerendo idoneum in ecclesiam emitti?*...Triste illis spectaculum esse, videre *minimis de causis inflammatas Academias*, et tanquam qui possessiones et agros suos vastari et incendi videant, ita se ejectos ex Academiis viros bonos, illustres, piam et eruditam juventutem sedibus suis pulsam, scholas clarissimis doctoribus orbatas, collegia singulari spe, summae virtutis et doctrinae adolescentibus spoliata, expectatione sua ecclesiam frustratam intueri?' *Eccles. Discipl. Explicatio*, pp. 111–2.

turn Travers' treatise into English at Geneva) and those of his party who had invested the questions at issue with such undue and ill-timed importance.

St John's still gives considerable trouble.

In his endeavours to restore and establish discipline, the master of Trinity found no small share of his attention claimed by the neighbouring College of St John's. The fellows of that society, still for the most part largely Puritan in their sympathies, were noted for their refractory spirit[1]; and, if we may credit a statement made by Dr Perne to Burghley[2], had acquired an unenviable notoriety as 'cunning practitioners' in the art of freeing themselves from the rule of an unpopular Head. The very brief periods during which Dr Metcalfe's successors managed to retain office would certainly seem to lend some colour to this assertion[3], and each of them, in turn, appears to have been subjected to much the same ordeal. He was confronted by open denunciation at meetings of the fellows, was traduced in formal appeals to the chancellor, and attacked, either directly or by unmistakeable innuendos, in the exercises delivered in the college chapel or in the sermons preached in the university pulpit. Of this treatment, Dr Still, who succeeded to the mastership in 1574, came in for his full share. Although his abilities and general fitness for the post could not be gainsaid, he appears to have been especially obnoxious to the Puritan party as one who had risen on the degradation of their leaders. He had not only succeeded to the professorial chair from which Cartwright had been removed, but he had also just supplanted Aldrich in a canonry at Westminster[4], of which the latter had been deprived on grounds similar to those which, as we have already seen[5], had led to his resignation of the mastership of Corpus. Within eighteen months of Still's succeed-

Tactics pursued by some of the Fellows.

JOHN STILL. *b.* 1543. *d.* 1608.

His unpopularity with the Puritan party.

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[1] See Dr Still's frank admission on the eve of his resignation of the mastership, *infra*, p. 273 and note.

[2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 12; Clar. Press ed., p. 140.

[3] Between the retirement of Metcalfe, in 1537, and the election of John Still in 1574, a period of only thirty-seven years, there had been *ten* masters,—giving an average period of something less than four years to each.

[4] Baker-Mayor, p. 169; Cooper, *Athenae*, I 360. Cooper appears to have overlooked Baker's explicit statement of the grounds of Aldrich's deprivation.

[5] See *supra*, p. 246.

ing to the mastership of St John's we accordingly find him the object of an attack of more than ordinary coarseness in the college chapel. One John Cock, in a 'commonplace' there delivered, openly assailed the master as one, who, while prescribing for others a rigid rule of conduct, was himself a glaring example of greed of lucre and the love of office. 'Make *him* better,' cried the orator to the assembled college, 'and then mend you me[1]!' His conduct, it is true, was brought under the notice of Burghley, and he was ultimately compelled to revoke his offensive language in a written apology. On the formal occasion of reading this document aloud, he added however certain extemporaneous comments which Dr Still declared rendered matters even worse than before[2]. Within less than a year after, another fellow on a like occasion cast reproach on the whole college by declaring that instead of the brotherly feeling and mutual confidence which ought to characterise the relations of the fellows to each other and to their Head, there prevailed such distrust one of the other, that hard lying had become the besetting sin of the whole society. Maurice Faulkner, for such was his name, atoned for his indiscretion on this occasion by a fine; but on taking occasion shortly afterwards to indulge in similar strictures, some of which were interpreted by Dr Still as pointing at himself, he was subjected to the heavier

John Cock's 'commonplace.'

Assertions of Maurice Faulkner.

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[1] 'Make him better, and then mende you me. Tell him of his duety, and guiding with indifferency. Charge him with his othe, and the streams which are to runne from his vowed integrity. And if there be any other thing in him, which is contrary to holesome doctrine, be yt covetousnes, *filthy lucre*, lack of care to govern God's Church,—this tell you them, before you tell me that.' (Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, Append. bk. I, no. xix.) The love of money appears to have been a reproach frequently flung by the Puritans against those of their antagonists who occupied positions of any emolument, and it may be added appears sometimes to have been made where there was nothing else to allege. Harington says of Dr Still: 'The Puritans in Cambridge wooed him, and would fain have wonne him to their part; and seeing they could not, they forbare not in the pulpit after their fashion to glaunce at him among others with their equivocations and epigrams. There was one Mr Kay that offended them, and one said in a sermon, that of all complexions the worst were such as were *Kay-cold*, and in the same sermon and the like vein he said that some could not be contented with a living worth 100*l*. a year, another worth 120*l*., but *Still* will have more.' *Briefe View*, pp. 118–9.

[2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 12; Cooper, *Athenae*, II 445.

Shepherd's mal-administration as master.

Different character of his successor, Dr Still.

penalty of imprisonment[1]. On the other hand, it is evident that the fellows had sometimes just cause for complaint in the administration of their Head. Shepherd, who had been brought in for the express purpose of repressing the Puritan faction at St John's, had altogether disappointed the expectations that had been formed of him. It is noted indeed by Baker, as a point in his favour, that he appears to have shewn a fitting regard for learning in the selection of the men whom he caused to be promoted to fellowships; but his retirement from the mastership would appear to have been on grounds with respect to which the accounts, though conflicting, are in no case creditable[2]. The extent to which Puritan sympathies still prevailed in the society is proved by the fact, that on Shepherd's retirement an attempt was made to bring about the re-election of his predecessor,—Longworth. This endeavour of the Puritan faction was, however, defeated, and in Dr Still, who succeeded to the post, the college found an administrator of a very different stamp from either Longworth or Shepherd. His appointment as Cartwright's successor in the lady Margaret chair may be accepted as satisfactory proof of his reputation as a theologian[3]; and to respectable attainments as a scholar and a musician and no little inventive faculty as a comic writer[4], he added great force of character together with much moral worth and intellectual power. An old pupil long after wrote of him that he was one 'to whom he never came but he grew more religious and from whom he never went but he parted better instructed[5].'

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[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 591; Cooper, *Annals*, II 302; *Athenae*, I 383.

[2] Strype (*Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 12) assigns as the chief reason Shepherd's protracted absence from the college, beyond the statutable limits; Baker (Baker-Mayor, p. 166) gives it as 'a tradition' in the society, that 'having got the keys of the several officers into his hands, he put the seal to some grants or leases for his own emolument, whereupon he was expelled the college.'

[3] It also affords fair presumption that he was noted as a man of moderate views, for his name appears as one of those who petitioned Cecil in Cartwright's favour; see *supra*, p. 219, n. 2.

[4] Dr Still was the author of a well-known production: *A Ryght Pithy, Pleasaunt and Merie Comedie: Intytuld Gammer Gwrton's Nedle: Played on Stage not longe ago in Christes Colledge in Cambridge.*

[5] Harington (Sir John), *Briefe View*, p. 119.

In the opinion of Baker, Dr Still was one 'raised up to root out Puritanism in St John's College[1].'

New Statutes given to St John's.

In the attainment of such a result, it is hardly necessary to say that he had the cordial support of Whitgift, but all attempts to place the authority of the head of the college on a satisfactory basis were for a time to a great extent baffled by the perplexing condition of the statutes. The latest code, that given by king Henry VIII[2], had been subjected to some revision by the Visitors of 1549; but their task had been very imperfectly executed[3], while numerous additions, erasures, and interpretations in the form of marginal notes, that had been subsequently introduced, often rendered the actual sense only more obscure[4]. Under these circumstances, and probably as the result of consultation with Still and Whitgift, Cox, bishop of Ely, by virtue of his authority as Visitor of the college, assumed the responsibility of suggesting to Burghley the appointment of a Commission[5],—a proposition which reflects the more credit on its author in that the powers of the Visitor himself were, in the sequel, thereby considerably diminished. The proposed Commission was appointed,—consisting in the first instance of Cox himself, Whitgift, Ithell, Harvey, and Perne; and after three years of protracted labour, and not until Dr Still himself had ceased to preside over St John's, a new code, known as that of 1576, was sent down to the college, and continued with certain modifications to be in force until the statutes of the year 1849.

Baker's criticism on two of their main features.

In the statutes of 1576, observes Baker, 'two alterations are pretty visible, that the master's power is much enlarged and that of the visitor is equally limited: there might be somewhat of the same reason for both, for as the masters had formerly been able to do little without having recourse to visitations, so it might reasonably be supposed, that their power being now enlarged, the government of the college would be more regular and uniform, and that there would be less occasion for a visitor. And yet it seems an odd part in

viz. (1) the enlargement of the Master's powers; (2) the diminution of those of the Visitor.

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[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 169.
[2] See Vol. I, p. 625.
[3] *Supra*, p. 113.
[4] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 12.
[5] *Ibid.*

the bishop of Ely, to part with such a share of his power, to which he was so fully and variously entitled, and which, being one of the queen's commissioners, could hardly be taken from him without his consent.

'In all the former statutes the bishop of Ely's power had been always preserved pretty entire, at least in a just height, even by Henry the Eighth's statutes; he had not only power of visiting when called in, but once every three years without a call. Whereas by these statutes he has no power of visiting until called in, and that call is rendered so difficult as to leave him little more than a shadow of power. Privileges are such desirable things that they do not use to be parted with without a reason; I can see only two reasons for this, expense to the college and trouble to the bishop. The expenses on the college side were usually high, for the bishop had vastly exceeded his appointments, and the good bishop had had so many uneasy journeys of late from Ely to Cambridge, that he had reason to wish there might be fewer occasions for his coming hither. There was indeed one other reason, that the queen's power of visiting was then so constant that there was less need of a bishop of Ely[1].'

Bill brought into Parliament in 1576 to prevent the buying and selling of scholarships and fellowships.

It is not a little to Whitgift's credit that at a time when his attention and energies were so largely absorbed by his conflicts with the Puritan party, his vigilance as a watchful defender of the general interests of his own college and the university was in no way diminished. It was early in the parliamentary session 1576-7, that, in order to protect the colleges against a growing practice which threatened seriously to affect their efficiency as institutions for the encouragement of learning and studious merit, a bill was brought into the House of Commons for the purpose of repressing the buying and selling of fellowships, scholarships, and all offices of emolument in the two universities[2]. The measure received distinguished support, especially that of Sir Thomas Smith, and passed without opposition both Lords and Commons. It is consequently somewhat surprising to find that, notwithstanding, Elizabeth refused her assent to the bill, and did so, moreover, by the advice of the chancellor of the university of Cambridge himself[1]. That Whitgift was much disappointed by such a result cannot be doubted; but in writing further to Burghley on the subject, he affected very dexterously to see only another proof of the royal discernment. 'It was surelie,' he says, 'very graciously done, for yt wold have remayned to all posteritie as a perpetuall note of ignominie to both the universities, and also have bene a great slander to the gospell, bysides that the fawlt of some colledges shold have semyd to be comon to the rest[2].' At the same time, he urges that a grave abuse unquestionably exists and loudly calls for repression; it being, he says, an 'ordinarie practise' for fellows intending to retire from their fellowships to give them up for 'somes of monie,' 'which as yt ys slanderous to the universitie, so ys it against all good dealing, and in tyme wyll be the cause of much evyll.' He concludes by imploring Burghley to use his personal influence in discouraging these malpractices, and professes to believe that they may thus be arrested with less scandal to the university[3]. These endeavours failed for the time to produce the desired effect. But in the year 1589 the continuance of the abuse[4] gave occasion to another

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[1] Baker-Mayor, pp. 175–6.

[2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 13: Stat. 18 Eliz. c. xi, ss. 1, 2, 3. 'It was seen and found by experience,' says Strype, in his summary of the Act of 1589, 'that the said elections, etc., were many times wrought and brought to pass with money, gifts, and rewards, whereby the fittest persons to be elected, presented, or nominated, wanting money or friends, were seldom or not at all preferred;

Elizabeth refuses her assent to the measure.

Representations on the subject made by Whitgift to Burghley.

Act in relation to these practices passed in 1589.

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contrary to the good meaning of the founders, and the good institutes of the colleges, churches, schools, and the great prejudice of learning and the commonwealth, and state of the realm.'

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 344.

[2] Strype's naïve acceptance of Whitgift's construction of the royal refusal (see *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 13) is an amusing instance of his simplicity. Twelve years later, the too transparent excuse was no longer urged. The real reason was probably the opposition of some of Elizabeth's courtiers to a measure of reform which must have prevented many a handsome gratuity from finding its way into their pockets. Burghley, with all his merits, was too apt to connive at malpractices of this character.

[3] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 13.

[4] In a scheme of Church reform presented to the Parliament of 1584–5, one of the articles was to the effect that: 'The chancellors of the universities may be appointed to take such order with the heads and the fellows of the colleges, which are in the said universities, that neither they, nor any of them, nor any other person for them, do hereafter admit or receive any scholar or fellow into any of the said colleges for money or

parliamentary measure which duly passed into law. By this it was enacted that any person accepting bribes under such circumstances should be mulcted in a penalty double the amount he had consented to receive; while the briber was not only to be held disqualified for the post in question, but also to become liable to removal from any office, fellowship, or scholarship of which he might be actually in possession[1]. Notwithstanding these rigorous penalties, however, the subsequent evidence shews that the evils in question were still very far from being altogether suppressed.

Trinity College and Westminster School.

In another direction, Whitgift's efforts on behalf of his own college were attended with somewhat better success. Trinity, at this comparatively modest stage of its developement, found its organisation seriously affected by the fact that Westminster School possessed the right of sending up three scholars yearly, whom the college found itself expected to elect to the exclusion of more deserving candidates. There was indeed a clause in the royal statute conferring this privilege on Westminster, whereby it was expressly stipulated that the candidates should exhibit the necessary standard of acquirement, —*si tot* IDONEI *reperiantur*[2]. But it would seem that this proviso had come to be practically disregarded, and that the authorities at Westminster had by this time begun to look upon the annual election at Trinity of three scholars from their school as a prescriptive right. It so happened that in the year 1569, either from the revenues of the college not allowing of the maintenance of the statutable number of scholars (an experience unfortunately not rare with such

The Westminster monopoly.

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reward. And that no fellow nor scholar of any of the said colleges do resign or sell the place which he hath in any of the said colleges to any other person for money.' Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i, Append. no. xxxix, art. 32.

[1] 31 Eliz. c. vi, ss. 1, 2, and 3; Cooper, *Annals*, II 463.

[2] See 'Statutum Westmonasteriense de Discipulorum duplici Electione' printed in *Documents*, III 473–5; also Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 3 and Append. no. vii. The clause as printed in the former collection is as follows: 'sex ad minimum (viz.) Tres in Ecclesiam Christi Oxonii et Tres in Collegium Trinitatis, singulis annis (si aut tot loca vacua in dictis Collegiis Academicis aut tot idonei e nostris discipulis Westmonasterii reperti fuerint) admitti volumus; *plures autem optamus*, si ita praefatis electoribus commodum videbitur.'

societies at this period), or from some other unexplained cause, there were but two scholarships vacant. To these two vacancies Westminster lads were elected, but the authorities of the school still pressed for the election of a third. The unreasonableness of this demand appears to have roused the resistance not only of Whitgift, but also of Shepherd (who was at that time vice-master) and the whole seniority, among whom was Cartwright. They collectively drew up and forwarded to Cecil a vigorous and able protest, representing the injustice resulting to the other members of the college from the Westminster monopoly and the no less serious detriment to learning. There were, they stated, at that time in the college students of considerable promise who had been waiting three years in the hope of being elected to scholarships, and some who had even taken their bachelor's degree, but who either found themselves obliged from want of funds to go down, or, despairing of any recognition of their merit, were becoming careless about study. 'Such cases,' they add, 'are not uncommon, and we look upon it as the very bane of learning, and all the more harmful in that these same youths see others just fresh from the grammar school and as yet without any experience of university training, wanting moreover alike in talent and even in any moderate degree of attainment, preferred before them[1].' The result of this protest was that Westminster was induced to be content with the privilege of sending two scholars yearly to each university, and three every third year. The authorities of Trinity College had however the mortification of seeing even this moderate concession in their favour rescinded, and before the close of

Petition of Trinity College to Cecil: 28 June, 1569.

The grievance partially redressed but only for a few years

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[1] 'Sunt enim in collegio nostro, et fuerunt complures, optima indole, summa diligentia, laudata doctrina adolescentes, quorum alii per tres annos hic commorantes, alii qui ad gradum baccalaureatus initiarentur, vel relinquere academiam, premente eos inopia, coacti fuerint, vel ulterius in eadem degentes languescunt animis et studia remittunt desperatione praemiorum. Quam nos certe bonarum litterarum pestem vere esse putamus: et eo magis laetalem quod iidem illi adolescentes alios e schola grammatica recens egressos, nondum primis academicae disciplinae haustis incunabulis, nullo judicio, nulla, ne mediocri quidem, scientia praeditos, sibi praeponi vident.' *Epist. Academiae:* Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, Append. no. 7.

Whitgift's life the Westminster monopoly was revived in full[1] force, and in spite of successive remonstrances[2] continued down to a very recent date to vex the hearts of those to whom the interests of the college were most dear, and materially to affect its relative status as estimated by its share of academic distinctions.

Whitgift elected to the See of Worcester.

These two efforts on behalf of college reform may be looked upon as the last conspicuous acts in Whitgift's Cambridge career. In the month of April, 1577, he was elected to the see of Worcester, and his resignation of the mastership of Trinity was tendered in the following June. His first care was to ensure the appointment of a trustworthy successor; and with this view he recommended to Burghley his personal friend, Richard Howland, a former member of St John's College, and subsequently fellow of Peterhouse, but who had just been elected master of Magdalene. Howland had at one time been prominent as an adherent of Cartwright, but at this time he appears to have been regarded as 'a man of gravity and moderation, and of neither party or faction[3].' Burghley was not able to act upon Whitgift's recommendation, for Dr Still, aided by powerful interest at Court as well as by his real merits, had already succeeded in obtaining the royal nomination: it was however arranged that Howland should be transferred from the comparatively unimportant headship of Magdalene to succeed Dr Still at St John's. It does not appear that Whitgift suffered any serious mortification from

He recommends Howland as his successor at Trinity.

But Dr Still is appointed at Trinity and Howland at St John's.

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[1] Lord Macaulay, who, in his *Essay on Bacon*, has singled out this incident as 'the only good act' as far as he could remember in Whitgift's 'long public career,' seems to have as much exaggerated the real value of the service rendered by Whitgift to the college on this occasion as he has undoubtedly in the same passage unduly depreciated Whitgift's character and services. The episode is notable rather as proving the spirit in which Whitgift discharged his duties as master than as marking an important crisis in the history of the society. For a long time Westminster School also claimed a fellowship at every fresh election to fellowships at Trinity.

[2] See 'Reasons why the late obtained Grant for Westminster Schoole is thought to be inconvenient and very prejudiciall unto Trinity College:' (Baker MSS. xxxiii 51–55) a document which appears to have been drawn up in January, 1611 (N. S.).

[3] Such, according to Strype (*Ibid.* bk. i, c. 13), were the terms in which he was recommended to the queen by his supporters (Whitgift, Cox, and others) as a fit man for the mastership of St John's.

the failure of his design with respect to his successor, for Still was also his warm friend and one on whom he might confidently rely to sustain and carry out his own policy at Trinity. A letter, remarkable for graceful and well-expressed sentiment, which Still addressed to Burghley on the occasion of his appointment, sufficiently proves that the harmony between himself and his predecessor remained undisturbed. We learn from this letter that the state of affairs at St John's had recently been the subject of grave consultation between the chancellor and the writer. The latter expresses himself as hopeful that under the new statutes the college will be less troubled by strife and dissension, and congratulates himself that, as regards its financial position at least, he has left it in a better condition than he found it. He avers that he has throughout used his best endeavours to bring the society, 'once looked upon as the abode of discontent and brawling,' into a satisfactory state, and to effect its conversion into 'a flourishing home of learning and virtue.' And what he has before sought to do for St John's it will henceforth be his endeavour to do for the whole university, and especially for Trinity, whither he is now summoned by the royal behest. And here he takes occasion to pay a well-deserved tribute to the success of his predecessor's rule at Trinity, which had resulted, he affirms, in the preservation of the society from strife and in the handing over to himself of a charge more easy to administer[1].

Still's letter to Burghley on the occasion of his appointment to Trinity.

His testimony to the good effects of Whitgift's rule.

These words were something more than mere ordinary

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[1] 'Ego certe in eam curam atque cogitationem quam potui diligentissime incubui, ut, *qui locus querelarum atque turbarum plenissimus habebatur*, eum efficerem studio meo, non solum tranquillum et morigerum, sed etiam omni litterarum virtutisque genere, quam primum id commode fieri posset, florentissimum: quodque privatim in illius collegii administratione institueram facere pro viribus, id publice mihi faciendum proposui in universae academiae statu amplificando, siquo studio, labore, industria, sedulitate possim illius vel quieti vel dignitati providere. In eo etiam collegio potissimum, quod prudentissime a Doctore Whitgifto pacatissimeque administratum, nec ullis jamdiu tumultibus agitatum, mihi regiae Majestatis voce, quemadmodum quide maccepi, designatum est. Quam tanto leviorem fore provinciam animo prospicio, quanto collegium relinquetur ab optimo praeside, moderatiori instituto atque ritu, temperatum.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, Append. no. xx. See also Paule, *Life of Whitgift*, pp. 14–15.

His encomium appears to have been justified by the facts.

civilities of speech. Whitgift's management of Trinity had been eminently successful, nor can it be doubted that his efforts contributed in no small measure to raise that illustrious society to the proud pre-eminence which it has so long and so brilliantly maintained. Three years before his retirement from the mastership, when repelling the charges of Cartwright, who declared that his policy was fraught with danger both to the college and the university, he had been able to declare that Trinity had never been 'in better quietness, never replenished with more toward scholars, never fuller of students of all degrees[1].' His reputation both as a scholar and a theologian, his known fidelity to duty, and his untiring vigilance inspired the confidence even of those who but imperfectly sympathised with his views and who disliked the severity of his rule. The great and the wealthy gladly sent their sons to be placed under his direct instruction and supervision, and in after years many an eminent prelate, distinguished scholar, or head of some noble house, recalled with mingled feelings of awe and respect the austere example set before him in his younger days in the person of the Master of Trinity[2]. Among the last of this select number whom it devolved upon Whitgift to welcome within the college walls[3], was one of Burghley's numerous wards, a handsome spirited boy, in whom fortune and nature seemed to have vied in the lavish bestowal of their gifts. It is sad to recall that when, in after years, the brilliant career of Robert Devereux was approaching its dark and tragic close, it was by the retainers of his old college tutor that he was arrested in his London mansion and that it was in Whitgift's palace at Lambeth that he passed the night before his committal to the Tower.

Whitgift's influence in attracting the sons of noble families to the College.

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[1] *Works*, III 396.

[2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 13.

[3] Their acquaintance was of short duration, Robert Devereux having been admitted at Trinity in May, 1577, while Whitgift resigned his mastership on the 3rd of the following June. Whitgift however is expressly mentioned as one of Devereux's preceptors (see Cooper, *Athenae*, II 296; Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 13, p. 154) and according to his biographer, was afterwards 'a continual intercessor' for his old pupil with Elizabeth and often incurred her displeasure by the persistency with which he pleaded the earl's cause. Paule, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 92.

His skill as an administrator.

It is evident however that Whitgift's successful tenure of his post is to be attributed much more to his tact as an administrator than to his general reputation, however high that may have been. Beset by bitter and not very scrupulous enemies, he found it necessary to out-manœuvre them; and among the different expedients to which he had recourse the encouragement that he gave to the residence at college of some of the beneficed fellows appears to have been one of the most effectual. To a certain extent, the college code of 1560, to which we find him appealing in his own defence, afforded him a technical justification. By the 8th statute it was expressly laid down that the maximum of the period of absence from college permitted to those fellows who were appointed preachers (*concionatores*) should be twenty weeks in the year. This was eleven weeks more than the maximum period allowed to the other fellows, and, when we consider that it amounted to nearly five months of the whole year, might certainly suffice to enable the holder of a living, with the assistance of a curate (whom he was required by the statute to maintain), to do much useful parish work. To the incumbents themselves—who for the most part greatly preferred the convivial society of their college circle, and evaded as much as they well could the duties of their cures—the period appeared a great deal too long, and they seem to have furnished some of the most glaring instances of the growing scandal of non-residency. In this evasion of duty, the Puritan party found a vulnerable point in the armour of their antagonists and were never weary of asserting that the almost continuous residence of these beneficed fellows at college instead of at their cures, was detrimental both to the university and to the Church. In one passage we find Cartwright himself indulging in a sweeping denunciation of these unfaithful shepherds, as a class who did no good in the university; some of them he describes as being so contemptible in character and ability that they could do none,—and as serving only as 'examples of riotous feasting, and making great cheer with the preys and spoils which they bring out of the country, to the great hurt of the university presently, and utter ruin of

Countenance which he appears to have given to the residence of fellows at college rather than at their cures.

The practice censured by the Puritan party.

Cartwright's denunciation of some of the fellows.

it hereafter, unless speedy remedy be therefore provided[1].' The acerbity of his language may be explained by the consideration that it was probably among these beneficed fellows that Whitgift found his most effective supporters. By virtue of their office as preachers they were especially pledged to uphold the Thirty-Nine Articles and the constitution of the Church; while their somewhat more advanced years would dispose them to a cooler and more dispassionate estimate of each question in dispute at college, and render them less ready to sympathise with the over-zealous Puritanism of their younger associates. We accordingly find Whitgift retorting warmly on Cartwright in their defence. He vindicates the residence of such members of the society within the college walls as not only in harmony with the design of the statutes, but also as highly beneficial to the general tone of the college itself; while he takes occasion altogether to repudiate the aspersions cast upon their character by his antagonist[2]. His language, however, does not entirely preclude the inference that college duties were often alleged by these members of the society as a pretext for a more protracted absence from their cures than even the statutes countenanced, and we may not uncharitably conclude that the master who found in this section of the fellows the steadiest supporters of his authority was little inclined to recall to their recollection the claims of their distant parishes. To many again it may fairly appear that the conditions under which Whitgift was called upon to act were to a great extent exceptional, and that it was far better for Trinity that his tenure of office was thus prolonged, even at the expense of an undue assertion of his prerogative, than that the college should have been compelled to witness a frequent change of government and scenes of continuous strife such as, during the same period, were so materially impairing the credit and the prosperity of St John's.

Whitgift defends the practice.

His rule at Trinity probably favorable to order.

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[1] *Replye to an Answere made of M. Doctor Whitegifte, etc.*, p. 204; Whitgift, *Works*, III 396.

[2] The main points may be noted in the italicised words in the following extract from Whitgift's defence. After making the statement above cited with respect to the satisfactory condition of the college, he thus continues: 'A great occasion of

His own conception of his duty—to suppress schism and to enforce the observance of the statutes.

As regards his more general relations to the university, he has himself described the principles on which he sought to act in language which candid judges may be disposed to accept as no inaccurate representation: 'I may not,' he says in his reply to Cartwright, 'I may not suffer those with whom I have to do to disquiet the university or college with false doctrine and schismatical opinions; I may not suffer them openly to break and contemn those laws and statutes which they are sworn to observe, and I to execute; I may not suffer any man, against the express words of his oath, against all honesty and conscience, to live under me, lest I be partaker of his perjury. These be the things that I have done, and these be the things that I intend to do: whereby, as hitherto I have kept the place where I am in some quiet and good order, so do I trust to continue it, both to the glory of God, the honour of the prince, the great increase of learning, the edifying of Christ's church, and the commendation both of the college and the whole university[1].'

Feelings with which his departure was regarded by many at Cambridge.

To a great extent, the feeling of the Cambridge of that day was in harmony with the aims and policy thus set forth; and when it became generally known that Trinity would soon be called upon to part with its master the feeling of regret was strong. Even among the Puritan party, severely as he had dealt with Cartwright, there were not a few whom Whitgift had won over by his conciliatory demeanour and

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all these blessings of God (as instruments and means) is the gravity, the honesty, the wisdom, the learning, the discreet government of those whom you call *non-residentes;* whom not I, *but the noble founder's statutes, ratified by the queen's majesty's authority, and allowed of by the wisest of the realm,* for most just consideration, even for the better government of the college, being otherwise full of youth, have licensed (*being in the number of the twelve preachers chosen according to statute*) to continue in their fellowships with one living besides, to a certain value. *If there were the like provision in other places, and the same furnished with such kind of men, the state of divers colleges in Cambridge would not be so tumultuous as it is.*' In replying to Cartwright's attack on the character of some of the preachers themselves, he goes on to say, 'they are sober, honest, wise, quiet men, faithful and learned preachers, *and that time of absence which is given unto them by statute* they do carefully bestow in their cures, and other places where there is need, according to their duty and conscience; *except the necessary government of the college and public utility do constrain them to the contrary.*' *Defence of the Answer*, &c.: *Works*, III 396.

[1] *Ibid.* III 395.

persuasion to more moderate views; while all alike, whether Anglican, Puritan, or Catholic, could not but feel a certain involuntary respect for the man of strong convictions, labouring honourably and not unsuccessfully for the general good, and, whatever his hand found to do, doing it with his might[1].

His departure: June, 1577. Circumstances by which it was attended.

His departure from Cambridge was accordingly marked by mutual expressions of goodwill and regard. To his own college he presented a collection of valuable manuscripts of authors, classical and patristic. A farewell sermon, delivered in the college chapel, and marked by a pathos the more touching from its contrast to the habitual stoicism of the man, melted his audience to tears[2]. In a similar discourse before an overflowing assembly at St Mary's, he dwelt with special emphasis on the blessings of unity and concord. At length, in the month of June, 1577, he set out for his new sphere of duty, and on this occasion the general sense of both the university and the town found unmistakeable expression,—a long cavalcade, including not only the heads of houses and chief members of the academic body, but, if the narrator may be trusted, every gownsman or townsman who could manage to borrow a horse, accompanying him to the end of the first stage of his journey[3].

Others might have been better spared.

It does not appear that Whitgift ever saw Cambridge again, although we have ample evidence that his active interest in the welfare of the university suffered little abatement. Not a few, we may be sure, exulted at his departure.

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[1] The praise which *Antimartinus* lavishes on Whitgift's administration of Pembroke seems somewhat exaggerated if we consider that his tenure of the mastership did not last a year, while the description given by the same writer of his rule at Trinity evidently implies a strict enforcement of discipline: 'Collegium suum [Pembroke] tam prudenter, tam juste, tamque temperate gubernavit, ut illa domus, licet scientiarum laude semper florens, virisque doctissimis ornatissima, tantum splendorem diu non continuerit, sed ad collegium sanctae et individuae Trinitatis emisit, tanquam ad celsius theatrum, unde virtutes ejus longius elucere atque conspici possent. Quam provinciam sic administravit, tanquam vitae totius anteactae rationem absolutissimam exactissimamque cunctis reddere cogitaret,' p. 51.

[2] —'insomuch that there were scarce any dry eyes to be found amongst the whole number.' Paule, *Life of Whitgift*, p. 26.

[3] '— cum recedentem illum inusitata suorum multitudo non comitatu tantum sed et infinita lachrymarum vi persequeretur.' *Antimartinus*, p. 51. See also Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. ii, c. 1.

But as men missed him from the services of the college chapel, from which he had before been rarely absent, watchfully observant of the conduct of others, although himself a model of serious devotion,—or from his place in the college hall, sharing as was his wont in the simple fare then spread alike for fellow and for scholar[1],—or from the university pulpit, defending with an earnest manly rhetoric which often rose to true eloquence the sober tenets of the English Church against the invectives of her foes,—it was felt that many might have been better spared. It was felt that his virtues were of an order of which the England of that age, though furnishing some splendid examples, was certainly none too fruitful,—that he was one in whom a sense of duty triumphed over selfish and sordid motives, and regard for the general good over the desire of personal aggrandizement[2].

Comparative quiet in the university after Whitgift's departure.

The conduct of those who, after Whitgift's departure, continued to direct the conduct of affairs is not suggestive of any desire to reverse his rigorous policy, but no necessity appears to have arisen for further coercive measures. A perceptible lull succeeded to the storm evoked by the promulgation of the new statutes; and when, in the month of November, 1577, an order from the Privy Council came down, addressed to the vice-chancellor, and requiring him to furnish a list of the names of such members of either hall or college as refused to attend divine service in the university church,

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[1] 'He generally eat his meals with the rest in the college hall, that he might have the more watchful eye over the scholars, and to keep them in awe and obedience; and to teach them likewise to be satisfied with a moderate thrifty diet, such as that of the college was, whereof he was their pattern before their eyes.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. i, c. 13.

[2] It is certainly difficult to recognise a feature in common between the Whitgift sketched by lord Macaulay and the Whitgift known to his contemporaries or to the next generation. According to Izaak Walton [*Life of Hooker*, Hooker's *Works* (ed. 1821), I 27] he 'was noted to be prudent and affable, and gentle by nature.' Walton's highly favorable sketch is emphatically endorsed by Dr Henry King and by George Cranmer, a grandson of the brother of archbishop Cranmer. The latter looks upon Whitgift, when master of Trinity, as one 'who stood in the gap, and gave others respite to prepare themselves to the defence, which by the suddenness, eagerness, and violence of their adversaries had otherwise been prevented.' *Ibid.* I 64. Sir Henry Wotton described him as 'a man of sacred and reverend memory; of the primitive temper, of such a temper as when the Church by lowliness of spirit did flourish in highest examples of virtue.' *Ibid.* I 29.

Howland's testimony to the absence of non-compliers.

Statement of Gabriel Harvey.

Howland, who at that time filled the office, certified in his reply that he could hear of none, either in the university or in the town, who refused compliance[1]. Gabriel Harvey, writing in 1580 from Pembroke College to his friend Edmund Spenser, the poet[2], while implying that dissension is still rife in some of the colleges between their respective Heads and the fellows, declares that 'the ado about caps and surplices is at an end' and Cartwright altogether forgotten[3]. To such a result, Whitgift's departure may in a certain measure have contributed. His presence could hardly but have been a source of irritation to the powerful party whom he had defeated, while those whom he had before inspired by his uncompromising spirit no longer felt the animating influence of an able leader.

The attention of the government diverted for a time mainly to the Roman Catholic agitation.

Parsons and Campian.

For the next few years, again, the repressive measures of Elizabeth's ministers were to a great extent diverted from the Puritan to the Catholic section of her subjects. It was on the seventh of June, 1580, that Parsons and Campian set out from Rheims (where they had halted for a few days on their journey from Rome) for England. The fondest aspirations and warmest sympathies of the little community, proud of their talents and confident in their tact, followed them on their departure[1]; but before eighteen months had elapsed a sorrowful entry in the college journal recorded the fate of Campian[2]. His martyrdom, as it was regarded by his party, and like cruelties inflicted on his adherents, altogether failed however to check the active sympathies of the English Catholics; and the Douay diaries attest a constant accession of students from Oxford and Cambridge, seeking liberty of conscience or freedom for their persons in voluntary or forced exile[3]. There, amid the calm of a semi-monastic life and surrounded by another atmosphere of thought, the youthful theologian was confirmed again in the faith which Lutheran or Calvinistic influences might have shaken or perplexed[4]. There the scholar and accomplished disputant composed the trenchant polemic, which, in the opinion of his party, demolished the sophistries of a Jewell, a Hooker, or a

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 350; Baker MSS. XXIX 346. Howland's assurances are remarkably explicit: 'notwithstanding,' he says, 'we used the meanes which was thought best to finde out the truth in this point, I can yet, neyther by myself nor by the certificate of any other (for I have taken a note of everie the heads of colleges and of certayne of everie parishe in the towne under their owne hande, which I kepe for my better discharge or otherwise at your honours commandment) understande that there is any one in the universitie or towne, at this time remainynge, whome we can charge openlie to impugne the truth, or that doth willfullie refuse to come to church and to communicate according unto her Majesties lawes.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.*, vol. CXVIII, no. 35.

[2] The poet and his correspondent were both of Pembroke Hall; but the former had entered as a sizar, the latter, as a fellow, and the unfavourable influence exercised by the coarse pedant over the poet's genius may be attributed as much to Harvey's superior status in the college as to his seniority in years. Spenser appears to have left Cambridge about 1576, but he had succeeded in gaining during his residence the friendship of some distinguished members of the university. Among these was Dr Still, the author of *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, which was long supposed to be the oldest comedy in the language, and whose intimacy suggests the sympathetic attraction of kindred tastes. Another was Preston, the accomplished disputant (*supra*, p. 193), afterwards master of Trinity Hall.

[3] 'No more ado about caps and surplices. Mr Cartwright quite forgotten. The man you wot of comfortable with a *square* cap on his *round* head.' Quoted in Wordsworth, *Eccles. Biography*, III⁴ 602. For illustration of concluding remark, compare the expression which George Herbert satirically attributes to the celebrated Presbyterian, Andrew Mellvill: 'Pilei quadrum capiti rotundo | Rite quadrabit?' *Angli Musae Responsoriae*, *Works* (Lansdowne ed.), p. 443.

English refugees at Rheims.

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[1] — 'summus uterque philosophus variisque et Latinis et Graecis doctrinis non mediocriter eruditus, magnus item uterque theologus; Campianus ita comptus sermone et disertus, ut non multos pares, Parsonus ita prudens, ut vix aliquos, ea qua is est aetate, habeat prudentia superiores. De quibus tanta speramus quanta possumus maxima,' etc. *Douay Diaries*, p. 166.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 184.

[3] 'Though the heretics forbid any one to come to us under pain of death, and use the greatest diligence, *especially in the universities*, to prevent us from obtaining men of choicer wit, still since the first of March this year, that is during six months, eighty students have come hither from the English universities and public schools; so that in these months we have hardly ever been fewer at Rheims than two hundred, without counting many others whom on account of their youth and because they need instruction suitable for boys, we have sent, partly at their own charges and partly at ours, to Pont-à-Mousson, Verdun, Eu and other neighbouring schools.' Letter from Dr Allen to the Cardinal Protector, dated from Rheims 12 Sept., 1583. Introd. to *Douay Diaries*, p. lxxi.

[4] 'Horum unus, D. Bellus, aliquandiu juvenis ignoranter Cantabrigiae seductus Calvinismi fuit minister. Qui cum tandem syncero pioque studio varia D. Augustini et D. Hieronymi scripta attente perlegisset et sedulo annotasset, occulta miraque Dei gratia et benignitate (nullo homine duce) conversus statim fuit in filium Ecclesiae catholicae constantissimum, ut apud quos prius haeresim perniciosamque doctrinam disseminaverat, apud eosdem id genus pestis universamque adeo haeresim vehementissime et ex animo liberrime detestatus, catholicam religionem synceramque fidem constanter profiteretur.' *Douay Diaries*, p. 182.

Whitaker[1]. There the lad of gentle English birth[2] and the grey-haired senior bending under the double burden of penury and old age, alike found shelter, the one from the temptations of the world, the other, from its unpitying frown.

Favourable effects upon learning and literature resulting from the diminished attention bestowed upon theological controversy.

It cannot but be regarded as something more than a mere coincidence, that the period from which we can date a temporary abatement of polemical strife is also that which marks the commencement of a rapid improvement in the productions of our English literature. During the six or seven years which preceded the appearance of the Martin Marprelate tracts in 1588,—years in which controversy appears to have been comparatively dormant, we can plainly discern the activity of the scholar and the aims of the author acquiring new value and dignity. The dean of Sarum, in that ponderous tome which by its well-meant endeavour to refute and win over the Puritan party provoked the scurrilous onslaught of the Martinists[3], exults in the immunity from trouble with which the Church in England was then favoured when compared with other Protestant communions[4], and his congratulations were such as Cambridge, the fountain-head of the Anglican teaching, could reasonably accept.

The condition of affairs at Cambridge far more satisfactory than that at Oxford,

Her superiority to Oxford, at this time, whether in numbers, in discipline, or in the national esteem, is too marked to be gainsaid. Oxford, indeed, was now suffering, and far more acutely, from a general demoralization such as had marked the climax of Cartwright's influence at the sister university.

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[1] *Douay Diaries*, pp. 177, 182, 318, 319.

[2] 'Moreover we receive not only men of excellent capacity and education, but, to the great annoyance of our adversaries, many of gentle birth, and sometimes also, though their parents like it not, eldest sons, who in the very flower of their age despise both the present enjoyments which their country offers them and the future prospect of their paternal inheritance, that they become heirs in the house of the Lord,' etc. *Ibid.* See also a paper by F. W. Holt, S.I., 'How the Catholic Religion was maintained in England during 38 years of persecution and how it may still be preserved there' (written in 1596). *Ibid.* p. 376.

[3] 'I have heard som cleargie men say that M. Bridges was a very patch and a duns, when he was at Cambridge.' Martin Marprelate, *Epistle*, p. 1.

[4] 'Yea it is wonderfull to consider, if we have grace to acknowledge it, how God hath still hetherto blessed us (aboue any nation, in the worlde, in this last age thereof) and yet doth not cease to bless us.' *Defence of the Government established in the Church of England*, Pref. fol. 3.

One of her scholars, writing in 1575 to Lawrence Tonson, declares that 'no order nor statute is kept' and that the arbitrary rule of the Heads is such that where Oxford was once ruled by one pope she now is subject to the rule of many[1]. Oxford, as we have already seen, had sympathised far more warmly than Cambridge with the Romanist party, while she had given but a languid support to the English Church; and now, when Catholicism had been compelled to hide its head, not only at the universities but throughout the realm, the efforts of the Puritan section at Oxford were rewarded by a success proportionate to the less resolute and effectual resistance which the orthodox party were able there to offer. The encouragement given by Leicester to the former body, in his capacity of chancellor of the university, was such that Anthony Wood, when describing the state of affairs in 1586, declares that 'the face of the university was so much altered that there was but little to be seen of the Church of England, according to the principles and positions upon which it had been reformed'[2]. His assertion, which taken by itself might be liable to suspicion, is borne out in a great measure by the evidence of Whitgift. The attention of the latter had been drawn to the university in the same year from the circumstance that, by virtue of his authority as Visitor, he had undertaken to prepare[3] a new code for the society of All Souls. In the university at large he seems to have found much that he deemed deserving of censure, and writing to Burghley he adverts to numerous unsatisfactory features which call for speedy reform: the general neglect of public lectures,—the insufficient endowment of the professorial body,—the lack of proper guidance of the younger students in the prosecution of their studies,—

where Puritanism gains a marked ascendency.

Assertion of Anthony Wood.

This corroborated by the testimony of Whitgift in 1589, the practice of admitting unfit persons to degrees without any regard to the statutory requirements with respect to acts and exercises and terms of residence[1],—the introduction of the wives and families of married members into the colleges[2],—and finally the contempt for discipline exhibited by the great body of the scholars.

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[1] '—and although the name of the pope be here banished it is he indeed stil here, and in steede of one, not only Englande, but Oxford also hath mani, eche companie his pope, a fayre swarme,' etc. Letter from Nicholas Gybbarde to Lawrence Tonson: 5 July, 1575. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* vol. cv, no. 4. I somewhat doubt whether the allusions in this somewhat obscure letter are designed, as Mr Lemon (*Calendar*, p. 500) appears inclined to suppose, to the prevalence of popery at Oxford at this time.

[2] Wood-Gutch, II 228–9.

[3] See 'Injunctions and Ordinances for the Government of All Souls' College, Oxford:' Whitgift's *Works*.

and by that of Giordano Bruno.

Whitgift's unfavourable judgement is in some measure confirmed by that of a very different observer,—the illustrious Giordano Bruno, who about the same time was engaged in visiting in succession the chief universities of Europe. During a stay in England of about two years (1582-4) he visited Oxford, and he avers that the pedantry of its scholars, their ignorance and arrogance, conjoined with the rudeness of their demeanour, would have tried the patience of a Job[3]. Oxford, however, it is to be remembered, was then at its lowest ebb, and it may reasonably be questioned whether the general condition of any continental seat of learning at this time (Louvain and Padua perhaps excepted) would have appeared preferable to that of Cambridge. At the German universities, the period 1580-1600 is designated by Gustav Frank as that of the 'war of the confessions[4],' and von Raumer, in his outline of their history, is fain to pass in complete silence over years in which scholarship and learning were well nigh in abeyance. At Wittenberg, the stronghold of Lutheran orthodoxy, Bruno's reverence for the memory of the great

State of the Continental universities:

Wittenberg.

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[1] '—by reason whereof many, and the greatest part of proceeders in arts yearly, do not spend above a third part of the time limited in the statutes for hearing of public lectures in arts, etc. in the university, but rather in some gentleman's house or curate's place. And so the university giveth degrees and honours to the unlearned, and the Church is filled with ignorant ministers, being for the most part poor scholars.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, I 610.

[2] 'They are distracted with the cares of family and posterity, and so neglect learning and government. And thereby most esteem of such as are fittest for such purposes; and the best and finest wits, and men of greatest hopes, by such baits are often caught and withdrawn, and put out into the world before their time and ripeness'. *Ibid.*

[3] See 'La Cena de le Ceneri,' *Opere*, p. 179: Gabriel Harvey when dedicating his *Rhetor* to Bartholomew Clerk in 1577, says that when he was pondering to whom the book might be most appropriately dedicated, 'Offerebant quidem sese Cantabrigienses multi, *Oxonienses nonnulli*, de Eloquentia praeclare meriti, &c.' See Letter to B. Clerk prefixed to *Rhetor*.

[4] *Gesch. d. Protestantischen Theologie*, I 92.

Reformer won for him a cordial reception and he professes to have been struck by the liberal spirit which there prevailed[1]. He shrank however from the intolerant atmosphere of Geneva, where he experienced from Beza an exceptionally chilling reception. The distress of the beleaguered city in 1583 had risen, moreover, to such a height that the English bishops were moved to appeal to their countrymen in its behalf, and the professors of the university, bereft of their stipends, were driven to abandon their claims and seek for other employment[2]. At Strassburg, though John Sturm yet lived and the fruits of his honourable labours were visible all around in the increasing numbers and growing reputation of its rising school, he himself had just been deprived of his office of rector by the intolerance of the Lutheran preachers[3]. At Heidelberg, under the leadership of John Casimir, the Reformers were preparing for a fresh and successful attack on the Lutherans,—a contest which resulted in the expulsion of nearly the whole professoriate, whose chairs were forthwith filled by supporters of Calvinistic doctrine[4]. Round the newly-created university of Leyden there still rose up the smoke of burning cities and the cry of battle, as the dread struggle which her schools memorialized yet awaited its final and still doubtful consummation. At Paris, where learning was silenced amid the furious strife between the Guises and the League, royalty itself, in 1584, could not refrain from a formal lament over the disorganization and pitiable condition of the university[5].

Geneva.

Strassburg.

Heidelberg.

Leyden.

Paris.

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[1] Maurice, *Hist. of Philosophy*, II 184–5.

[2] Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, pp. 21, 64; *Zürich Letters* (2), p. 315. Bancroft, writing in 1593, speaks somewhat contemptuously of Geneva as 'beeing but as it were a Grammar Schoole in comparison of our universities,' while, comparing it with Heidelberg, he says it 'is but a hamlet to it.' *Survey of the pretended Holy Discipline*, pp. 317, 319.

[3] von Raumer, *Gesch. d. Pädagogik*, I 236.

[4] Hautz, *Gesch. d. Univ. Heidelberg*, II 116—124. The struggle between the two parties, Hautz assures us (p. 118) was so violent, that a general rising of the population was apprehended.

[5] Jourdain (C.), *Histoire de l'Université de Paris*, p. 2. The terms in which the historian sums up the state of the university remind us of Whitgift's description of Oxford: 'Les liens de la discipline s'étaient peu à peu relâchés; les études étaient abandonnées, et chez les maîtres, comme chez les écoliers, l'amour des lettres, le respect de la règle avaient

Evidences of a growing spirit of independence at Cambridge.

Impatience manifested by the university at royal nominations to masterships and fellowships.

Case of Henry Copinger at Magdalene College.

At Cambridge, on the other hand, we have not only the kind of evidence of prosperity afforded by largely augmented numbers[1], but the growing spirit of the academic body is attested by a series of efforts calculated to render the university at once more independent and more widely useful. Of this spirit the increasing impatience of royal nominations to masterships and fellowships is a notable symptom. We have already seen that, on Howland's appointment to the mastership of St John's, he had been transferred thither from the humbler headship of Magdalene. It was on this occasion that the royal authority was exerted to bring about the appointment of Henry Copinger, a fellow of St John's, as his successor. The intrusion of the new head was however so successfully resented by the hereditary patron of the house, that Copinger was driven to resign; and although his character was unexceptionable he now found himself deprived alike of mastership and fellowship,—'a very hard fate,' observes Baker, 'upon so deserving a man, and might with more justice have fallen upon Dr Kelke[2].' The condition into which Magdalene College had been brought by Dr Kelke's administration was indeed unparalleled in the university. Several of the other societies, Peterhouse, Clare, and Corpus, for example, were labouring under difficulties resulting from inadequate revenues, but Magdalene was the only one of which we hear that its financial credit was so low that the tradesmen of the town refused to supply it with necessaries[3]. Its condition does not appear to have mended much under

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fait place aux sombres passions, aux haines politiques, au fanatisme religieux et aux habitudes dissolues, que présentait le reste de la société.' *Ibid.* See also the description of the state of the university after the *Journée des Barricades*, by Boutrais, cited in Bulaeus (VI 916); and Pattison, *Life of Casaubon*, pp. 175–6. Crevier finds among the most alarming features in the year 1587, 'qu'il se faisoit dans les colléges des catechismes d'hérésie calvinienne et de toute mauvaise doctrine.' *Hist. de l'Université de Paris*, VI 390.

[1] In the year 1583 the number proceeding B.A. was 277, the highest number reached in the century.

[2] Baker-Mayor, pp. 173–4.

[3] '—in Dr Kelke's time when as by civil dissension the colledge was in suche estate as those that served it with victuals wold noe longer contynue in so doing by reason the Master refused to be answerable for the money,' etc. 'Charges of disorderly conduct alledged against Dr Nyccolls,' &c. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.*, CXXVII, no. 18.

Character of his successor, Degory Nichols.

Copinger's successor, Degory Nichols[1], and it must be admitted that the royal influence would appear to have sometimes been exerted in favour of the worthier candidate. Nichols was a man of overbearing and unscrupulous nature, and had been distinguished by his uncompromising opposition to the new statutes[2]. It seems however that he was one of the not inconsiderable number who had recognised the expediency of abandoning a policy of obstruction, for we find that he was strongly recommended to Burghley for the mastership by Dr Perne[3]. As an administrator, he was noted for his narrow-minded aversion to Welshmen and for his cynical disregard of the interests of the society in comparison with his own pleasure. There is still extant a querulous letter from some of the fellows to Burghley, narrating how the new master had ousted one Johns, their Greek lecturer, from his office, on account of his Celtic descent, and had driven out the college butler for no other reason; and how his cows were permitted to feed in the college court and even intruded into the hall; while the shrill voice of his shrewish wife was at times to be heard all over the college[4].

Magdalene College under Nichols' administration.

Case of Booth, a nominee of Burghley's, at Corpus College.

Within two months from the time of Nichols' appointment, we find a similar instance of resistance to external interference proceeding from a quarter where we should have

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[1] In a letter to Burghley (20 July, 1579) Nichols states as a proof of their poverty that the college has only one scholarship. *Ibid.* CXL, no. 25.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 95–96. In a letter to Burghley, written in 1572, Nichols (at that time taxor), Beacon (the public orator), and Arthur Purefoy (a fellow of Peterhouse) are described by the Heads (Dr Perne among their number) as 'being of their own nature given to contention.' Lamb, *Documents*, p. 355; Cooper, *Annals*, II 280.

[3] Lemon, *Calendar of State Papers* (A.D. 1547–80), p. 552. Dr Perne's letter is dated 22 July, 1577.

[4] 'At his first comiпg it was reported he shuld say he wold roote out all the Welshmen in the colledge. How forward he was herein may appeare in that he never omitted anie opportunitie either to take away anie thing from such Welshmen as were in the colledge or to hinder them of anie benefite that might befall them. ...Item: as for the perfectinge of the schollers it seemeth his least care, but rather regardeth the feeding of his keyne which commonlie lie in the court and often are mylked before the hall door his wief standinge by. These keyne bewraye the hall and chappel and nowe and then at meale tymes come and stand in the hall. Item: his wief is soe chiding that often she is herd all over the colledge to the disturbance of the students soe that it were to be wished she had another dwelling house.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* CXXVII, no. 18.

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been little prepared to find it. The master of Corpus at this time was Robert Norgate, the successor, one removed, to Dr Pory. He had formerly been one of archbishop Parker's chaplains and was related to him by marriage[1]. We can hardly doubt that he was on friendly terms with Burghley and would willingly have conceded much in order to oblige one to whom the university was under so many obligations and whose favour was so material to its continued prosperity. When therefore the chancellor addressed a letter to the society of Corpus recommending one 'Sir Booth,' although not a member of the society, to their favourable consideration on the occasion of the next election to a fellowship, it may be reasonably supposed that he looked for nothing but ready compliance with his wishes. The reply of Norgate, however, clearly indicated that such could not be the case. 'First,' says the writer, 'because our colledge statute bindeth us by our othe to preferr the schollers of our foundacion unto such fellowships as shall fall voyd, before all other students, so they be equall in learning and manners. Secondly, we stand bound to the city of Norwich in a bond of £200 to admitt no other unto that roome but a Norwich man borne. Thirdly, it is the roome of a minister, with which office and calling Sir Booth is not qualified. For which thre causes he cannot be chosen, even as I declared unto him when he delivered me your lordship's letters.' With the view, however, of taking Booth's claims into consideration on some future occasion, the writer adds that he has requested him to call again, with the design of 'making some triall of his learning,' 'but hitherto,' he adds, 'I have not heard of him[2].' Within a fortnight we find Dr Norgate writing again to Burghley on the subject. Booth had subsequently called; and Norgate states that he had thereupon promised him the next piece of preferment,—'if he, whose proficiency in learning is unknown to us and greatly suspected, would then make some declaration thereof unto us, by our examination of him. We offering him, that for indifferency in judgment

Dr Norgate to Burghley: 13 Sept. 1577.

Same to same: 27 Sept. 1577.

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[1] Masters, *Hist. of the College of Corpus Christi*, (ed. 1753), p. 113.

[2] *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* cxv, no. 22.

thereof, we were content, that he should have with us present at his examination two or thre of his frends in the universitye, unto whose judgment and approbation of him we would stand. The which he refused, and would not be examined, but deferreth the same until the tyme hereafter, as a fellowship may be voyd whereunto he maye be elected, at which tyme he is content to be examined by us, and then upon our approbacion to be preferred or not[1].'

Booth declines to submit to the ordeal of an examination.

That this frequent interference of the Crown in elections to fellowships and scholarships was found to be productive of serious evils, is proved by the fact that, only two years after the above correspondence between Norgate and Burghley, we find the vice-chancellor and Heads addressing to the chancellor a grave remonstrance on the practice, 'whereby,' they say, 'the right of free election is snatched away,' 'that is, as we interpret it, the rewards of merit and studiousness are withheld, scholars being induced to look for preferment to the favour of courtiers rather than to their true deserts at the hands of the university[2].' The sentiment thus plainly expressed was shared by all who had the interests of the colleges at heart. Even Dr Perne, notwithstanding his temporising disposition, was foremost in resisting all royal interference at Peterhouse. In the year 1581, the claims of one of the students to a fellowship were pressed upon the authorities by a letter from the Crown. Richard Betts, for such was his name, might well have been elected on his own deserts, for he had been brought up at Peterhouse, was poor, and at the same time an exemplary student[3]. There was

Remonstrances addressed to Burghley by the university on the evils resulting from the practice: April, 1579.

Dr Perne's refusal to admit Richard Betts to a fellowship at Peterhouse: 1581.

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[1] *State Papers (Dom.) Eliz.* vol. cxv, no. 33.

[2] 'Addimus etiam, defervescere apud nos nonnullorum studia, dejici animos, languescere industriam, angi postremo omnes et singulos academicos... Dolemus, eripi nobis libera in societatibus collegiorum nostrorum disponendis suffragia, id est, ut nos interpretamur, auferri virtutis et studiorum praemia... aulicos, quibus ignoti sunt, omni modo ambire cupiant; nec jam eorum quos rei summa penes esse solet, suffragia aestiment, sed aulicorum litteris plerumque se muniant; illeque tandem voti sui compotem se fore confidit, non qui in academia bene meritum, sed qui ex aula mandatum afferre possit.' Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, bk. ii, Append. no. 18.

[3] 'Where Mr Dr Perne writeth that it were against equitie to charge the college with Betts, it may be said that it standeth more with equitie to admitt him, being brought up there, poore, desirous to study, and every way sufficient for a felowshippe and

The society refuse to elect John Tenison, but on different grounds: ?1587.

however room for doubt whether the election of another fellow was not discretionary, and as the college at that time was in difficulty owing to the inadequacy of its revenues, Dr Perne availed himself of the fact as a plea for declining to lay an additional burden on the society[1]. In the sequel Betts was elected to the fellowship which he so well deserved[2], but we may infer that he himself disapproved on principle of royal nominations, for when, a few years later, another letter from the Crown arrived, recommending one John Tenison, a master of arts, for the next vacant fellowship, Richard Betts's name was appended to a reply in which Dr Perne and the fellows jointly deprecated the constraint thus put upon them. In this instance, however, the college had a stronger case; for, as it was pointed out in the protest, it was required by the statutes that a candidate for a fellowship should be 'poor and of a humble and quiet spirit,' 'whereas,' say the petitioners, in particularising Tenison's disqualifications, 'of late the thirds of his mother have fallen to him. Besides a lease, as we are informed, yielding a yearly rent, exceeding the rate of living allowed by our statutes: having otherwise of certain worshipful friends very good and sufficient allowance by the year. And during the time of this his suit, he hath shewed some manifest tokens of disposition *neither quiet nor humble*.' A still more cogent argument was the statement that the next four vacancies had been already set apart for 'four young men, very poor and utterly destitute of maintenance; yet very studious, and

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of hope afterwards to do some good to the commonwealth, rather then such as be either ritche of themselves or have friends hable to mayneteyne them, or brought up in other colleges or very yong or such as do litle profitt in lernynge.' See 'Manifest reasons and arguments that Mr Dr Perne denieth to admitt Richarde Betts to a felowship in Peterhouse upon her Majesties order,' etc. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* vol. CLI, no. 67.

[1] 'The colledge being poore and indetted, the number of fellowes full, Mr Betts should be a great charge to the howse and a means to bringe it farther into dette: for the primative fundation which allowed us *xiiii* fellowes and a master it allowed us but x^{d}. in the weke to lyve uppon, nowe our visyters have made it ii^{s}. (litle enough) and our revenues not increased, gevinge us leve by statute as we alleadged yesterday to increase or dyminish the number of the fellowes, according to the welth or want of the colledge.' *Ibid.* CLI, no. 68.

[2] He was admitted 9 Sept. 1581; there was consequently but a short delay in his admission.

of great towardness in vertue and learning, and brought up among us in the places of poor scholars[1].'

Whitgift succeeds to the archbishopric of Canterbury: August, 1583.

The position of Burghley between contending parties at this time was sufficiently trying, but its difficulties were now to be enhanced by an additional complication. In August, 1583, Whitgift succeeded to the primacy,—an event gladly hailed by the university as no slight presage of good[2]. His promotion was immediately followed by the appearance of his well-known Articles. Into the history of the important controversy to which they gave rise we cannot here enter, but the divergence of opinion of which they were the occasion between himself and Burghley is closely connected with events that ensued at Cambridge.

Renewed activity of the Puritan party.

The defeat which the archbishop had inflicted on the Puritan party in the university had produced only a temporary impression. Their spirit was again rising, and they were still hopeful of effecting within the Church itself those changes which they afterwards embodied in their own organizations as Separatists. Their leaders were now actively engaged in endeavouring to obtain, through the cooperation of those who favoured their views in Parliament, precisely that licence and impunity of which Whitgift was intent on depriving them. It has already been noted that Cartwright, in his exile at Geneva, had been engaged some years before on a translation of Travers's *Disciplina*, to which indeed he prefixed a preface of more than ordinary acrimony. That epoch-making treatise,—which in the latter part of the sixteenth and earlier half of the seventeenth century exercised an influence on religious thought in England unsurpassed by that of any other single work,—was thus both in its Latin original (which was the production of one fellow of Trinity) and in its English translation (which was the performance of another) the direct embodiment of the views of the Puritan party at Cambridge. It is, however, not a little remarkable that, though two editions of Cartwright's version had already appeared,—one in the same year (1574) that the Latin original was printed at Rochelle, and the latter six years later (1580) at Geneva[1]—they both appear to have been unknown to the ecclesiastical authorities in England. Either the impressions were small, and circulated almost exclusively among the English residents abroad, or the book was carefully kept from the general view. But, notwithstanding, it was already producing a very considerable effect; and not a few of the Puritan party regarded it as the weapon which would prove most effective in enabling them to carry out their projects of Church reform. It was accordingly resolved to reprint it in England, where hitherto it had been difficult to find a printer who would venture, under the vigilant watch maintained by the Stationers' Company in London, to run the risks attendant upon such a task[2]; and here it will be necessary to make a slight digression in order to explain how it was that ultimately a printer was found in the very centre where the theories of the *Disciplina* had first been conceived,—in the town of Cambridge itself.

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[1] Strype, *Annals*, III ii, Append. [No. 39]. John Tenison was ultimately elected fellow, but not until after Dr Perne's death, being first fellow on Dr Perne's foundation and admitted 9 Oct. 1589. This would appear to imply that Perne had been favourable afterwards to the consideration of his claims.

[2] 'Nunc enim (clarissime Cantuariensis) campum habes in quo virtus tua erga universam remp. *et pietas in parentem academiam* excurrat latissime.' See the whole letter in Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iii, Append. no. 1. That their expectation was not disappointed is proved by another letter. *Ibid.* bk. IV, no. 19.

It is proposed to print Cartwright's translation of Travers' *Disciplina* in England.

Re-establishment of THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1582.

The long inactivity of the university press since the time when John Siberch put forth his modest volumes has already been noted[3]. Others of the same craft appear to have occasionally carried on like labours in the town[4], but in the year 1557 the Stationers' Company was incorporated, and its

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[1] For the bibliography and general character of this notable work, see Appendix (C).

[2] The Stationers' Company, says Mr Cooper (*u. s.*), 'had been invested by the charters of queen Mary and her successor with inquisitorial powers. They were at liberty to search for and carry away any books which they considered of a seditious or improper nature. They likewise had the exclusive privilege of printing many classes of works, and were naturally incensed at the university claiming a concurrent right.'

[3] See vol. I, p. 626: since the publication of my first volume, the history of the Cambridge Press has received additional illustration in the admirable facsimiles of John Siberch's volumes now in course of publication by Messrs Macmillan and Bowes, of Cambridge.

[4] In the sermon by James Pilkington already quoted (*supra*, p. 182) on the exhumation of the remains of

Hostility of the Stationers' Company.

jealousy seems to have effectually prevented for a time the re-establishment of the university press[1]. Twenty years later, the project of 'bringing the exercise of printing into the university' was brought forward by the vice-chancellor and Heads, but was directly discountenanced by Burghley, who professed his reluctance 'to prejudice the Queen's grants,' although he intimated that he saw no objection to the employment of an artificer for 'printing matters pertaining to the schools, the travails of the students, etc.' The design was therefore temporarily abandoned, but soon again to be revived; and the appointment in 1582 of Thomas Thomas, a fellow of King's College, as university printer, is another indication of the university's determination to assert its legitimate independence. From the time of Thomas's appointment, this honourable and important office has been regularly maintained and uninterruptedly filled.

Thomas Thomas appointed university printer.

Interference of the Stationers' Company.

The circumstances that attended Thomas's first year of office were however by no means of favourable augury. Among the most rising scholars at Cambridge at this time was the eminent William Whitaker, a fellow of Trinity College, who had succeeded in 1580 to the Regius professorship of divinity. In the year 1583, Thomas was entrusted with a work by Whitaker[2] for publication, and the reputation already acquired by the author caused its appearance to be awaited with some interest. Other works were also in pro-

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Bucer and Fagius, he enumerates some of the known professors of the Reformed faith who died in Cambridge at about the same time and who, according to the alleged motives of the Catholics, should have deserved after death to be treated with like indignity. 'Nec vero,' he says, 'praetereundum hoc loco ab illis fuisse *Wardum illum pictorem*, licet obscurum hominem, religionis tamen causa quam diligenter sequutus est, non contemnendum.' Hubertus (C.) *Historia vera*, etc. p. 162. Mr Thompson Cooper, in an article on the *Cambridge University Press*, published in the *Bookseller* (Feb. 1860) has rendered the words in italics by 'Ward, the printer.' A printer at Cambridge would hardly, I think, have been referred to by Pilkington in such terms; Ward was probably a sign-painter. The list printed in the above article of the names of those who appear as the recognised successors of Spering, Godfrey, and Nicholson (Vol. I, p. 626) gives only the names of Nicholas Pilgrim and Richard Noke (1539), Peter Shers (1546), and John Kingston (1577).

[1] Baker MSS. XXIX 374.

[2] '—that, I suppose, writ against Campion's Ten Reasons.' Strype, *Annals*, vol. II. bk. i, c. 17.

gress, when suddenly the agents of the Stationers' Company appeared upon the scene and seized the press, the whole plant, and all the printed sheets on which they could lay hands. The humiliation and pecuniary loss inflicted by this summary proceeding roused the spirit of the university, and a formal demand was forthwith despatched by the vice-chancellor and Heads to the bishop of London (by whose authority the seizure had been sanctioned) for the restitution of the property, and at the same time an earnest appeal was addressed to Burghley imploring his good offices for the protection of the university in the exercise of its ancient privilege[1]. Their letter found the chancellor already, however, well informed respecting the whole transaction. John Aylmer, who at this time filled the see of London, had formerly been a fellow of Queens' College, and like many of that society at this period had once been distinguished by his sympathy with the extreme party of the Reformers and by the severity of his strictures on the members of the English episcopate[2]. To most readers, his name is best known as that of the tutor who by his gentle allurements to learning instilled into the mind of the amiable lady Jane Grey her Greek scholarship and her love of Plato[3]. His subsequent career, however, is associated with less pleasing features. Like Sandys, his predecessor in the see of London, he had experienced the hardships of exile in the reign of Mary, and like him he seems to have sought on his return to retaliate on others the sufferings he had endured[4]. With his accession to the episcopal office he renounced all connexion with the Puritan party and became an effective supporter of the rigorous policy of Whitgift. On the Puritan press in his diocese he was at this time maintaining a specially vigilant watch. All the printers in London were required to report

Remonstrance of the university.

Their letter to Burghley.

John Aylmer, bp. of London. *b.* 1521. *d.* 1594.

His conduct in relation to the Puritan press.

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[1] See vol. I 626.

[2] See the story told by Harington in his *Short Viewe*, pp. 17–18. 'But certain it is,' says Harington, 'no bishop was more persecuted and taunted by the Puritans of all sorts then he was, by libels, by scoffes, by open railing, and privy backbiting.' *Ibid.*

[3] Ascham, *Scholemaster* (ed. Mayor), pp. 33–34 and 213–4.

[4] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 170: see also Mr Hunt's sketch, *Religious Thought in England*, I 74–76.

He concurs with the Stationers' Company in urging Burghley to suppress the press at Cambridge.

the number of their presses[1], and no press was permitted to be erected beyond the liberties of the city. The commercial jealousy of the Stationers' Company was thus materially aided by the ecclesiastical jealousy of the Church, and immediately after the proceedings above narrated the Wardens of the Company drew up a statement, which they forwarded to Aylmer, of the manifold dangers that might ensue if the university of Cambridge were permitted to set up a printing-press in its midst. This document Aylmer, in turn, forwarded to Burghley, together with a letter from himself detailing the reasons for the recent seizure and justifying the step. The bishop and the Wardens alike represented Thomas as altogether ignorant of his craft and affirmed that his claim to be the printer of the university was a piece of unauthorized assumption[2]. They alike insisted on the perils to the commonwealth incident upon the activity of a press 'farre from ordinarie research' and managed by men unskilful in their trade[3]. The Wardens speciously asserted that they were actuated by the most disinterested motives[4], but they maintained that the abundance of presses then existing in London rendered it less necessary that there should be a press at Cambridge than it had ever been[1], while the danger there was far greater than in the metropolis where restrictions were in force which did not exist at the university, and where a supervision was with difficulty maintained which it would be found impossible to put in operation at Cambridge[2]. They concluded by offering to recompense Thomas for the loss he had sustained as defendant in the suit, at the same time making offer of their own services for the execution of any printing which the university might require[3].

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[1] Of these (fifty-three in number) a complete list was furnished on this occasion to Aylmer and by him transmitted to Burghley. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* CLXI, no. 1.

[2] 'There was also found one presse and furniture whyche is saide to belonge to one Thomas, a man (as I heare) utterlie ignorant in printinge, and pretending that he entendeth to be the printer for the universitie of Cambrige.' Aylmer to Burghley, 1 June, 1583. *Ibid.* '—a scholler, altogether unacquainted with that facultie.' Wardens of the Stationers' Company to the Bishop of London. *Ibid.*

[3] 'Nowe it is not my meaninge nor of any that I knowe to contend against the universities privilege, but for the causes aforesaid I made staie and yet doo, till I understand your pleasure, for good assuraunce to be had bothe of that prynter and his mynisters for good and lawful usage and workmanshippe of that presse, and speciallie for matters perillous to religion and state, and for copies perteiguing to others by his majesties graunte and lawfull authoritie, without which permission I think it might be perillous to permitte him, speciallie because yt is farre from ordinarie search and being executed by suspicious persons, and because there is taken and intended to be taken careful order for their like in this citie.' Aylmer to Burghley. *Ibid.*

[4] 'It maie be thought we speake this for oure pryvate proffitte, but it is not soe, for where their warrant is that the saide prynter maie prynte and sell all books, that the chancellor' (a side glance at Burghley) 'or vicechancellor and doctors put their handes unto, soe have they no prohibicion, but that anye others maie doe the same. But our office or other special grauntes include our copies by proper name.' Wardens to the Bishop of London. *Ibid.*

Burghley's cautious rejoinder.

To this appeal, Burghley replied by advising that the university and the Stationers' Company should both select delegates who might hold a conference and arrive at some agreement on the subject. To this suggestion the vice-chancellor and Heads rejoined by expressing themselves not unwilling, 'as desirous of peace and concord,' to hold the proposed conference, if the Stationers' Company would send to Cambridge 'certain men' 'with sufficient authority for the purpose;' but they dwelt emphatically on the sinister motives of the Company, acting, as they affirm, 'rather in respect of their private gain and commodity and to bring the universities more antient privileges in this behalf than theirs under their jurisdiction at London, than for any other good consideration;' while the writers pledge themselves in behalf

Attitude of the university.

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[1] 'Which at that tyme was thoughte verie needeful and expedient, yet never accomplished hitherto, and nowe lesse requisite than ever heretofore it was, by reason of the aboundaunce of prynters in London at this present.' Wardens of the Stationers' Company to the Bishop of London. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* CLXI, no. 1.

[2] 'Notwithstanding all which, yet is yt an endles toile to withstande the lewde attempts of manie of our profession being even within our citie and at our elbowes and daillie looked unto, howe muche more troublesome and daungerous both for matters of the state and religion and other inconvenyence it wilbe to have a printinge house erected so farre off, speciallie the Mr. beinge unskilfull, the workemen such as will obey noe authoritie heere, your lordship canne better consider than we declare.' Same to Same. *Ibid.*

[3] 'And we will recompense the said scholler for all his charge that he hath been in the suite aforesaide, and also paie him to the full for all such instrumentes as he hathe alreadye provided, and withal be most readye to doe to the saide universytie or annye there such acceptable service in printinge as anye waie he or his mighte be able. And herein we proteste and think in our conscience we doe the said scholler a greate good turne and are a meane that he doe not undoe himself.' Same to Same. *Ibid.*

of Thomas, ('whom,' says the letter, 'we know to be a very godly and honest man'), that the press should not be 'abused, either in publishing things prohibited, or otherwise inconvenient for the Church and State of this realm[1].'

Burghley finally sanctions the re-establishment of the university press.

It is not until the following March that we find evidence of any further action in the matter, but on the twelfth of that month the vice-chancellor and Heads addressed another letter to Burghley in behalf of Thomas, who was himself the bearer of the missive. In less than a week Burghley's reply was forwarded. He had conferred in the meantime with the Master of the Rolls (Sir Gilbert Gerrard, another old Cambridge man) as to the validity of the charter of Henry VIII, and that high authority had pronounced a favourable opinion. The chancellor accordingly saw no sufficient reason for any longer withholding his assent to the re-establishment of Thomas in the functions of his office,—'having regard, that he be seen to be furnished with all things fit and requisite for that purpose; and that his letters' (meaning *type*) 'and paper were answerable with any the foreign prints and the prices likewise agreeable.' He further intimated his readiness to sanction 'some instrument by way of articles or decree' which might invest the press with due official dignity. The letter might well seem an indication of more than usual boldness on the part of Burghley, but his habitual caution crept out in a postscript. 'I think it good,' he adds, 'that the parties that shall be licensed or authorised to print, may have their authority with condition, or otherwise bound to stand to the order of the chancellor and the Heads, *in case of any cause of misliking of the use of the said authority*[2].'

Reviving spirit of the Puritan party at Cambridge.

The contingency which the prudent chancellor contemplated occurred sooner than he had anticipated. No feature in the condition of the university at this time is more unmistakeably apparent than that, notwithstanding the defeat which Whitgift had inflicted on the Puritan party, its spirit and determination were still unbroken. If, as Gabriel Harvey had asserted, the disputes about caps and surplices were over, it was because men's minds were now gravitating to deeper matters than mere externals. Every undergraduate, however ignorant, could lend his aid to fan the tumult when the question at issue had been chiefly that of academic etiquette and attire. But as the contest deepened and the great protomachists appeared,—as Hooker answered the challenge of Cartwright, and Whitaker repelled the onslaught of Bellarmine, while Whitgift entered on his deadly struggle with the Martinists,—it was felt that issues of no ordinary moment were impending, and even the mocking laughter of the pasquinade only betrayed the fierce spirit of the satirist. As yet, however,—so late, indeed, as the year 1588,—the leaders of the Puritan party seem to have not altogether despaired of effecting within the Church itself the changes which they afterwards embodied in their own organizations as Separatists[1]. At Cambridge, their followers, although unquestionably in the minority, still inspired respect by their talents and their numerical strength. If Cartwright had been banished from their midst, his voice was still heard from Geneva. If Travers, Dering, and Aldrich had disappeared, their places were filled by others who avowed with equal boldness doctrines far more schismatical. Another college was rising up which was notoriously designed as a school of Puritan teaching. The standard theological textbook of the university, the *Commonplaces* of Musculus[2], which had supplanted the discarded *Sentences*, was an armoury from which the Puritan would have found it far easier than the Anglican to equip himself for the battle of contro-

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[1] Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i, Append. no. 35.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. II, bk. i, c. 17.

Increasing importance of the questions raised by the party.

Influence still exercised by them in the university.

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[1] Mr Dexter assigns the earliest references to 'little gatherings of Separatists in and round London' to 1587 or 1588. See his *Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*, p. 256.

[2] Wolfgang Musculus was professor of divinity at the university of Berne in Switzerland and 'his Commonplaces' were designed as a body of Protestant divinity free from all Papistical error. The English translation, executed by Man, head of Merton College, Oxford, at the suggestion of archbishop Parker, appeared in 1563. See Strype, *Life of Parker* (Oxford ed.) I 298, 460; *Zürich Letters* (2) p. 148: also *Life* by Samuel Clarke, in his *Marrow of Ecclesiastical History*, pt. i, pp. 276–281.

versy. A well-informed writer of the period tells us that at one college, largely leavened by these influences, the dicta of Calvin and Beza were habitually cited as of authority inferior only to that of Scripture itself, while the names of Ambrose, Jerome, and Augustine often served but to raise a half-contemptuous smile[1]. When the bishop of Ely ventured, on one occasion, to enjoin the observance of a fast, he found himself almost openly thwarted by the chancellor[2]. It can indeed hardly be doubted that Burghley's sympathies with the Puritan party, like those of Leicester, Bedford, Walsingham, and Sir Walter Mildmay, would have been far more plainly manifested had he not been held in check by fear of the royal displeasure.

Motives whereby many of their opponents were at this time actuated.

It is little to the credit of those writers who have espoused the cause of the Puritan party at this period that they have rarely admitted the existence among those of the opposing party of any higher motives than self-interest and a regard for place and power. At Cambridge, at least, we may clearly discern the existence of a not inconsiderable section whose retirement from the ranks of Puritanism was the result of a genuine and far from irrational conviction of the disastrous tendency of the consequences to which that movement was leading[3],—men who had once listened, wrapt in admiration, to the eloquence of Cartwright, and who had enthusiastically espoused his cause, but who were now regarding with unfeigned dismay the rising-up of a school of youthful speculators compared with whose utterances Cartwright's words and counsels might seem moderate and wise[4]. Among those to whom the dangers of the great Puritan leader's teaching must

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[1] Bancroft, *Survay*, etc. (ed. 1593), c. iv, p. 64: Baker-Mayor, p. 182. See Mr Maskell's observations in his *Martin Marprelate*, pp. 87–88. It will readily be conjectured that the college to which Bancroft alludes was St John's.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 381–2.

[3] The class was already sufficiently large to call for considerable qualification of Mr Froude's sweeping assertion that, at this time, 'every earnest man who was not a Puritan was a Catholic.' *Hist. of England*, XI 471.

[4] Bancroft, in his *Survay* (published in 1593) goes so far as to say: 'If Cartwright and his adherents were to beginne the course againe that they haue runne, I am perswaded, they would neuer tread so much as one steppe in it. But nowe they haue engaged their credits, they must shift thinges of, as well as they can.'

Richard Greenham.

have come home with peculiar force was Richard Greenham, a former fellow of Pembroke, who had retired to the rectory of Dry Drayton in the immediate neighbourhood of Cambridge[1]. He belonged to the class above described, and would appear indeed to have been reckoned to the close of his life a supporter of Puritan principles, but his sense of the evils wrought by the contentious spirit which Cartwright had stirred up in the university led him altogether to condemn the agitation which the followers of the latter were there still endeavouring to promote. During his residence at Dry Drayton, which lasted until the year 1589, Greenham was largely occupied as a private tutor, and among his pupils was the notable Robert Browne, a nephew of lord Burghley, and the founder of the sect of the Independents[2]. Browne's early career much resembled that of Cartwright, his reputation having been first acquired as a preacher in the university. His discourses at Benet Church drew large audiences both of gownsmen and townsmen, and among their number was Dr Still, who is said even thus early to have noted in the youthful preacher's utterances a tendency to dogmatism from which he augured no good[3]. His misgivings must have appeared to receive a certain verification, at least to his own mind, when Browne began to appear in the pulpit as a vigorous assailant of the episcopal ordination of the clergy. Dissatisfied, as it would seem, with his sphere of labour[4], Browne withdrew about the year 1580 to Norwich, where there at that time existed not

His pupil, ROBERT BROWNE. *b.* 1550. *d.* 1630.

Browne's career at Cambridge.

He retires to Norwich.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 143.

[2] See *A True and Short Declaration, both of the Gathering and Joyning together of certain Persons: and also of the Lamentable Breach and Division which fell amongst them.* Lambeth Palace Library $\frac{40.\ 2.\ 23}{2}$, cited by Dexter, *Congregationalism*, etc. pp. 64–79.

[3] Fuller, *Church History*, v 63: Clarke (Sam.) *Lives* (ed. 1677), pp. 169–170.

[4] According to the narrative above cited (a very rare tract), Browne preached labouring from house to house 'for about half a yeare,' when he 'sent back the money they would have given him, and also gave them warning of his departure' on the conviction that they were not as yet so rightly grounded in church government as to be on a fair basis of reform. *True and Short Declaration*, pp. 2, 6, 7. Browne professed to look upon it as a passage in his spiritual discipline that he had been thus made 'a witness of that wofull state of Cambrige, whereunto those wicked prelats and doctors of diuinitie haue brought it.' *Ibid.* p. 7.

only a considerable Puritan element but also a large body of exiles from the United Provinces who had fled from the persecution under Alva[1]. Browne was followed to Norwich by a Cambridge friend, Robert Harrison, of Corpus, and we hear of them walking together in the pleasant fields near the ancient city and discussing grave points of doctrine[2], much as Latimer and 'little Bilney' might have been seen walking and talking together on 'Heretics' Hill' at Cambridge half a century before. From Norwich, Browne and Harrison emigrated, along with the little Church with which they were connected, to Middelberg in Zealand, and even there dissension again sprang up and marred the harmony of the congregation. The right of private judgment which Browne had so dogmatically asserted was turned against himself, and his followers separated into two distinct bodies[3]. If Greenham was able to trace his pupil's career thus far, he must often, we cannot but think, have wondered how it would ultimately terminate. Yet a few years more, and two other members of the university, John Smith, a fellow of Christ's College, and George Johnson, also a member of that society, were to be heard of as directing a similar movement at Amsterdam. To the former, as is well known, belongs the distinction of having founded the sect denominated as the General Baptists. Between him and Johnson there soon arose irreconcilable differences of opinion, and agreement was only restored by the expulsion of the latter from the community[4]. Of the potency

Is there joined by Robert Harrison of Corpus.

They leave England for Middelberg.

Dissensions among their followers.

JOHN SMITH. *b.* 1563. *d.* 1616.

Dissension among his followers at Amsterdam.

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[1] Blomefield, *Hist. of Norfolk*, III 282–291.

[2] 'It is very clear,' says Mr Dexter, 'that Browne's mind took the lead, and that here at Norwich, following the track of thought which he had long been elaborating, he thoroughly discovered and restated the original Congregational way, in all its simplicity and symmetry.' *Congregationalism*, etc. p. 70.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 72–76. 'There is not a Church in Europe,' wrote Bancroft in 1593, 'whiche hath receaued that platforme' (*i.e.* that of Geneva) 'that can tell for her life which way as yet to turne herselfe, for the full maintenance of it.' *Survay of the pretended Holy Discipline*, p. 442.

[4] *Ibid.* pp. 255–356. In the year 1598, the members of the Church at Amsterdam issued their Confession of Faith: *Confessio Fidei Anglorum quorundam in Belgica exulantium.* The Separatists, as Mr Dexter observes (*Ib.* p. 312), were 'very largely Cambridge men,' and he gives expression to no little surprise that Cambridge has not long ago demanded and obtained an account of these several movements 'in all accessible completeness.'

of the disintegrating forces which Cartwright's influence and example had set in motion, few at Cambridge could by this time have felt much doubt.

The tendencies of Separatism appear to justify the policy of Whitgift.

It was while the tendencies of Separatism throughout the country at large were thus affording in the opinion of many no little justification of the policy identified with the name of Whitgift, that another event occurred which might equally seem to prove the necessity of those coercive measures which he had enforced within the university itself. From the recently re-established university press,—that press which Aylmer and Whitgift were watching with so much distrust and whose threatened existence Burghley had protected with so much difficulty,—there suddenly issued forth a volume, which appearing from such a quarter, must have been regarded by all the more judicious well-wishers to the university with feelings approaching to dismay. This, as will be readily surmised, was no other than the work already referred to, namely a new translation into English of Travers's *Disciplina*[1], with all its fierce contempt of the existing Church organization, its invectives against ecclesiastical orders and offices, and its derisive description of the Cambridge colleges, done into plain vernacular, so that every townsman in the parlour of his favourite inn might join, as he listened, in the laugh, and become possessed by the sentiments of hostility to the state Church which it was the author's design to evoke. On the special features of this remarkable exposition of Puritan views some observations will be found in another place[1]; it will suffice here to observe that of the challenge which it directly threw out to Whitgift and the rest of the bishops there could be no manner of doubt, nor can the former justly be accused of exaggeration when, in his letter to Burghley, he characterises the 'drift' of the book as 'wholey against the state and government.' In the Preface, from Cartwright's pen, the reader found himself entreated not to be 'dismaied with the vain noise and pomps of bishops;' the primitive discipline of the Apostolic age was

A new translation of the *Disciplina* is printed at the university press: 1584.

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[1] See Appendix (C).

held up in contrast to 'the counterfeit there off,' which, says the ardent Puritan, 'remaineth with us synce Popery' and has 'weakened our Churche with seidge *of fourteen yeres togither*, and shortly will destroy the same, except against those battering peices and cannons of vices, we speedely set the trenche and truly brasen wale off the Apostles Discipline[1].' As regards the reputed author himself, it is scarcely necessary to say that Travers, at this time, was no obscure controversialist. In fact, the question of his individual deserts and demerits was already threatening to give rise to a serious divergence of opinion between Burghley and Whitgift. He had been tutor to Burghley's children and subsequently chaplain in his family, and seems to have succeeded in winning in no ordinary degree the great statesman's personal regard. He was, indeed, not merely a man of fine abilities but also of marked social qualities; and even his enemies could not deny that his learning was considerable and his manners and morals alike free from reproach. Towards Whitgift, however, he stood under exceptionally unfavourable relations. He was not only believed to be the author of the *Disciplina*, but he was also known as the intimate friend and firm supporter of Cartwright. He had been one of those fellows of Trinity whose stubborn resistance to Whitgift's authority had resulted in their withdrawal from the college in order to avoid expulsion[2]; and when driven, like Cartwright, from Trinity and Cambridge, he had given no ambiguous proof of the direction of his sympathies by retiring, like him, to Geneva. He had subsequently received ordination at the hands of the presby-

Travers a favourite of Lord Burghley.

His general reputation.

His relations to Whitgift.

His sympathies with the Genevan reformers.

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[1] I quote from the edition of 1574. No copy, that I am aware of, exists of the edition which issued from the Cambridge press, but there is no reason for doubting that it contained Cartwright's preface.

[2] 'Mr Travers......is to no man better known, I think, than to myself; I did elect him fellow of Trinity College, being before rejected by Dr Beaumont for his intolerable stomach: whereof I had also afterwards such experience that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the college to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinancy.'... 'The book *De Disciplina Ecclesiastica*, by common opinion, hath been reputed of his penning, since the first publishing of it. And by divers arguments I am moved to make no doubt thereof.' Whitgift to Burghley: Sept. 1584. *Life of Hooker* (prefixed to edit. of his *Works*, 1821), p. 24.

terian elders at Antwerp[1], but when he returned to England, his right to be regarded as a duly qualified priest was challenged by the English primate[2], while Travers, on the other hand, made no secret of his desire to see the Genevan discipline established as the rule of the Protestant Church in his native country. Of such a design, the publication of another version of the *Disciplina* could only be regarded as a still more distinct expression; and it is not surprising that the appearance of such a volume from the press of the chief school of education for the orthodox clergy should have been regarded by Whitgift as an event of portentous gravity and that the remonstrance which he now addressed to Burghley should have been couched in no measured terms. 'Ever sens I hard,' he writes, 'that they had a printer at Chambridg I did greatlie fear this and such like inconveniences wold followe,' and he goes on to advise that the whole impression should forthwith be committed to the flames, the book being 'verie factius and full of untruthes,' and '*the same which Travers ys supposed to have sett forth in Laten, without anie addition or retraction*[3].' As for the press itself, he suggests that, if allowed to continue to exist, it should be subjected to the same restrictions as her Majesty's printers, the printer being bound over to print no book which had not received the *imprimatur* of the constituted authorities. 'For if,' he urges, 'restrante be made here and libertie graunted there, what good can be done[4]?'

Significance of the appearance of another version of the *Disciplina* at Cambridge.

Whitgift's letter to Burghley on the appearance of the volume: Sept. 1584.

The Mastership of the Temple.

So far as his own authority could be enforced, Whitgift's will prevailed. Rigorous search was made and all the copies of the *Disciplina* which could be found were destroyed.

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[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iii, c. 16.

[2] '— the said Travers hath been, and is one of the chief and principal authors of dissension in this Church, a contemner of the Book of Prayers, and of other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation; and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas; not according to the form in this Church of England used.' Whitgift to Elizabeth: Aug. 1584. *Life of Hooker*, *u.s.*, p. 22.

[3] This statement is not altogether confirmed by Bancroft who notes certain important omissions in the translation, and also speaks of a 'Cambridge translator.' *Survay of the pretended Holy Discipline* (ed. 1593), pp. 225, 237.

[4] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iii. c. 6.

But the press itself went on as before; and Travers, whose authorship of the book was still unproven, seems to have retained his hold on Burghley's favour unimpaired. Of this, very decided proof was afforded, when, only a few months later, in August, 1584, Richard Alvey, the Master of the Temple, died, and it became necessary to appoint a successor. 'Father Alvey,' as he was styled,—another of the many good and able men whom St John's College at this period was sending forth to leaven and invigorate the higher life of the nation[1],—had enjoyed a high reputation both for learning and austere virtues, and it speaks forcibly in Travers' behalf that he was deemed worthy by so discerning a judge as Burghley of succeeding to such a man and to so important a post. When however Whitgift learned that the lord treasurer had actually recommended the author of the *Disciplina* to Elizabeth for the mastership of the Temple, his concern was extreme, and he forthwith addressed both to the queen and to Burghley letters of serious remonstrance[2]. The latter, in his reply to the archbishop, still defended the claims of his former chaplain, as one 'well learned, very honest, and well allowed,' and 'loved of the generality' of the Templars[3]; but with his usual caution he forbore to press his recommendation further, and even went so far as to second Whitgift's recommendation of another candidate, one Dr Bond. It is perhaps scarcely necessary to add that, in the sequel, neither Travers nor Bond was appointed, and that the royal favour was happily directed to one of far more famous memory, a retiring parish-priest at that time meditating on the Fathers and the casuists amid the fields of Buckinghamshire,—the illustrious Richard Hooker[4].

The Mastership of the Temple.

Richard Alvey. d. Aug. 1584.

Whitgift dissuades Burghley from appointing Travers to the post.

Appointment of Richard Hooker.

The increasing determination of both universities to protect their interests is shewn in their joint efforts in the same

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[1] He was presented in 1540 to the rectory of Thorington and resigned the same in 1564. Baker-Mayor, pp. 359, 393; Cooper, *Athenae*, I 491.

[2] See *supra*, p. 303, note 2.

[3] *Life of Hooker*, *u.s.* p. 23.

[4] It is creditable to Sandys that Hooker appears to have been appointed on his recommendation. See Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iii, c. 10. Mr Hunt (*Religious Thought in England*, I 73) attributes Hooker's promotion to Whitgift. This appears to be scarcely correct.

Efforts of both Universities to obtain representatives in Parliament.

year to obtain the privilege of returning members to Parliament[1]. There can be little doubt that this endeavour was mainly supported by the Puritan party in either university, in the hope that by thus directly gaining the ear of the Lower House they might be able more effectually to protect themselves against that ecclesiastical constraint which was yearly becoming more and more oppressive. Failing in their endeavours, they resolved to bring their views under the notice of the parliament which was to assemble in November,—a parliament to whose decisions they were looking forward with intense interest and high expectations[2]—in the form of a petition. This petition was digested into a series of articles wherein the necessity of numerous reforms is strongly insisted upon and enforced by arguments of no little cogency. The reforms are mostly concerned with 'ecclesiastical causes' of a general nature; but foremost among them is one directly relating to the universities, and more especially noteworthy as embodying, though in somewhat different form, the suggestion thrown out by Ascham, a quarter of a century before[3], for what was practically the principle of *the endowment of research.* The aim of the petitioners would seem to have been to encourage the study of divinity as a recognised pursuit among the senior members of the university, and thus to form within its precincts a body of sound and well-read divines whose studious leisure should be unbroken by duties either of the pulpit or the cure. Men, in short, who, as the result of lengthened research and profound meditation, might be expected to bring forth arguments and conclusions which should serve to set at rest for ever questions such as those which Augustine, Aquinas, Luther, and Albertus Pighius, or Ratramnus, Lanfranc and Zwinglius, had sounded, with commendable zeal and admirable power, it was true, but still without producing

Petition to parliament to allow fellowships at colleges to be held for the purpose of more protracted study:

A proposal implying the endowment of research.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, II 269, 401; Wood-Gutch, II 223. The desired privilege was not granted to either university until the accession of James I. See Cooper, *Ibid.* III 3–4.

[2] On the predominance of Puritan sentiments in the House of Commons at this time, see the observations and quotations in Hallam, *Const. Hist. of England* (ed. 1869), I 189–91.

[3] See *supra*, p. 115.

general consent and conviction. It was accordingly proposed, in the fourth of the above articles, that 'where in certain colleges and cathedral and collegiate churches, the foundation or statute required such as are there placed to be *ministers*[1]; it shall be lawful for such as are known to profess the study of divinity, or otherwise be lawfully dispensed withal[2], to retain, as before this act they might[3], any fellowship or prebend within the said colleges, notwithstanding they be no ministers[4].'

Apparent scope of the proposal of the petitioners.

It is perhaps hardly to be wondered at that the bishops at once recognised in this proposition a design which they roundly stigmatised as 'a piece of T. C. his platform' and proceeded forthwith to represent as destructive of the main purposes of the universities, namely, the education of the clergy. The aim of the petitioners, so far as it can be inferred, was to secure for those who still called in question the scriptural character of the organization of the English Church the requisite leisure and opportunities for more completely demonstrating the justice of their views,—for composing laborious treatises, in the form of huge folios, which by their learning and convincing arguments might serve eventually to bring about those further modifications of the Church at home which would assimilate it to the Reformed Churches on the Continent. The bishops, on the other hand, were anxious to see all controversy suspended, if not altogether put an end to, in order that no further hindrance might be presented to the practical work of their dioceses. It was their desire to see the universities become, not the haunts of speculative theorists, but the training schools of active and competent parish priests,—not seminaries of controversies which would serve only to unsettle belief and shake once

Counter views of the bishops.

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[1] The customary term at this period for priests with definite clerical duties either as chaplains or in connexion with a cure. See in relation to the time for assuming clerical orders the 19th statute of Trinity College Statutes in Appendix (A).

[2] As for example when holding a fellowship assigned to students of civil law or medicine. See in same statutes, no. 12 ('Sociorum Electio') of statutes of 1552.

[3] I.e. as they had been permitted to do if studying civil law or medicine.

[4] Strype, *Annals*, vol. II, bk. i, Append. no. 40.

more the newly-erected fabric of the national faith, but efficient schools from whence should issue in quick succession bands of zealous and pious labourers adequately instructed in sacred learning to teach, convince, and edify their less favoured countrymen, still for the most part sunk in ignorance and superstition, throughout the numerous parishes of the realm. The unqualified language in which the bishops denounced the above proposition is, however, somewhat startling. In a lengthy series of objections, they urged that it struck at the very root of the design which presided at the foundation and pervaded the statutes of almost every Oxford or Cambridge college, to wit, the encouragement of 'the study of divinity and the increase of the number of learned preachers and ministers.' The supply of preachers would be cut off and the study of divinity decay. 'There are,' they go on to say, 'at this day in the university of Cambridge an hundred preachers at the least, very worthy men, and *not many less* in the university of Oxford;' but if the proposed innovation were to take effect, they do not scruple to predict that 'within seven years there would not be five ministers in either of them.' Besides 'it would cause men all their lifetime to remain in the universities. So that there should be no succession.' The anxiety thus shewn by the episcopal order to guard the interests of the Church can hardly be deemed surprising under the circumstances of the time, although their language may appear far stronger than the occasion demanded and their apprehensions unduly exaggerated, if not altogether illusory. What however is really surprising is the fact, that at a time when controversial theology was engrossing the thoughts and energies of the educated minority to such an extent that it may be said to have been almost the bane of the intellectual life of England, the authorities of the Church appear as profoundly sceptical as to the existence at the universities either of any genuine zeal for active pastoral work or of any real devotion to the study and defence of Christian doctrine. They summarily set aside the supposition that the fellows of colleges, under the proposed conditions, would seriously devote themselves

Their unqualified condemnation of the proposals.

Their chief reason being that it would be fatal to the study of divinity.

to the acquirement of theological learning. There might be a certain pretence of doing so, they say, in order to satisfy the formal conditions of holding a fellowship; but they predict that each fellow would really bestow his time and labour on the civil law, or physic, or some other vain branch of secular knowledge, 'al his life long[1].' In fine, they hold such a plan to be 'the very way to overthrow al colleges, cathedral churches, and places of learning;'—'to extinguish the study of divinity, diminish the number of preachers, and breed a great confusion and alteration in the church and commonwealth[2].'

The conclusion to which their objections would seem to point.

Regarded in the abstract, the view thus expressed by the English bishops of 1584 may appear not a little startling. At the very time when theology was the all-absorbing theme of the scholar's discourse and the mainspring of all learned activity,—when men were ready to resign a fellowship rather than wear a surplice, and to minister to humble congregations of schismatics in remote country towns or as exiles in foreign cities rather than submit to the Church's decision on some doubtful, obscure, and much disputed point of doctrine,—it was notwithstanding chimerical to suppose that there existed any honest heartfelt conviction of the importance of theological studies! Self-interest, the love of disputation, the desire for notoriety, these were after all the real incentives; and the forces which set the machinery in motion, whereby each pulpit was regularly supplied with its wonted flow of exhortation, warning, and denunciation, were really in no way distinguishable from those which imparted the actuating impulse to any ordinary profession or trade! It will however not be difficult to shew that this mistrust of any real inclination in the English mind, even among fellows of colleges, for abstract study,—for research, that is to say, which failed to bear directly on practical ends,—was not confined to the bishops. On the contrary, it was shared by some of

Permanent consequences of the rejection of the foregoing proposal.

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[1] '*Everyone*, to keep these places, would *openly profess* the study of divinity, and *secretly study* the one law or the other, or physic, or some trifling study, al his life long.' Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i, Append. no. 40.

[2] *Ibid.*

the most distinguished leaders of the Puritan party; and of this fact a circumstance connected with the foundation of Emmanuel College, which rose in the same year that the bishops entered the above protest, affords a pertinent illustration.

FOUNDATION OF EMMANUEL COLLEGE: Charter given, 11 Jan. $158\frac{3}{4}$.

As the first Protestant College of the university had been partly constructed out of materials taken from the subverted friary of the Franciscans, so the first college reputed Puritan arose on the former site of the house of the Dominicans.

Sir WALTER MILDMAY. *b.* 1522. *d.* 1589.

Sir Walter Mildmay, the founder, was a diplomatist of approved fidelity and discretion, and especially distinguished in the important negotiations connected with the detention of Mary, queen of Scots, and her confinement as a prisoner in England. He was also treasurer to the royal household and in the year 1566 had succeeded to the chancellorship of the exchequer[1]. He had been educated at Christ's College, and although he left Cambridge without taking a degree, he appears to have retained throughout his life a love for classical learning[2] and a warm interest in the welfare both of his college and of the university. A gift of stone to aid in the completion of the tower of Great St Mary's, and the foundation of a Greek lectureship and six scholarships at Christ's College had already attested the existence of this sympathy[3]; and when, in the year 1582, on the death of Hawford, the society at Christ's was anxiously awaiting the appointment of his successor, a brief appeal addressed by the fellows to Sir Walter indicates their belief both in his power and his willingness to protect their interests[4].

His attachment to his own college and to the university.

He obtains a charter for the foundation of Emmanuel College.

Like Sir Thomas Audley, Sir Walter Mildmay had acquired wealth in the service of the state, and like him, as he found himself approaching the ordinary term of life, he resolved to devote some portion of that wealth to the service of religion and learning. In the month of January, 1584, we accordingly find Elizabeth granting to her trusted adviser,

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 51–53.

[2] Sir Walter's Latin poems were printed after his death, but they are now unknown.

[3] Cooper, *Memorials*, II 358.

[4] 'Ad te confugimus: utinam tantum possis quantum velis......Si in probi prudentisque hominis moderationem collegium devenerit, expectamus florentissimum: quod si ad dissoluti gubernationem devolutum sit, veremur ne omnia ad ruinam praecipitent.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.* CLII, no. 51.

'his heirs, executors, and assigns,' a charter empowering them 'to erect, found, and establish for all time to endure, a certain college of sacred theology, the sciences, philosophy and good arts, of one master and thirty fellows and scholars, graduate or non-graduate, or more or fewer, according to the ordinances and statutes of the same college[1].'

He is accused by Elizabeth of designing to found a Puritan College.

But although the royal charter appears to have been obtained without difficulty, and the revenues of the college were even augmented by a royal benefaction[2], we learn from Fuller that when,—after the ceremony of foundation had been duly completed,—Sir Walter presented himself at court, Elizabeth's glance rested somewhat sternly on her ancient counsellor. She had known and trusted him from her girlhood. She might even recall how, on the occasion of her royal visit to the university in 1564, as she had passed through the gateway of Peterhouse, his eldest son (at that time a mere child) had delivered an 'oration' of welcome which she had been pleased graciously to commend for its expression and felicitous delivery[3]. Of late, however, Sir Walter's sympathies had been evinced in a manner little to her mind. Already, some years before, in the lifetime of Parker, he had, in conjunction with bishop Sandys, Sir Thomas Smith, and Knollys, sought to check the primate's too stringent dealings with the Puritans[4],—although the influence to which those dealings were attributable was well understood. More recently, from his place in parliament, he had lifted up his voice in defence of the popular cause, complaining that though subsidies were liberally granted grievances were not redressed[5]. And again, in this very year, he had

Circumstances that might tend to justify the royal suspicion.

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[1] *Documents*, III 479–482; Cooper, *Memorials*, II 358–9.

[2] This was a rent-charge of £16. 13*s*. 4*d*. I am indebted to the present Master, the Rev. S. G. Phear, D.D., for the information that this represented an annuity (which is still recognised as chargeable on the exchequer) formerly granted by one of Elizabeth's predecessors to the Dominican house,—a fact which serves perhaps to explain the seeming inconsistency between Elizabeth's practical encouragement and her avowed distrust of Sir Walter's designs.

[3] Anthony Mildmay was the inheritor of his father's estate at Apethorpe in Northamptonshire: his oration is given in bishop Robynson's narrative of the royal visit. Nichols' *Royal Progresses* (ed. 1805), vol. III.

[4] Hallam, *Const. Hist.* III[12] 197.

[5] 'Which words,' says Fuller, 'being represented with his disadvantage to the queen, made her to disaffect him, setting in a court cloud,

summed up, to the manifest satisfaction of the same assembly, the arguments for and against a policy of active support to the struggling populations of the United Provinces, in a manner which could not but seem to reflect with some severity on the vacillating insincerity of his royal mistress[1]. 'I hear, Sir Walter,' said Elizabeth, 'you have been erecting a Puritan foundation.' 'No, Madam,' he replied, 'far be it from me to countenance any thing contrary to your established laws, but I have set an acorn, which when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof[2].'

The original statutes of the Society: 1 Oct. 1585.

It cannot, certainly, be said that the statutes given to the college in the following year afford much warrant for the royal imputation. Many of them appear to be little more than a transcript of the code of Trinity College. A preference, indeed, is given to natives of the eminently Puritan counties of Essex and Northampton[3], but the more obvious reason for such a preference is that the former county was that of the founder's birthplace,—the latter, that which he had represented in parliament since the accession of Elizabeth[4]. The clause

Preference given to natives of Essex and Northampton.

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but in the sunshine of his country and a clear conscience.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, 278.

[1] After pointing out the danger that would arise if the revenues and the navy of 'Holland and Zealand' became subsidiary to the king of Spain's designs, and the interruption of the English commerce by sea that would necessarily ensue, Sir Walter goes on to urge that the King 'will also hope much to breede her trouble in her owne realme by the yll affected subjectes which he shall then more easelye stirre beinge settled neere them and so readie to assist them. Her Majestie, letting slippe the occasion,' he concludes, 'when these countries do offer themselves, shall never have the like occasion to stoppe the King of Spayne's malicious course against her.' See 'A Consideration of the Low Countries by Sir Walter Mildmaie.' *MSS. Cott. Calig.* C. IX 49.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 278.

[3] Bancroft, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, writing in 1593, states that after the publication of Travers' *Disciplina* (of which another edition appeared about 1587), its principles were 'most friendly entertained amongst the ministers of Northamptonshire,' and also 'in Warwickshire, Norfolke, Suffolke, *Essex*.' *Daungerous Positions*, etc. p. 77.

[4] In the statute 'de Sociorum qualitate' we find 'comitatus Essexiae et Northamptoniae caeteris omnibus praeponendos esse decrevimus: ita tamen ut non sint plures ex uno comitatu antedictorum praeter unum: quod de singulis aliis comitatibus totius regni observari volumus.' *Documents*, III 499. In the statute 'de Scholarium Discipulorum qualitate et electione' we read 'Ob quod et illos praecipue qui de comitatu Essexiae et Northamptoniae oriundi sunt, praeponi volumus; de quibus duos scholares semper esse volumus in ipso collegio: ita tamen ut non plures tribus ex aliquo praedictorum sive ex ullo alio comitatu totius Angliae pro discipulis uno tempore habeantur.' *Documents*, III 513. The preference accordingly could in nei-

which requires that no one county shall be represented by more than one fellowship at a time must be looked upon as an equitable provision against the strongly local feelings which then prevailed, although its operation would tend to the depression of the northern and more Catholic element[1]. Generally speaking, the conception of the whole design is exclusively that of a training-school for the ministry, not a single fellowship being set apart for the civil law or for medicine.

General design of the College.

Its Puritan character.

That the prevailing tone of the college was intensely Puritan admits however of no question. The first master, Lawrence Chaderton (one of the translators of the Bible), who filled the office for thirty-six years, gave on more than one occasion ample proof of his sympathies with the Puritan party[2]. Thomas Hooker, John Cotton, Thomas Shepard, and not a few other names which occupy a conspicuous place in the pages of Cotton Mather's *New England,*—among them the founder of Harvard College,—were some of the earliest who received their education within its walls[3]. The tombs of earnest preachers, silenced for nonconformity while living and now resting in calmer silence in Moorfields, record in not a few instances the permanence of these traditions. At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the practical exemplification which the college gave of the principles laid down in the *Disciplina* was so marked as to evoke a formal protest[4]. The chancel of its unconsecrated chapel looked north, the college kitchen east. The society used its own form of religious service[5], discarded surplices and hoods[6], was careless even of the cap and gown, and had suppers

Eminent Puritans educated at the college.

Habitual disregard shewn by the society for the discipline of the Established Church.

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ther case have resulted in a preponderance.

[1] See Appendix (D).

[2] Heywood and Wright, *University Transactions, &c.* II 13–16.

[3] Baker MSS. VI 84–85. 'If New England hath been in some respect Immanuel's Land, it is well; but this I am sure of, Immanuel College contributed more than a little to make it so.' Cotton Mather, *Ecclesiastical History of New England,* bk. III, p. 217.

[4] 'The publick disorders as touching Church causes in Emmanuel College in Cambridge.' Baker MSS. VI 85–86.

[5] 'All other colledges in Cambridge do strictly observe, according to the laws and ordinances of the Church of Englande, the form of public prayer prescribed in the Communion Booke. In Em. Colledge they do follow a private course of publick prayer, after their own fashion, both Sondaies, Holy daies and workie days.' *Ibid.*

[6] 'They of Em. Colledge have not worn that attier, either at the ordinary divine service, or celebration of the Lord's Supper, since it was first erected.' *Ibid.*

on Fridays; while the devout Anglican was scandalised by the reports that reached him of the irreverent manner in which its members celebrated the most sacred of all the sacraments[1]. To the dislike excited by this contempt for the prescribed academic observance we may probably attribute the non-success of the proposal brought forward in 1586 for the admission of the college into the 'cycle' for the nomination of proctors, etc.[2] While the same reputation, conjoined with that for the devotion of its members to study and learning, serves to account for the fact that during the time of the Commonwealth, no less than eleven heads of other houses came from Emmanuel[3] so that to Fuller, who was then employed on the composition of his *History*, the college seemed to 'overshadow all the university[4].'

Lengthened exclusion of the college from the academic 'cycle.'

High reputation of the society during the Commonwealth.

The only other feature connected with the foundation of the society, that here calls for notice, is the illustration (already referred to) which it offers of the question with respect to which the English bishops had pronounced so decided an opinion,—the desirability of fellowships continuing to be tenable after the completion of the full period of academic study. On this point, the view of the Puritan statesman appears to have been in complete agreement with that of the episcopal bench. 'We have founded the college,' says Sir Walter, 'with the design that it should be, by the grace of God, a seminary of learned men for the supply of the Church, and for the sending forth of as large a number as possible of

Sir Walter concurs with the bishops in wishing to discourage long residence at college on the part of fellows.

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[1] 'But in Eman. Coll. they receive that holy Sacrament, sittinge upon forms about the Communion table, and doe pull the loafe one from the other, after the minister hath begon. And soe the cupp, one drinking as it were to another, like good fellows, without any particular application of the saide words, more than once for all.' Baker MSS. VI 85–86.

[2] The grace proposed to the senate described it as equitable that the college should 'bear the burdens of the university as well as share its honours and emoluments.' This grace, though it passed the senate, was thrown out by the *Caput*: and it was not until the year 1650 that Emmanuel (along with Sidney) was admitted within the 'cycle.' Cooper, *Annals*, II 424–5; III 434–5.

[3] Cooper, *Memorials*, III 359. For the disregard evinced by the society for the Anglican ritual in the time of archbishop Laud, see Cooper, *Annals*, III 283.

[4] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 278. 'In the early part of the seventeenth century, the entries ranged from 50 to 70 per annum,—a larger admission absolutely (as well as relatively to the university total) than ever has been the case since.' Letter from the Rev. S. G. Phear, 20 Aug., 1882.

those who shall instruct the people in the Christian faith. *We would not have any fellow suppose that we have given him, in this college, a perpetual abode:* a warning which we deem the more necessary, in that we have ofttimes been present when many experienced and wise men have taken occasion to lament, and have supported their complaints by past and present instances, that in other colleges a too protracted stay of fellows has been no slight bane to the common weal and to the interests of the Church[1].'

The statute *de Mora Sociorum.*

The statute *de mora sociorum in collegio*, whereby every fellow was required to vacate his fellowship within a year from the time of admission to his doctor's degree, was however so repugnant to the feelings and wishes of the fellows of the society, that after the founder's death, in the year 1627, it was represented to the Crown as of questionable validity, while at the same time the hardships and injustice resulting from its action were set forth at some length[2]. This endeavour on the part of the fellows was not supported by Chaderton, who, though no longer master[3], drew up a paper, addressed to the vice-chancellor and Heads, containing some cogent reasons for respecting the founder's

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[1] *Documents*, III 524: in the original statutes given to Sidney Sussex College in 1598, this statute, *de mora sociorum in collegio*, was incorporated almost verbatim from the code of Emmanuel to which it had been appended by the founder in the year 1587. *Ibid.* III 572.

[2] 'To the Kings most excellent Majestie: the humble Petition of the Fellowes of Emmanuel College in Cambridge, Sheweth: That whereas our last supposed statute (of leaving our places at Doctors' time) or within a yeare after (if wee take our degree) hath been and is a greevance to our Societie. The validitie of which statute may justly be questioned, as being neither sealed, nor having witnesses, nor being delivered as the rest of the statutes were, nor yet having taken any effect, by forceing any to forsake their places at that tyme. Or, in case it should be graunted to be a statute, being very hard, we being thereby exposed to many and great inconveniences, as being destitute of other meanes, when we shall be soe cast out: and hindred for the present from approving our service to any, by reason of our continuance strictly required by statute. And whereas no inconvenience is like to redound either to the government or estate of the colledge, by libertye of continuance, *as appeareth by all other colledges, where they have the like priviledge, and more particularly in Sidney Sussex College, where the like statute hath been abrogated.* That your Majestie would be pleased to grant a reference of this our grievance to the Heads of Colledges, or to such of them as your Majestie shall be pleased to assigne, to consider whether or noe it bee a statute of equall validitie with the other. And if soe, whether a qualification bee not requisite, for graunting libertye to us to enjoy our places, till we can be competently provided for.' MSS. Baker, XXX 415.

[3] In 1622 he resigned the office and went with his family to reside in the town. College Register.

Arguments advanced by Laurence Chaderton against its abrogation.

wishes[1]. He urged that to set aside the express design of one so recently dead, was in itself an act of violation, and might have an injurious effect in deterring other intending founders from carrying out their benevolent designs. 'I am fully persuaded,' he writes, '(uppon divers speeches which I have heard at severall tymes from him) *that he had rather not have founded the college, then have omitted this statute.* Other statutes were suggested to him by friends, but this proceeded soly from himself, and he took more time of deliberation to compose and sett downe this statute, then any other[2].' Further reasons adduced by Chaderton in contravention of this effort on the part of the fellows, are, that the church patronage at the disposal of the college was amply sufficient to ensure that fellows called upon by the statute to vacate their fellowships would not be left destitute or be reduced to the necessity of maintaining themselves by giving lectures; that other colleges imposed similar restrictions on the tenure of their fellowships[3]; and that the statute, in its operation, afforded an opportunity of admitting larger numbers to the advantages of a fellowship, while the presence of idle and unprofitable members in the college was prevented[4].

Subsequent history of the statute *de Mora Sociorum.*

In the mean time, king Charles had referred the petition of the fellows to the vice-chancellor and Heads, who, notwithstanding the weight attaching to Chaderton's remonstrance, ultimately reported in favour of the petitioners,—a result which is said to have been attributable mainly to the influence of John Preston, the new master of the college, with the duke of Buckingham. The king accordingly declared and ordained 'that the said statute shall be to all effects in law wholly suspended and shall not henceforward be put in execution, the oath taken or to be taken notwithstanding.' Under Dr Preston's successor, William Sancroft, an endeavour was however made by the fellows, in concert with some members of Sir Walter Mildmay's family, to give effect to the original design of the founder. Their efforts were not attended by success, but in 1641 the Long Parliament declared king Charles's dispensation null and void. The obscurity which surrounds much of our university history during the Commonwealth prevents us from tracing the history of this noticeable statute further, but after the Restoration there is no evidence of its having been considered operative, and we may accordingly infer that the purpose of the Puritan founder and of the Puritan parliament was set aside in the reaction which followed upon the re-establishment of the Stuart dynasty[1]. Its transcript[2] in the code of Sidney College had long before been rescinded[3] on the ground that it was a deviation from the customary practice of other societies both at Cambridge and at Oxford. In general, therefore,—and eventually at Emmanuel College also,—it was neither the idea of Roger Ascham and the petitioners of 1584, nor that of the bishops and the Puritan leader, that prevailed. The former had sought to bring about a tenure of certain fellowships as a kind of endowment of research,—subject, indeed, to the ordinary conditions of a fellowship as regarded subscription but not coupled with the obligation of engaging in active professional duties

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[1] 14 April, 1627. 'Reasons offered to the Heads, to show why the statute of Eman. Colledge, *de mora Sociorum,* may not be altered.' MSS. Baker, xxx 415. The statute had already been called in question but confirmed by the Visitor in 1595. College Register.

[2] Baker MSS. xxx 415.

[3] 'Because the lymitation of Fellowships to a certaine time is found also in other Colledges, as some to ten yeares, and some to five.' *Ibid.* xxx 416.

[4] 'Because both many more are preferred to fellowships (by vertue of this statute) and sent forth into the Church, then in any other colleges of like number; as also the idleness and unprofitable stay of men in the college prevented, which are our founder's reasons.' *Ibid.*

Conditions eventually attached to the tenure of college fellowships in general.

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[1] For the above details I am indebted to the courtesy of Dr Phear; who has furnished me with them from the College Register. The abrogation of the statute in the first instance is of no little interest as an example of very early disregard of a founder's intentions where it appeared to be his design in any way to specialise his school.

[2] *Documents*, III 572.

[3] 'Cum tamen intelligamus aliorum omnium fere Collegiorum Socios in Academia Cantabrigiensi in perpetuos Socios admissos fore, et iniquum insuper existimemus, ut Alumni primarii, quos Collegium nostrum tamdiu in sinu suo foverit, aliquando excludantur, antequam de loco aliquo in Ecclesia idoneo ipsis provisum fuerit: Volumus igitur et statuimus, ut Morae Sociorum nullum tempus praescribatur in posterum, sed ut eorum unicuique liceat jus Societatis in perpetuum retinere, modo alias statutis aliis a nobis editis et confirmatis non contravenerint.' Statutes of Sidney Sussex College: *Ibid.* III 574. Prior to the repeal of the statute at Sidney, it had been enacted in a later edition of the statutes that a fellow might continue to reside for *seven* years after reaching D.D. standing. *Ibid.* III 573.

(clerical or otherwise), and affording the requisite aid to those who wished to carry on the studies associated with any one or other of the recognised branches of academic learning beyond the point contemplated and practicable under the conditions of an ordinary academic career. The bishops and Sir Walter Mildmay, on the other hand, altogether mistrusted the results that might follow on such a measure, and foresaw in it only the creation of undue facilities for evading those stern practical duties the efficient discharge of which they held it to be the main design of the university to provide for, and the interest of the nation to secure. In the sequel, the aims of both parties were alike to a great extent frustrated. The assumption of priest's orders was indeed made, in most instances, an indispensable condition of a permanent tenure of a fellowship, but it too often only served as a pretext under which all obligation to studious research was ignored, while the fellowship itself again too often enabled the holder to evade with equal success the responsibilities of parish work. Down to a comparatively recent date, it has accordingly been the accepted theory with respect to nearly all college fellowships that they are designed to assist clergymen to prepare for active pastoral work and not to aid the cause of learned or scientific research. Occasionally, it is true, the bestowal of a lay-fellowship has fallen upon fruitful ground. The Plumian professorship fostered the bright promise of a Cotes; the Lucasian sustained the splendid achievements of Newton. But, for the most part, those labours to which Cambridge can point with greatest pride and in whose fame she can rightfully claim to share,—the untiring scientific investigations which have established on a new and truer basis the classification of organic existences or the succession of extinct forms,—or the long patience and profound calculations which have wrested from the abysmal depths of space the secrets of stupendous agencies and undreamed-of laws,—or the scholarship which has restored, with a skill and a success that have moved the envy of united Germany, some of the most elaborate creations of the Latin muse,—have been the achievements of men who

The results.

have yielded indeed to the traditional theory a formal assent but have treated it with a virtual disregard.

The interval that elapsed between the foundation of Emmanuel College and the rise of Sidney Sussex, in 1598, is chiefly marked by events similar to those which have already demanded so large a share of our attention:—the press continued to struggle for the maintenance of its interests against the jealousy of the London stationers; preachers in the pulpit at St Mary's still called for repression by their utterance of heterodox doctrine; and in college and university alike dogmatic zeal was ever seeking to vindicate the truth of its own particular belief in a manner which but for the stern control exercised by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, as represented by Whitgift and Burghley, would undoubtedly have been attended by results fatal to the peace of the whole academic community.

Sermon by John Smith of Christ's against the performance of plays on Sunday evenings.

In the year 1586, John Smith of Christ's[1] gave the earliest recorded evidence of his separatist tendencies by inveighing in a sermon at Great St Mary's against the college custom (at that time not uncommon) of permitting the performance of plays not only on Saturday but also on Sunday evenings. Such a practice, he asserted, was altogether unlawful: on Sunday, 'for that they were at it before the sun was set,' on Saturday, in that it resulted in the 'disabling of their bodies for the sabbath duties.' His denunciations caused him to be cited before Dr Perne, then deputy vice-chancellor, and the other Heads, but on his offering certain explanations no further action seems to have been deemed necessary in the matter[2].

The universities combine to protect their presses against the piracy of the London Stationers.

In the year 1586, the university press again found it necessary to appeal for assistance in the maintenance of its privileges, and again by its incaution excited the apprehensions of Whitgift. In the former instance, the grievance under which it laboured was undeniable and bore with equal severity on the sister institution at Oxford, where the gift of a new printing press from the earl of Leicester[3], the chancellor, had recently given a new stimulus to publication. The volumes now issuing from the two presses were, indeed, of so much merit and importance as to attract the cupidity of the London printers, who, in the absence of any law of copyright, ventured not only to reprint some of these works but also to sell the reprints at considerably lower prices. The Cambridge and Oxford printers accordingly saw the fruits of their toil in danger of being snatched from them by the appearance of the piratical editions on the book-stalls in the universities as well as in London. It is pleasing to note the jealousy at that time too rife between the two communities giving place, on this occasion, to concerted action, in which the initiative was taken by Oxford. The measures there adopted will be sufficiently explained by the corresponding proceedings at Cambridge, where, on the eleventh of February, 1585-6, the senate passed a grace forbidding the local booksellers to 'buy, bind, or expose for sale, any book printed at London or elsewhere in England, which had been or thereafter should be printed at Cambridge *or Oxford*, under pain of perpetual banishment and the confiscation of such books;' it was also forbidden to each student in residence 'to buy any such book, under pain of disobedience and loss of the books, or otherwise as it might be determined by the university;' while a third provision made it obligatory on the university printers not to sell any book at a higher price than that sanctioned by the vice-chancellor and the syndics of the press[1].

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[1] See supra, p. 301.

[2] Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i, c. 27.

[3] Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i,

Thomas Thomas. *d.* 1588.

The director of the press, Thomas Thomas, was one well fitted for his post. He was a scholar of some attainments who, in his special province, laboured assiduously and successfully for the advancement of learning; and his Latin Dictionary, an onerous undertaking which is said to have cost him his life, must always be regarded as highly credit-

His Latin Dictionary.

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c. 27. The first book printed there,' says Strype, 'was a book of Ethics, made by one Case, a learned man there, entitled, *Speculum quaestionum moralium*. Which book the author dedicated to the said earl of Leicester, and to the lord Burghley, chancellor of the university.'

[1] *Stat. Acad. Cantab.*, p. 358; Cooper, *Annals*, II 415.

able to the scholarship of the Cambridge of his day[1]. In common with not a few of those who were at this time seeking to awaken a love for letters in the university, he was desirous of seeing the creed and discipline of the English Church more closely assimilated to that of Geneva, and by Martin Marprelate he is designated the 'Cambridge Puritan printer.' In the year 1586, he was led by these sympathies to venture on the publication of a work which Aylmer had already refused to sanction in London; this was a translation of the *Harmonia Confessionum Fidei*, another of the abortive efforts of continental theology to demonstrate the essential agreement of Lutheran and Calvinistic dogmatic teaching. The fact that Aylmer had condemned the treatise seems to have been the sole reason for Whitgift's exercise of his power of interference. On further examination, the book was pronounced innocuous, and the *Harmonia* was permitted to go forth to add its quota to the ceaseless controversy then troubling the learned world.

He publishes the *Harmonia Confessionum.*

The election to the vice-chancellorship for the academic year 1586-7 is to be noted as the last occasion on which that important office was filled by one who, at the time of his election, was not already the head of a college[2]. This was Dr Copcot, a fellow of Trinity, who succeeded before the close of his year of office to the mastership of Corpus Christi. He was a good scholar, and set moreover a praiseworthy example to students by his genuine devotion to learning; nor can his claim to the grateful remembrance of Cambridge be considered slight if we recall that it was to a great extent through his exhortations that Robert Hare of

The last election of one not a Head to the office of vice-chancellor.

Dr Copcot, master of Corpus Christi. *d.* 1590.

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[1] The work, which was dedicated to lord Burghley, reached in the year 1644 its fourteenth edition. It received the equivocal compliment of being pirated by the publisher of 'Rider's Latin Dictionary,' who was subsequently compelled by the executors of Thomas to make considerable alterations in the latter work. Herbert's Ames, pp. 1414–28.

[2] 'When within the walls of his own college (*i.e.* Trinity) he gave the upper hand to the master, Dr Still, but took it of him everywhere else.' Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi College* (ed. 1753) p. 119. Masters supposes Copcot's election to the office to have been 'a very rare, if not a singular instance.' Cole, however, enumerates eleven instances of the office of Vice-Chancellor being filled by one who at the time of his election was not a Head. See Cooper, *Annals*, II 429.

Caius was stimulated to the efforts which resulted in the valuable collections relating to the antiquities of the university now known by his name[1]. Copcot seems however to have incurred the special dislike of the Puritan party and became involved in more than one serious dispute with certain of its members both in his own college and in the university at large. The author of *Anti-Martinus* refers to him as one who was singled out for some of the coarsest abuse of the Martinists and warmly repudiates the aspersions which had been cast upon his character[2].

WILLIAM WHITAKER, master of St John's. *b.* 1548. *d.* 1595.

During Copcot's year of office it devolved on him to admit to the mastership of St John's the celebrated William Whitaker,—the Sherlock of the sixteenth century, and one who, if estimated by his contemporary reputation, may be regarded as the most distinguished of the many able men who have successively filled the post. Whitaker was related to Chaderton, the master of Emmanuel, having married his wife's sister, and in their general views the two appear to have had much in common[3]. Both, it can hardly be doubted, sympathised far more with the Puritan than with the Anglican party on questions of doctrine, and even with respect to

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[1] 'Collect. anno 1587, tempore venerabilis et eruditi viri Joannis Copcot S. T. P. tunc Vice-Cancellarii, qui me ad opus illud summopere incitavit.' Masters, *Hist. of Corpus Christi Coll.* p. 124.

[2] 'Quartus est Copcotus, cujus virtutes vobis (Cantabrigienses, apud quos vivit) ita sunt perspectae et cognitae, ut nostra oratione, nisi in Oxoniensium gratiam, non egerent. Tantum igitur hoc dico: illum esse virum innocentiorem, doctiorem, probiorem et undique digniorem quam ut in Christiana Rep. inimicis istis ludibriis exponi debeat. Et certe si quid sit, unde nostra Ecclesia apud exteras male audiat, hoc est, quod in Martinistis istis exagitandis et cohibendis plures Copcoti sedulitatem non imitentur.' *Anti-Martinus*, p. 53.

[3] It is creditable to Whitgift that he gave his support to Whitaker on the occasion of the latter's election to the mastership, although his Puritan leanings were strongly urged to his prejudice (Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iii, c. 15). Whitaker was also supported yet more warmly by Burghley. Dr Perne, who was accused of being unfavourable to his election, deemed it expedient altogether to disclaim the imputation in a letter to the chancellor, in which he 'thanked God he was too old an Head in Cambridge that day to join with any factious members in St John's.' *Ibid.*: see also *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i, c. 22; bk. ii. c. 7. 'Whitaker,' says Strype, 'lived at this time in a little house near the college: which gave these fellows occasion to add, *Tantum, tali ingenio praeditum, tam bene de ecclesia et evangelio meritum, inter oppidanos*, etc. i.e. should we suffer such a great man, furnished with such parts, that hath so well deserved of the church and the gospel, to live in a poor, strait, hired house of his own, among the townsmen?' *Annals*, ib.

'discipline'; but both shrank from the consequences that might follow upon an open avowal of that sympathy and condemned the coarseness and the intemperance which too often characterised the Puritan polemics. On Cartwright's most admired production Whitaker is said to have pronounced a far from flattering verdict[1]. His genuine preferences were however indicated by his attempt to expel from the college on rather inadequate grounds one of the fellows, Everard Digby[2], whose real offence consisted in a denunciation of the Calvinists as schismatics and a supposed leaning to Catholicism; nor does it seem to admit of reasonable doubt that, during his nine years' rule, the Puritan party at St John's gathered new strength. Cartwright occasionally stole up, it was reported, to secret meetings at the college, and sat in conclave with the master, Chaderton, Dod, and Fulk, while the *Disciplina* was talked over, added to, amended, and finally adopted as an adequate exposition of the true theory of a Christian Church[3]. The judicious historian of the society, divided it would seem between his respect for Whitaker's character and attainments and dislike of his doctrine, finds it impossible to deny that he had 'somewhat of the old leaven,' but suggests as a partial explanation that 'his marriage into the families of the Culvervells and Fenners,' and his acquaintance with men such as those above named might 'give him an insensible bias that way.' 'But it is harder,' continues the same writer, 'to cover him from connivance than from countenance given to these men; for that a new

His sympathy with the Puritan party.

He tries to expel Everard Digby from his fellowship at St John's.

Meetings of the Puritan leaders at St John's for the revision of the *Disciplina*.

Question of Whitaker's complicity in these meetings discussed by Baker.

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[1] 'Ne vivam, si quid unquam viderim dissolutius ac pene puerilius.' Baker-Mayor, p. 181.

[2] Strype (*Annals*, vol. III, bk. ii, c. 20) refers to a supposition that this Everard Digby was father of the Sir Everard Digby who was concerned in the Gunpowder Plot. It would be not uninteresting to trace a connexion between the embittered feelings which gave rise to that conspiracy and the bigotry which drove a sympathiser with Catholic doctrine from his fellowship in a Cambridge college. But the participator in the Gunpowder Plot was one of the Digbys of Stoke Dry in Rutland,—a grandson of Sir Kenelm Digby whose remarkable monument still exists in the parish church of that place,—and I have been informed by the present incumbent (the Rev. W. Hamilton Thompson) that Everard Digby of St John's was not the son of Sir Kenelm.

[3] Whitgift in a letter to Burghley (16 July, 1590) mentions, among those who attended these meetings, Whitaker, Cartwright, Travers, Chark, Greenham, and Perkins. Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 1.

race should grow up in his time, whereof Mr Henry Alvey (afterwards master of Trinity College in Dublin) was the head, though it might not altogether be prevented, yet that a general meeting or synod of the brethren should be held in St John's college, ann. 1589, Cartwright and others present, wherein *the book* OF DISCIPLINE *was corrected and perfected, and wherein it was agreed, that so many as would, should subscribe the said book*, could hardly have happened without the master's knowledge[1].'

Whitaker's reputation as a controversial writer.

It was however as the champion of Protestant doctrine, as the able antagonist of Campian, Sander, and Bellarmine, that Whitaker acquired his chief reputation[2]. His erudition, when we consider that he died before the age of forty-seven, was surprising; his arguments as a controversialist were closely reasoned and well sustained, while the dignity of his subject was not lessened in his hands by the scurrilities and personalities that too often disgraced the polemics of those days. Long after he had passed away, his university still recalled with pride that, alone among the schools of Protestantism she had educated a divine who had encountered the great doctor of Louvain on his own ground and had proved in no way inferior in the contest. And the distrust which too often attaches to the partial and exaggerated laudations of these times vanishes from our minds when we consider that Whitaker's attainments drew from Joseph Scaliger at Leyden the warmest expression of admiration[3],—

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[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 183.

[2] His claims in this respect were strongly urged by the senior fellows of the college in a letter to Burghley written about 1584: 'Si non esset Whitakerus, aut si noster non esset, aliumne athletam habemus illi parem, quem Rhemensibus praeclarisque Jesuitis et omnibus papistarum emissariis objiceremus?' Strype, *Annals*, III, bk. ii. c. 7.

[3] 'One of the greatest proofs of his learning and scholarship to me is' writes Cole, 'from an exclamation of Joseph Scaliger, a contemner of every person's abilities but his own, who from downright conviction of his great erudition, on reading some of his works then put into his hands, broke forth in these words—"Whitakerus! Oh! qu'il estoit bien docte!" *Scaligerana secunda*, II 621. An exclamation worth an hundred studied panegyrics.' Quoted in Baker-Mayor, p. 603. Compare the estimate of Andrew Melville: *Non ita aeterni Whitakerus acer* | *Luminis vindex, patriaeque lumen* | *Dixit aut sensit.* He assigns to Whitaker a place in the same category with Bucer, Peter Martyr, Calvin, and Beza. See his *Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria*, printed in George Herbert's *Works* (ed. Grosart), p. 305.

a tribute emphatically endorsed by the no less competent authority of Casaubon. His intense and protracted labours as a student were, indeed, far in excess of his physical powers, and may fairly be assigned as the chief cause of his premature end, but the closing year of his life also found him engaged in an arduous controversy, wherein a sense of no ordinary responsibility probably materially augmented the mental strain involved in the endeavour to determine a question of doctrine at that time regarded as of fundamental importance[1].

His final controversy.

By a recent writer, Whitgift's public career has been described not inaptly as consisting of 'two great battles,'—'one against the discipline of Calvin and another for the doctrine of Calvin[2]'; and however profitless to many the history of past theological controversy may seem, a certain knowledge of its outlines at this period becomes absolutely necessary to render our university history fairly intelligible. The 'Bishops' Bible,' brought out under Parker's auspices in 1568, was, like the *Institution of a Christian Man*[3], a production in which, whatever might be the opinion of its merits, Cambridge could claim a far larger share than Oxford; and it is a fact familiar to all students of theology that the views on the doctrines of 'election' and 'reprobation' embodied in the notes and preface to that edition are eminently Calvinistic,—in other words, they represent the tenets of that school of theology which down nearly to the close of the sixteenth century was largely predominant in the university. Hitherto, as we have before noted, the Puritan agitation had been directed almost exclusively against the English *discipline;* and Parker and Dering, Whitgift and Cartwright, Aylmer and Travers, strong as were their feelings of personal antagonism, were still with respect to doctrine in essential agree-

The predominant theology at Cambridge in the latter part of the sixteenth century eminently Calvinistic.

Doctrine and discipline.

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[1] There is a letter still extant, written by Whitaker 'From the dean of Pauls howse in London, Nov. 19, 1595' to Burghley, in which, after referring to the controversies in which he had become engaged, he presses his claim for preferment 'not that he might live more idly but more at liberty' (MS. Lansd. LXXX. art. 10; Heywood and Wright, *Univ. Trans.* II 62). It is easy now to discern in this appeal, written as it was only a fortnight before his death, a consciousness of over-taxed physical powers.

[2] Hunt, *Religious Thought in England*, I 91.

[3] See *supra*, p. 18.

ment. But the period of Whitaker's mastership of St John's may be looked upon as that when more fundamental divergencies began to appear—a change of which Everard Digby's invectives against Calvinistic tenets was one of the earliest indications. It contributed not a little to the warmth of controversial feeling in the university that the antagonistic schools were at this time represented by its two Divinity professors. The Regius professorship was held by Whitaker, who had been appointed in 1580. The lady Margaret chair, after Dr Still's retirement in 1573, had been held, but for a few months only, by John Handson. His successor,—whose tenure of the office (1574—96) was as remarkable for its length as that of Handson's for its brevity,—was Peter Baro, a native of France, who had quitted the study of the civil law for that of divinity, had afterwards resided some years at Geneva, and had there received ordination at the hands of Calvin himself[1]. He had been appointed to the professorship on the recommendation of Burghley and Perne[2], and appears to have filled it with credit, but his dissent from the sombre tenets of Calvinism was too plainly evinced to pass, from time to time, unchallenged[3]. He would seem indeed to have been one of a class by no means common at this period, and of which the celebrated Thomas Kirchmeyer[4] is perhaps the most notable example in the century,—in whom catholic habits of thought, and that wisdom which the true scholar gathers with the advancing years, triumphed over the prevailing bigotry. Origen himself augured not more hopefully respecting the final doom of the wise and good of pagan times. Father Paul weighed not with greater candour the questions in dispute between the respective supporters of Protestant and Tridentine doctrine. With the more

Opposing views of the two divinity professors.

PETER BARO *b.* 1534. *d.* 1599.

His character as a theologian.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 274–5.

[2] 'He was entertained at Peterhouse; and Dr Perne, the master, favoured him, and laboured with the lord treasurer, high chancellor of the university, to get some addition to his livelihood.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. ii, c. 2.

[3] According to Heylin (*Aerius Redivivus*, p. 341) Baro 'for more than 20 years' 'constantly maintained a different doctrine of predestination from that which had been taught by Calvin and his disciples; but he was never quarrelled for it till the year 1595.'

[4] *Supra*, p. 73.

advanced members of the Puritan party at Cambridge[1], Peter Baro accordingly soon found himself in collision, and more especially with Laurence Chaderton and Robert Some of Queens' College[2]. By the former indeed he was publicly attacked from the university pulpit, although Chaderton, when called upon to prove some of his assertions or insinuations was either unwilling or unable to do so[3].

William Barret.

The section represented by the lady Margaret professor was unquestionably that of the minority, but in the year 1595 he found a new and courageous ally in William Barret, a fellow of Gonville and Caius College, who in a sermon before the university ventured not merely to express his slight regard for the authority of Luther, Calvin, and Beza, but also to disparage the revered memories of Peter Martyr and Jerome Zanchius, and to inveigh against Francis Junius[4]. The fact that it is to this bold expression of theological heterodoxy that we owe a very notable assertion of Calvinistic dogmatism,—the well-known Lambeth Articles,—will sufficiently justify the insertion here of a brief outline of an episode on which Strype has dilated with more than his usual copiousness[5] and which is no less important in relation to the history of the university than to that of the English Church and of the developement of religious belief at large.

His sermon *ad clerum:* Easter, 1595.

This the occasion which gave rise to the LAMBETH ARTICLES.

Barret is cited before the vice-chancellor and Heads.

The sensation produced by Barret's sermon was such that it could not be overlooked by the authorities. Dr Duport, master of Jesus College, at that time filled the office of vice-

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[1] Among these, according to Strype, were also Whitaker; Goad, provost of King's; Humphry Tyndal, president of Queens'; John Duport, master of Jesus; Edmund Barwell, master of Christ's; that is to say seven out of the fifteen heads of colleges. See *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 14.

[2] Originally a pensioner of St John's; subsequently vice-president of Queens'; and in 1589 appointed master of Peterhouse. Cooper, *Athenae*, II 510–12.

[3] In Chaderton's exculpation of himself we have the Puritan laying aside his dislike of the *discipline* to defend the doctrine of the established Church: he affirmed when cited before the Heads (he was not *then* one of their number) that 'he neither publicly nor privately spake anything, either out of a study of contradiction, or with any mind of speaking evil of any man, but only publicly to teach and *defend the true doctrine of the Church of England*,' &c. Strype, *Annals*, III, bk. i. c. 5.

[4] See 'A Copy of Mr Barret's propositions, which he held at St Mary's in Cambridge. As given out and dispersed by some of St John's College.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, Append. no. 23.

[5] See *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, cc. 14, 15, 16, 17, and 18.

He is induced to make a public recantation, with which his enemies are dissatisfied.

chancellor, and his first endeavours were directed towards bringing Barret to a sense of his 'errors' at a private interview. His efforts proving fruitless, the offender was again cited before him, but on this occasion the other Heads attended and aided the vice-chancellor in his decision. It was not however until after three lengthy deliberations that it was decided to require from the imprudent preacher a public recantation of his former utterances. A paper was thereupon drawn up, which he consented to read aloud before the congregation at Great St Mary's[1]. His manner, however, was held to shew that he gave no heartfelt assent to the act, and in the course of less than three weeks the dogmatic feeling of the university found further expression in a paper subscribed by forty fellows of colleges, chiefly of the society of St John's, condemning his sermon as 'savouring of popish doctrine,' and stating that his retractation,—'being done and read in a very unreverend, profane, and impudent manner' rather 'added to than satisfied his offence, so that they hoped further order would be taken with him[2].'

He is again cited, and now appeals to Whitgift.

His reference to the heterodoxy of William Perkins of Christ's.

Barret was accordingly again cited before the vice-chancellor and Heads, and rarely has bigotry had less cause for congratulation on its exercise of arbitrary power. Despairing of obtaining an equitable decision from a tribunal in which the Puritan element was so strongly represented, he appealed to Whitgift; and while submitting in his own defence that his condemned discourse contained nothing contrary to the doctrine of the English Church, he contrived, very dexterously, to point out that there was at least one member of the Puritan party at Cambridge who, in this respect at least, was by no means equally free from reproach. The individual to whom he referred was no other than the afterwards celebrated William Perkins of Christ's College, whose theological reputation, some ten years later, was unsurpassed among the divines of his school, but whom Barret on this occasion could venture to designate in somewhat contemptuous terms[1]. The imputation which he thus threw out took its rise in the fact that Perkins had just published at the university press a small volume, *Of the Apostles' Creed*, in which he had ventured to call in question the doctrine of the descent into hell. 'Which article,' says Barret, 'nevertheless is publicly and most firmly believed and confessed by the Church, and by the faithful in the Church.' 'This tract,' he goes on to urge, 'is brought by the printer to the vice-chancellor and the rest of the examiners. It displeaseth them not. The ill book is approved, cometh abroad, and now is sold at London. All is well. Now what will become of me? I have laid down nothing against the doctrine of the Church, as he hath. And this, whatever it be that I have laid down, yet I have not exposed it in English. Should I not therefore be let alone, as well as he? No, by no means. For they do not only not approve of me and my opinion, but presently condemn me.' He concludes his appeal by urging that, having been stopped of his degree by his antagonists, he might be regarded as already sufficiently punished[2]. Together with this letter, he forwarded a copy of the indictment which the fellows of colleges had circulated against him accompanied by marginal notes in his own handwriting, in which he partly denied and partly explained away the several articles. Among other charges, that wherein he was described as having attributed blasphemy to Beza[3] was met by a qualified denial in which he nevertheless frankly admitted having imputed to the great continental reformer the use of somewhat ill-considered language[4].

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[1] See 'Mr Barret's retractation of some points delivered by him in his Clerum at St Mary's, anno 1595.' Printed in the original Latin by Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, Append. no. 22; translated in Fuller-Prickett and Wright, pp. 283–5.

[2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 14.

Barret complains of the injustice involved in his persecution, he having in no way contravened the doctrine of the Church.

His antagonists had prevented him from proceeding B.D.

He was accused of attributing blasphemy to Beza.

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[1] '-homuncio quidam.' See Strype, *Ibid.* Perkins, it should be noted, had already, by his censure of the practice of *kneeling* when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was received, and also of turning towards the east in the course of public worship, given evidence of his Puritanical tendencies. This was in a common-place delivered in Christ's College Chapel in 1587, a discourse which led to his being cited before the vice-chancellor and Heads. See Baker MSS. xxx 292.

[2] 'They have punished me enough, that they have stopped me of my degree.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 14.

[3] 'Beza blasphemed, who said, *Donum fidei a dono perseverantiae separari non potest.*' 'A Copy of Mr Barret's propositions, etc.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, Append. no. 23.

[4] 'I said not so, but that it was *inconsiderate dictum.*' Barret's mar-

THEODORE BEZA. *b.* 1519. *d.* 1605.

Estimation in which he was at this time held in England.

The *Codex Bezae*.

Whitgift's transcript of the *Codex*.

Had such an admission been made a few years before, we cannot doubt that it would forthwith have drawn upon its author peremptory rebuke, as indicating a spirit of highly reprehensible arrogance. At one time, no name had so readily commanded the assent of Protestant England as that of the eminent scholar and theologian who had succeeded to the chair, and almost to the reputation, of Calvin. The university moreover lay under no small debt of gratitude to Beza, for in the year 1582 its growing library had been further enriched by his presentation of a polyglot Pentateuch, printed at Constantinople, and of the renowned *Codex Bezae*[1]. Its sense of indebtedness was expressed in terms of eulogy which have evoked the censure of a later and less partial age. Beza, wrote Anthony Wingfield (on whom as public orator it devolved to convey the thanks of the university to the donor), was one whose authority, conjoined with that of Calvin, they esteemed unsurpassed by that of any other theologian past or present, and accounted second only to that of *Scripture itself*[2]. Whitgift evinced his estimate of the value of the *Codex*, by applying for permission to transcribe it entire, and the transcript, a work of much labour but no great value, is still preserved in the library of Trinity College[3].

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ginal note, *Ibid.* 'And therefore I produced some things against Joh. Calvin and Theodore Beza, and touched them by name: but against the rest said nothing at all. If those things which I said seemed too bitter, and were an occasion of scandal to any pious and truly religious, I repent me that I had used them.' Barret's answers to Whitgift. Strype, *Ibid.*, bk. iv, c. 16.

[1] Beza's letter to Burghley, as chancellor, on the occasion of his forwarding the two volumes of the polyglot Pentateuch, is printed in Strype, *Annals* III, bk. i, Append. no. 13. His letter to the university (6 Dec., 1581) when forwarding the Codex, is printed in Dr Scrivener's *Bezae Codex Cantabrigiensis*, together with Wingfield's letter of thanks. In October, 1582, Beza wrote again to Burghley, suggesting that the Pentateuch should be printed; this letter was accompanied by another, soliciting a loan of money for the Council of Geneva in their distress. Strype, *Ibid.* Append. nos. 14 and 15.

[2] 'Quanquam (si vere loqui volumus) insignes lucubrationes tuae theologicae, quae quotidie vigent apud nos et in omnium ore ac sermone volitant, tales sunt tamque divinis rebus accommodatae ut vel eo tantum nomine nunquam tibi satis debere posse videamur. Nam hoc scito, post unicae scripturae sacratissimam cognitionem, nullos unquam ex omni memoria temporum scriptores extitisse quos memorabili viro Johanni Calvino tibique praeferamus, ut vel hac sola beneficentia contentus majorem gratificandi modum non desideres.' *Epistolae Academiae*, II 474.

[3] 1584. 'Conceditur 2° Martii:

RICHARD BANCROFT.
b. 1544.
d. 1610.

Since the year when Wingfield's letter was penned, there had been growing up, however, in the minds of some of the leading members of the English episcopate, an increasing disinclination to defer, as readily as before, to the views of the continental Reformers. The somewhat authoritative style in which Beza's monitions were couched had roused their susceptibilities, and their change of view was at this time finding energetic expression from the pen of Richard Bancroft. That eminent polemic, who had been educated at Christ's College, was originally among the number of those who petitioned against the statutes of 1572, but he had subsequently warmly espoused the episcopalian cause and

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Quum reverendus in Christo pater et dominus D^{s} Johannes episcopus Wigorn: summo studio a vobis petat, ut liceat vestra bona cum venia, mutuo accipere Novum Test. Graecum (quo illud describat) quod nuper venerandus pater Theodorus Besa dono dedit Academiae, placet vobis ut D^{s} procancellarius modernus ejus in hoc negotio nuntius illum librum e bibliotheca vestra tollat ut describatur ea conditione ut praefatus liber non deportetur extra oppidum Cantebr. sed salvus et integer reponatur in bibliotheca vestra ante festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli proxime futurum sub poena § x$^{libr.}$ legalis monetae Angliae solvendarum cancellario magistris et scholaribus dictae universitatis et levandarum de bonis dicti procancellarii ad dictum festum St^{i} Michaelis Archangeli si conditio praemissa ex omni parte non conservetur.' Grace Book Δ. *f.* 141 *b.* 'Conceditur decimo Octobris: Quum Testamentum Novum nuper per D^{m} Bezam Academiae donatum mutuo traditum fuit reverendissimo patri D^{no} Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis jam elapsum et praefatus reverendissimus Pater per ingentia sua negotia infra praedictum tempus non potuit dictum librum describere placet vobis ut retineat praefatum librum sub conditionibus antea praescriptis usque ad festum Paschae proxime futurum.' 'Et decimo Aprilis quum Novum Testamentum per dominum Bezam Academiae donatum mutuo traditum fuit reverendissimo in Christo patri et Domino D. Johanni Cantuariensi usque ad festum Paschae proxime futurum et praefatus reverendissimus Dominus per ingentia sua negotia infra praedictum tempus nondum potuit dictum librum describere placet vobis ut idem retineat praefatum librum sub conditionibus praescriptis et obligacione antea per Doctorem Bell signata, sigillata, et deliberata usque ad festum St^{i} Michaelis Archangeli proxime futurum.' *Ibid. f.* 144 *a*. When we consider that Whitgift's transcription was made just before and after his elevation to the archbishopric, it must be admitted that it affords another proof of his genuine devotion to biblical studies. As regards the value of the transcript itself, it may suffice here to quote Dr Scrivener's observation, that 'it can be regarded as nothing more than a curious and rather unfavourable specimen of the scholarship and taste of the Elizabethan age.' It is not a little remarkable that Camden, who had seen it at Trinity College library (where it still remains), should have actually mistaken it for the *Codex Bezae* itself! I am indebted to the present librarian, the Rev. Robt. Sinker, for permission to inspect the transcript, which offers however no features here calling for note.

His writings against the Puritans.

had been appointed by Whitgift one of his chaplains[1]. In Bancroft, the Disciplinarians, the Martinists, and the Jesuit Seminarists, alike found no contemptible antagonist; and in two of his best known works, his *Survay* of Travers' *Disciplina*[2] and his *Daungerous Positions*[3] (both of which had recently appeared) the arguments and tactics of the Puritan party were exposed with an ability which found its reward in his promotion a few years later to the see of London. In conjunction with the archbishop, he appears about this time to have given the signal for the revolt of English Protestantism from the authority of Beza. The austere, hard-headed theologian, who aspired to something like an autocracy over the Protestant churches, and who, while denouncing with severity all that savoured of Roman doctrine and ritual, had condemned the free thought of Ramus, derided the Hebrew scholarship of Hugh Broughton, and scared Giordano Bruno from the precincts of Geneva, suddenly became aware that his *dictum* was regarded by a section of divines in the English Church with sentiments very different from those to which Anthony Wingfield had given such fulsome expression. In marked contrast to the qualified assent which Beza extended to the institution of the episcopal order in England, Bancroft, preaching at Paul's Cross in 1588, asserted the divine right of bishops. On another occasion, he did not scruple to institute a comparison between the language in which Leo the Great is to be found expressing himself in relation to questions within his legitimate jurisdiction and that which the divine of Geneva had employed in connexion with matters wherein he had no special claim to interfere, and plainly declared that the famous pontiff employed the less dictatorial tone. While so recently as the year 1594,

Bancroft and Whitgift both assume a less deferential attitude towards Beza.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, III 28–32.

[2] *A Survay of the pretended Holy Discipline. Contayning the beginninges, successe, parts, proceedings, authority, and doctrine of it: with some of the manifold, and materiall repugnances, varieties and vncertainties, in that behalfe. Faithfully gathered, by way of historicall narration, out of the bookes, and writinges, of principall fauorers of that platforme.* Anno 1593. London, 1593.

[3] *Daungerous positions and proceedings, published and practised within this Iland of Brytaine, under pretence of Reformation, and for the Presbiteriall Discipline.* London, 1593.

Whitgift himself had addressed to Beza a letter of courteous but grave remonstrance, in which he plainly attributed the publication of the *Disciplina* in England and the controversies of which that work had been the occasion[1] to the encouragement afforded by the language of the Calvinistic theologians of the continent.

Barret now avails himself of this change in Whitgift's views, and is partly defended by Whitgift.

It was this change of sentiment that Barret now skilfully converted into a weapon of defence; nor were his tactics unsuccessful, for Whitgift not only gave careful consideration to his appeal but rendered him practical aid. In a letter to the vice-chancellor and Heads he altogether condemned their late proceedings as marked by undue precipitancy and also as encroaching on his temporary jurisdiction[2]. He likewise pointed out that while they had acted in excess of their powers in one direction, they had been culpably remiss in asserting them in another, the statute[3] which gave them authority to repress the setting forth of heterodox doctrine or disloyal sentiments in the pulpit having been suffered to remain almost a dead letter 'in the colleges and in other places in the town.' Finally he declared that the recantation wrested from Barret itself contained 'that which was contrary to the doctrine holden and expressed by many sound and learned divines in the Church of England, and in other churches likewise, men of best account.' Such a rebuke, proceeding from such a quarter, necessarily drew forth an explanation from the vice-chancellor and Heads[4], who urged in their own behalf that the archiepiscopal censure had been pronounced on an *ex parte* statement, and at the same time entered upon a general vindication of the manner in which their authority had for some time past been exercised. 'They were,' they said, 'and had

The vice-chancellor and Heads vindicate their proceedings to Whitgift.

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[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 10.

[2] '—that university also being within his peculiar charge, in respect of the vacancy of the bishopric of Ely.' Strype, *Ibid.* bk. iv, c. 14: see also c. 15.

[3] The statute *de Concionibus* (*Documents*, I 481–2), which Whitgift in his second letter states had been 'procured especially by my labour and means.' Strype, *Ibid.* bk. iv, c. 15.

[4] According to Strype, 'the countenance that Barret met withal at London and Lambeth made him so confident, that soon after, at Cambridge, he revoked what he had retracted a little before.' *Ibid.* bk. iv. c. 15.

They maintain that their efforts for some years past had been attended by success in the repression of heterodoxy in the university.

been, careful to maintain the peace of the Church, both publicly in the university and privately in their several colleges; whereby *for these late years past there had been no contrary opposition made, or question moved;* however they were in the advertisement brought by Dr Clayton[1] otherwise charged in that behalf; so now their very humble suit to his Grace was, that,—in consideration of the cause itself, their manner of proceeding, their loving duties to the university and to his lordship, their care of government there, and the peace of the Church,—it would please the same to have that great regard of that government and of them, in respect of their places there, as appertained: and that such a bold, corrupt, and unlearned young fellow might not in a sort conceive encouragement in his bad course (having there kindled a fire like to grow to the disturbance of the whole Church, if it were not speedily met withal, and to the break-neck and confusion of good order and discipline in that university) by his seeking sinister means to make head against the vice-chancellor and his assistants[2].' In concluding this 'stiff letter,' as Strype not unjustly characterises it, Whitgift's petitioners (among whom were Goad, Some, Tyndal, Whitaker, Barwel, John Jegon, and Chaderton) plead the chancellor's sanction of their previous action and entreat that their proceedings against Barret may not be stayed.

Whitgift's reply: he accuses the university of a want of gratitude to himself.

The general tone of this letter, and not least, perhaps, the reference to Burghley, seem to have been highly displeasing to Whitgift, whose rejoinder was couched in terms of unusual warmth. He professes himself deeply wounded by their ingratitude. 'You have not borne me,' he writes, 'that affection which the vice-chancellor and Heads in my time, and in times past, have borne to my predecessors in that place. Of whom not one hath been in any matter less regarded than I have been in this; nor used, or rather abused, in such sort. And yet I dare compare with any one of them in affection to the university, and to every one of you; and in carefulness for the preservation of your privileges, and of any thing else which might in anywise concern that body.' He then goes on to point out that the authority he asserts is identical with that formerly claimed by Parker, and of a kind which it was fully within the prerogative of the Crown to grant. He warns those whom he addresses not to cherish the 'vain conceit' that *they* have the right 'in matters of controversy, to judge what is agreeable to the doctrine of the Church of England; what not,—the law expressly laying that upon her Majesty, and upon such as she shall by commission appoint to that purpose. And how far my authority under her Highness reacheth therein, I hope you will not give me occasion to try.' In conclusion, however, Whitgift frankly admits that Barret is scarcely known to him and altogether condemns the manner in which the latter had dealt with the points of doctrine referred to in the indictment. In fact, had he been apprised earlier of all the circumstances, he affirms that he would himself have been foremost in aiding to bring the offender to account[1].

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[1] The master of Magdalene, who had brought from London Whitgift's first letter. Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 14.

[2] Strype, *Ibid.* c. 15.

He asserts his right of interference as granted him by the Crown; but denies that the Heads have power to decide in questions of doctrine.

Exculpates himself with regard to Barret.

Language like this has not the ring that belongs to the utterances of one who has his quarrel just. The disputant who is well assured that the right is on his side, seldom deems it necessary to introduce a personal element; nor is it difficult to see that, under an affectation of injured feeling, the writer was really endeavouring to escape from the position which he had somewhat incautiously assumed. He was not only insisting on a right of interference which was highly questionable, but he was lending his support to one who had undoubtedly called in question the doctrine of the Church of England as at that time interpreted by her ablest apologists. It must however be admitted that Whitgift had some reason for dissatisfaction at the treatment he had received at Cambridge. The mastership of Peterhouse, where Dr Perne's place knew him no more[2], was now held by Robert Some of Queens'; and it was well known that he had been indebted for this preferment chiefly to the favour of Whitgift[3]. But

He betrays his consciousness that Barret's doctrine could not be reconciled with that then professed by the English Church.

Conduct of Robert Some.

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[1] Strype, *Ibid.*

[2] *Infra*, p. 341.

[3] By virtue of Whitgift's temporary authority as administrator of the

he was an intolerant and narrow-minded Calvinist, by whom Peter Baro, Barret, and their party, but more especially the Margaret professor,—the poor struggling scholar whom Some's predecessor had generously befriended,—were regarded with special dislike, and a sense of personal obligation was not permitted to interfere with the display of his theological animosities. While, therefore, the foregoing proceedings against Barret were still pending, Some did not scruple to give further evidence of his sympathy with the Puritan party, by assailing from the university pulpit, on one occasion, the lady Margaret professor, on another (according to the popular interpretation of his choice of a text and his application of the same) the primate himself, his own patron[1]. It would, we cannot but think, have better become both Whitgift himself and his high office, if he had allowed this somewhat disingenuous attack to pass unnoticed. But the manner in which the shaft was pointed and the quarter from whence it was discharged, seem to have pierced his habitual equanimity; and in the letter to the authorities above cited, he adverts in indignant terms to the animus of Some's discourse, peremptorily requesting those whom he addresses to 'take care of this matter,—otherwise it would not be forgotten.' The dexterity with which the vice-chancellor and Heads evaded this angry bolt is deserving of all praise. Nothing, they avow, can be further from their wishes than to offend 'so ancient and honourable a friend to the university.' They affect even to see sufficient reason for enquiring more completely into the question which Whitgift had raised concerning their own jurisdiction, and beg accordingly for time in

His covert attack on Whitgift.

Whitgift's resentment.

Dexterous tactics of the academic authorities.

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vacant see of Ely (*supra*, p. 333, note 2). Whitgift selected Some from two persons who had been nominated for the mastership by the fellows of the college. Cooper, *Athenae*, II 511.

[1] 'His text, it seems, was out of *Acts*, iv 5 &c.—"Their rulers, and elders, and scribes, and Annas the high priest, and Caiaphas, and JOHN, and Alexander, and as many as were of the kindred of the high priest, were gathered together at Jerusalem. And when they had set them in the midst, they asked, By what power, or by what name, have ye done this?" Turning all this unto the archbishop that bore one of these names, and the rest of the high commission: comparing them unto these Jewish persecutors; and those that were convented before before them, to Peter and John, the preachers of Christ and his doctrine.' Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 15.

order 'to have farther search made of their privileges and charters.' As regards Dr Some, they protest that although they had themselves been present at his discourse, none of them had then understood his language, as he spoke of JOHN and Caiaphas, to carry with it any covert allusion to him whom they are now addressing, while Dr Some himself was ready to come forward and declare on his oath that he was altogether innocent of any such sinister intention[1].

Burghley endeavours to bring about a reconciliation.

This letter was soon followed by one, of a more private character, from Whitaker, who pleaded in a deferential tone the cause of the Heads. The latter, however, evidently not without misgivings with respect to the archbishop's ultimate decision, had in the mean time taken refuge under the wing of their chancellor[2]. To Burghley, therefore, Whitgift next addressed a letter, of which the main purport was to beg that he would hold his judgment in suspense until further informed of the whole controversy. The cautious chancellor appears to have done his best to conciliate both parties and allay all angry feeling. He had, in the first instance, expressed his intention of conferring with the archbishop and then leaving the question to his decision. When, however, the Heads represented that such a course would be an infringement of the privileges of the university,—which claimed the exclusive power of passing judgement upon and repressing 'any opinion tending to innovation' put forth in its own pulpits,—he gave them permission to proceed against Barret as they thought fit. Finally, on receiving Whitgift's letter, he ordered that all proceedings should be stayed for the present; and his tact and good sense were perhaps never more apparent than in the advice which he further gave that the Heads should themselves memorialize the archbishop, in order that Barret and his doctrines might be subjected to a

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[1] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 15.

[2] A certain inconsistency in the conduct of the Heads is to be noted in the fact that while they had just assured Whitgift of their intention of having 'further search' made in the archives of the university for the purpose of more exactly ascertaining its privileges, in their letter to Burghley they insist on the legality of their position as beyond dispute, alleging that 'their statutes, *as they pretended*' (to quote Strype's sarcastic expression), 'bore them out.' *Ibid.* Oxford edit. II 258.

Barret is summoned by Whitgift to Lambeth, and finally consents to read a second recantation before the university.

fuller and final decision. To this request Whitgift acceded, and questions with regard to certain articles of doctrine were prepared at Lambeth and sent down to Cambridge, to which Barret was required to give his written replies. His answers were then transmitted to the archbishop with the observations of the Heads appended. As the result of this examination, Barret was summoned to Lambeth. But he did not proceed thither alone. Among the heads at Cambridge none was more conspicuous for his devotion to Calvinistic tenets than Humphry Tyndal, president of Queens' College; none was so widely known for his theological acquirements as Whitaker. These two were now summoned by Whitgift to aid him in his deliberations, and accompanied Barret to Lambeth. Among the Calvinistic party, the anxiety was intense lest the master of St John's should prove insufficiently zealous in their behalf; but they were reassured when it was known that, on setting out on his journey, he had given Chaderton (his brother-in-law) his hand and promised 'that he would stand to God's cause against the Lutherans[1].' The final result may easily be surmised. At Lambeth, after one or two conferences, Barret was informed that he held, on certain points, views fraught with mischievous error. And at last, though with no little reluctance, he made admission of his heterodoxy, and consented to sign another recantation, drawn up this time by Whitgift himself, and publicly to read the same before the university at Cambridge[2].

THE LAMBETH ARTICLES: 1595.

It was on the above occasion, in the course of the conferences between the archbishop and the two Cambridge Heads, that, with the design of averting like controversies in the future, the celebrated Lambeth Articles were drawn up. They may fairly therefore be looked upon as the outcome of the ascendency which Calvinistic doctrine had obtained at Cambridge[3]; and by the Calvinistic party in the university,—which, it will have been noted, was far wider than, though inclusive of, the Puritan,—they were hailed as a great victory. It was, however, a victory disastrous alike for the Church and for the academic community:—for the Church, as marking the introduction of a dogmatic intolerance before unknown in her Articles, and committing her to what has been described as 'an utterly uncatholic and essentially immoral formula of faith[1],'—for the university, as resulting in the loss of one whom men at that time regarded as her greatest living ornament[2].

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[1] See extracts from Ward's *Adversaria* in Baker MSS. XI 346.

[2] Strype, *Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 16.

[3] Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoirs, etc.*, ed. 1703, p. 86) attributes the extreme character of the Articles to the influence of Richard Fletcher, bishop of London, a former fellow of Corpus Christi, Cambridge. Fletcher's sudden death, a few months after the publication of the Articles, was probably partly caused by his sense of the opposition they had evoked and the royal displeasure (see Cooper,

Death of Whitaker: 4 Dec. 1595.

Arduous studies and grave responsibilities were not the only burdens at this time weighing upon the master of St John's. While engaged in the repression of heterodoxy in the university, he had himself been called upon to encounter the accusation of encouraging schism in his own college, where the Puritan conclaves that assembled, it was believed with his consent, were exaggerated by report into synods of an actual Presbytery[3]. On his return from Lambeth, shaken and fatigued by the long winter journey, he was seized with a fever against which his exhausted energies were unable to rally, and he died in the following

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Athenae, II 205). Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, a former master of Pembroke, seems to have yielded his assent to the Articles on somewhat different grounds. He was one of the few English divines who still bestowed any large amount of attention on patristic theology, and his regard for the authority of Augustine was excessive. See Harington's *Short View*, p. 191; Tulloch, *Rational Theology*, I, 44; Cooper, *Athenae*, II 427. Dr Tulloch erroneously assigns Barret and his controversy to Oxford.

[1] Perry, *Hist. of the English Church*, p. 351. The Lambeth Articles were embodied in the 'Irish Articles' of 1615 and in the Westminster Confession of Faith. 'But in neither,' says Dr Tulloch, 'are the logical inferences drawn from the primary predestination affirmation presented in so naked, abrupt, and coarse a manner; while the ninth and concluding statement of the Lambeth series stands absolutely alone in its appalling simplicity.' *Rational Theology*, I 44.

[2] 'The pride and ornament of Cambridge.' Churton's *Nowell*.

[3] On enquiry, it was found that the charge of holding a presbytery could not be proved, though a *classis* was undoubtedly held in the college, but even of this, Whitaker (in spite of Baker's assertion, *supra*, p. 323) may fairly be supposed to have been ignorant. A memorial, signed by some of the fellows after Whitaker's death, would lead us to infer that he was too much engrossed by his studies to give sufficient attention to the college discipline. See Baker-Mayor, pp. 600–2; Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 4. For the 'classis' see Bancroft, *Daungerous Positions*, pp. 89, 92; Fuller, *Church History*, cent. xvi, bk. 9.

Whitaker's contemporary and subsequent reputation.

December in the forty-seventh year of his age. 'The college,' says Baker, 'gave him a public funeral, the manner of which is described in his Life, as the expense of it, to the honour of the society, does yet stand upon their books[1].' A funeral oration was delivered in the college chapel by John Bois (already a rising scholar), and another at St Mary's by Dr Goad, where, says Fuller, 'so sad was the whole congregation, that one might as soon therein have found a face without eyes, as eyes without tears[2].' His wider reputation comes home to us as we note how De Thou, in his great *History*, pauses to record his premature but peaceful end[3]; and how, with the adherents of that school of divinity which he ably represented, his name was long a watchword and his dictum almost final[4]. Unlike too many of the other leaders of his Church, Whitaker had bestowed but small thought on preferment or on wealth, and like his predecessor in the lady Margaret chair, he died in poverty,—a circumstance which Baker, not without reason, regards as involving something like a national stigma[5].

Death of Dr Perne, 26 April, 1589.

While controversy had been thus absorbing to itself the chief share of men's thoughts and energies in the learned world, another Head, who had long played no insignificant part in the university, passed quietly from the scene. Dr Perne, while on a visit to Whitgift at Lambeth, and there partaking of a hospitality which it must have been a special pleasure to the latter to accord to the protector of his youth, was carried off by illness[6]. He had seen his threescore years and ten, and it may safely be asserted that he left

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[1] Baker-Mayor, pp. 185–6.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 287. 'Remember,' notes Samuel Ward in his *Adversaria*, 'what a sorrowful day the buryal of Dr Whitaker was—how Dr Goad and Mr Bois both praised him for his great humility, joined with so great gifts!' Baker MSS. xi 346.

[3] —'magni nominis inter suos theologus.. quanquam vix xlvii aetatis annum superasset, ita viribus defectus ut instar infantuli placide ac sine ulla convulsione spiritum efflaverit.' Thuanus, *Historia*, v 504.

[4] 'With what zeal were ecclesiastical antiquities studied at Cambridge, after Whitaker pointed the way!' Ranke, *Hist. of England*, i 454. 'One so exactly qualified, that the professor's chair may seem made for him, and he for it, they mutually so fitted each other.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 287.

[5] Baker-Mayor, p. 188.

[6] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iii, c. 24.

His career and character.

behind him at Cambridge no one whose life had been so closely and so conspicuously interwoven with the history of the university as his own. For thirty-six years, while at most of the other colleges master had followed master in quick succession[1], his easy rule at Peterhouse had continued but little disturbed. John Penry had lampooned him, it is true, in his own college[2]; Gabriel Harvey had satirized him from over the way at Pembroke[3]; but throughout the university, among young and old alike, there seems to have been small inclination to deal out harsh measure to a genial and kindly-hearted scholar, who was doing much good work in a quiet way, and against whom no heavier charge could be brought than that of having evinced a decided disinclination to become a martyr. The lessons of his own long experience, on the other hand, could hardly but have inclined him to tolerance. He had presided at the exhumation of the remains of Bucer and Fagius, and he had taken part in the proceedings whereby it was sought to efface the memory of that odious deed. He had sat in convocation in the days of queen Mary, and he had denounced the pretensions of the papacy in the royal presence of Elizabeth. He could remember the time when Cheke and Smith, considerably his juniors in academic status, had proposed their daring innovations in Greek pronunciation, and he had lived to note the melancholy end of the one and to preach the funeral sermon of the other. He had seen the rise and departure of Cartwright, of Robert Browne, and of Harrison, and of their followers more than he could number. If, amid so many fluctuations of belief and doctrine, he himself had vacillated and changed, he could at least plead that he had ever remained loyal to the cause of learning; while, as we sum the lesson of his life, we may contrast the permanence of his unobtrusive labours in behalf of letters, with the oblivion that has long ago overtaken alike the reputation and the writings of not a few who despised in him the seeming Gallio of their age[1].

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[1] The only one of the contemporary Heads whose tenure of office exceeded Dr Perne's was Roger Goad, who held the provostship of King's from 1569 to 1610; next to Perne in this respect were John Mey of St Catherine's, who was master from 1559 to 1577, and Hawford of Christ's, master from 1559 to 1581.

[2] He is said to have turned Perne's new statutes into doggrel rhymes and to have made a byeword of his bald pate. Cooper, *Athenae*, II 48.

[3] *Ibid.* II 49.

His efforts on behalf of the university library.

How he laboured to add to the slender stores of the university library, we have already noted, and a further effort in the same direction constitutes one of the latest glimpses that we gain of his career. John, lord Lumley, a nobleman whose name comes frequently under our notice in the course of Elizabeth's reign, had formerly been a member of Queens' College, where he matriculated as a fellow-commoner in 1549, at which time Perne was dean of the society[2]. In the year 1559, however, lord Lumley had been elected through the influence of his father-in-law, the earl of Arundel, to the high-stewardship of the university of Oxford, and not a little misgiving was felt lest his preference in future might be bestowed on the latter community. To scholars this could not be a matter of indifference, for his splendid library, which moved the envy even of Dr Perne, was considered the finest collection of books in England, and it was known that the owner contemplated the alienation of a portion of its treasures. The skilful mediation of the master of Peterhouse with his old fellow-collegian, aided by the advocacy of Whitgift, effected however a satisfactory result; and eventually eighty-four volumes were bestowed on the library at Cambridge, while forty folios only found their way to the Bodleian[1]; the rest being transferred bodily to the Royal library.

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[1] The following extract, from an elaborate eulogy by an unknown hand, gives us some idea of his reputation among his contemporaries: 'Certe Academia nostra Cantebrigiensis se multum illi debere et multis nominibus obligari palam et publice profitetur, et perpetuam illius memoriam celebrare pollicetur. Is amplissimum procancellariatus munus quintum gessit, et privatus, opere et consilio procancellariis nunquam defuit. In maximis et difficillimis Academiae negotiis, aut solus, aut cum aliis, semper legatione ad principes nostros, ut ad proceres regni regiaeque majestatis a consiliis, bene et feliciter functus est. Cujus prudentia, imminentia pericula saepe declinata, et amplissimis nostra respublica aucta et munita est privilegiis et immunitatibus.' 'From a printed sheet of Paper, containing a Catalogue of Dr Perne's Medals, kept with them in the Public Library, Cambridge.' Baker MSS. xxix 183. The author of the *Antimartinus* appears to me to sum up his character very fairly: 'licet timiditatis notam infoeliciorem non evaserit, fuit tamen doctissimus, afflictis fidelibus benignus, et *academiae Cantabrigiensi amicus maxime necessarius*. Nam non solum vivus in illius occupationibus se consumpsit; sed mortuus non contemnenda suae benevolentiae monumenta (si vera sit fama) testamento suo reliquit.' p. 53.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 45, 517; Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 377. Perne's encomiast does not omit to record his benefactions to Queens' College as well as to Peterhouse: 'Quanta vero munificentia, libris, aedificiis, et aliis donariis *utrumque collegium* amplificaverit, dicere non est necesse: quum verisimile sit, sodales eorum collegiorum nunquam commissuros ut tanti et tam liberalis patroni benevolentia et paterna procuratio in ingratae oblivionis dormitorio sepulta obruantur.' Baker MSS. xxix 183. Dr Perne's benefactions to Queens' consisted of four messuages in St Botolph's parish, and 'a bowl or goblet, with a cover all gilt, weighing 43 oz.: this unfortunately went to Oxford in 1642 to be melted down for the use of Charles I.' Searle, *u. s.*

Mr Bradshaw's account of the library at this period.

Mr Bradshaw, in his valuable sketch of the history of the university library, has observed that the feelings with which Dr Perne could at this time contemplate the collection must have been mingled with something of wonder as he contrasted its appearance with that which it had presented in the year of his proctorship[2]. How systematically he had watched over the interests of the institution may be seen from the following extract from the above sketch, a quotation which could nowhere be more fitly introduced than in connexion with his name. 'In July, 1577, we find for the first time a member of the university appointed librarian, at an annual stipend of £10. The person chosen was William James, a Peterhouse man, educated under Perne and probably chosen by him. From some cause, however, James ceased to be librarian at Midsummer, 1581, and a new arrangement was made. A tax was imposed upon degrees, and Richard Moody, the school-keeper, was then made keeper of the library at a salary of five marks a year. Next year a stringent set of rules was drawn up for the working of the library and the conduct of the keeper,—rules most excellent and careful in themselves, but reminding one only too forcibly of the numerous orders made in much more recent times and now buried in minute-books, all having this in common, that they were framed with the best intentions, but by persons who seem to have thought that such orders were a living power and could work themselves. Certain it is that the articles of 1582 have not left much impression upon the library, and the lists, which might have preserved to us the memory of our benefactors, have long since disappeared....At this point we find two fresh instances of Dr Perne's anxiety for the library. In the vice-chancellor's accounts for 1584—5, is a payment "for a carte to bring certayne written bookis from Peter howse to the schooles, gyven by Mr Dr Perne to the librarye," and also "for twoe that did helpe to lade and unlade the same." Perne also bequeathed to the library 'all the old doctors and historians in written hand in parchment or paper that he had at Cambridge or Ely[1].' 'These two gifts,' continues Mr Bradshaw, 'from the very terms in which they are described, must have been something very considerable; and it is not unlikely that about a hundred volumes of MSS., which certainly came to the library between 1575 and 1600, but which have hitherto lain unclaimed, are to be put down to Perne's munificence[2]. Among them is an eighth-century copy of the Latin Gospels, which of itself would deserve a special commemoration.

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[1] Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i, c. 27; Cooper, *Athenae*, II 520.

[2] The year 1546–7.

'Between these two last dates, in 1586, the books had accumulated to such an extent that Rotherham's library must have been quite unable to hold them. A grace was passed to restore the Regius Divinity School (the original Common Library) to its former use, and the room was again adapted to the use of the library at a cost of more than £125. In 1591 Dr Lorkin died and left his medical books to the university;

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 47–48.

[2] The following extract, from the panegyric already quoted, points to other benefactions which Perne was instrumental in procuring for the library: '*Ejus industria et petitione* ornatissimi viri, Dominus Mathaeus Parker, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, *centum:* Dominus Nicholaus Bacon, nobilissimus heros et miles, magni sigilli Angliae custos, *nonaginta quatuor:* Reverendus Pater et Dominus Robertus Horne, episcopus Winton. (praeter quaedam aenea admirandae pulchritudinis et formae ad usum et ornatum reipublicae nostrae data pondera) *quinquaginta:* Dominus Jacobus Pilkington, episcopus Dunelmensis, *viginti:* Dominus Richardus Barnes, ejusdem sedis episcopus, *decem:* Dominus Gulielmus Chaderton, episcopus Cestrensis, *quatuor:* et Dominus Georgius Gardiner, ecclesiae cathedralis Nordovicensis decanus, *octo* eximia rarae disciplinae volumina, universitatis nostrae publicae bibliothecae (quorundam hominum negligentia, et temporis iniquitate, *tunc tantum non fato suo functae*) quo sic labentibus bonis litteris et studiis succurrerent, contulere.' Baker MSS. XXIX 183. The existing catalogues give the names of all these books.

and in 1598 lord Lumley sent, as stated above, a number of duplicates from his library, many of which had belonged to archbishop Cranmer and have his autograph "Thomas Cantuarien" at the beginning. Lord Burghley is also said to have given books[1]. This period closes in 1600 with the publication of the *Ecloga* of Thomas James, Bodley's first librarian. It is a list of all the manuscripts in the university and college libraries, and in default of documents of our own, it is interesting to learn here the progress which had been made in our collection of manuscripts between 1573 and 1600. It at this time contained 260 volumes, and the chief source of dissatisfaction is that for the greater part of them we can only conjecture to whom we are indebted. It is quite possible that further search, especially at Peterhouse, might bring to light some documents which would shew more clearly the position which Perne is entitled to hold in our recollection as the restorer of the library in the sixteenth century[2].'

Election of John Overall to the Regius professorship.

The task of selecting successors to the two posts rendered vacant by Whitaker's death demanded more than ordinary care. Eventually, John Overall, fellow of Trinity, afterwards bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, a divine of less pronounced sympathies with Calvinistic doctrine and the Puritan party, was appointed to the Regius professorship; while Richard Clayton, a former fellow of St John's, but now master of Magdalene, returned to rule over the society of which he had once been a member. It cannot be said that in this capacity he in any way sustained the reputation of his predecessor; Baker, indeed, implies that the college declined perceptibly in learning under his rule; but the fellows, who

Election of Richard Clayton to the mastership of St John's: 22 Dec. 1595.

Clayton a royal nominee.

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[1] Beza's letter to Burghley, on the occasion of forwarding the two volumes of the polyglot Pentateuch, implies that, according to accounts that had reached him, he believed the chancellor to be almost refounding the library at Cambridge:—'Quod praesertim intelligam dignissimum sapientia praestantiaque tua monumentum, id est, instructissimam bibliothecam abs te in inclyta Cantabrigiensi academia, cui summa tibi procuratio commissa est, apparari.' Strype, *Annals*, vol. III, bk. i, Append. no. 13. But these rumours, Mr Bradshaw suggests, 'may have confounded the chancellor personally with the university over which he presided as no trace exists of any actual gift of Burghley's.'

[2] *The University Library*, pp. 14–17.

would have much preferred to elect Dr Playfere, one of their own body, might console themselves with the reflexion that, in this instance, the interference of the Crown had left them practically no choice[1]. Nor was the new master altogether wanting in fitness for his post. He was regarded with special favour by Elizabeth and was a man of some practical talent; while his memory is perpetuated in the college by the fact that it is indebted to his exertions for the erection of its noble second court[2]. 'It was Mr Bois'[3] observation,' says Baker, 'that about this time, as the college begun to rise in buildings, so it declined in learning; which was certainly very true, for the master not long after his coming hither having brought them the agreeable news of a new court, they were so overjoyed or so overbusied with architecture, that their other studies were intermitted and the noise of axes and hammers disturbed them in their proper business. The same person observes that under Dr Whitaker the society flourished most in learning, insomuch that they were then so crowded that one court was hardly able to contain the crowd, and therefore it was a very laudable design to provide more room, had they, whilst the second court was going up, taken equal care to preserve their numbers; the fault was that whilst they provided for room they did not want it[4].'

His merits as a master.

The enlargement of the college accompanied by a decline in numbers.

The qualities which characterised Playfere were certainly

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[1] Baker-Mayor, p. 190.

[2] It is when contrasting Dr Clayton's merits with those of his successor, Owen Gwyn, that Baker makes his somewhat surprising declaration in favour of crown appointments as preferable to elections by the fellows: 'To say nothing,' he observes, 'of the factions and divisions that might be avoided by such a course, it is but too evident that *the crown usually makes better masters than colleges choose: the one sends governors, the others choose such as will be governed*, at least such with whom they can be easy, or that will not sit too hard upon them. And whoever impartially views most of our elections, will I believe observe that good nature and a sociable temper are generally made the first ingredients in a master.' *Ibid.* p. 199. He further observes, however, that Clayton did 'not leave so much as one book to the library to preserve his memory, a usual respect even from those that have done least for the college.' 'I have often observed,' he adds, 'that they that have profited most by the college have done the least for it when they come to die, being willing, it seems, to make a gift of what they leave, rather than bestow it where it may be thought a debt.' *Ibid.* pp. 197 and 196.

[3] John Bois, the Greek scholar, and one of the translators of the Bible: see *supra*, p. 340.

[4] Baker-Mayor, pp. 190–1.

THOMAS PLAYFERE *b.* 1561. *d.* 1609.

of a kind that better became a college Head. He was distinguished as an eloquent preacher[1] and also as having at his command a singularly graceful and correct Latin style, and his acquirements in this latter respect obtained for him in the course of his career a compliment which to many will perhaps seem to outweigh all his other claims to distinction,—a request from Francis Bacon that he would render the *Advancement of Learning* into Latin[2]. It was not long before Playfere was in some measure compensated for being passed over in the election to the mastership of St John's, by his appointment as successor to Peter Baro in the lady Margaret professorship; but the manner in which the vacancy of that chair had been brought about is a far from creditable episode in Cambridge history. Within a few weeks after Whitaker's death, Baro had ventured, when preaching at St Mary's, to criticise the Lambeth Articles, with all the authority that attached to his long labours as a scholar, and all the vantage conferred by his position as a professor. His observations were conceived in no captious spirit, but rather with the design of justifying his acceptance of the new formula and of explaining the construction which he placed upon its doctrine. The Calvinistic party, flushed with their recent victory, were however incensed at his presumption, for his discourse was looked upon by them as an attempt to re-open a controversy which they fondly hoped had been set at rest for ever[3]. Although it was the Christmas vacation, and but few of the Heads were in Cambridge, the vice-chancellor, Roger Goad, felt himself under the necessity, after a consultation with one or two of their number, of communicating with Whitgift concerning 'this breach of the peace of the

Playfere elected lady Margaret professor in the place of Peter Baro: Dec. 1596.

Circumstances that led to Baro's retirement.

His sermon at St Mary's 12 Jan. 1596, and its consequences.

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[1] In the dedication of Playfere's *Nine Sermons* (1621) to Sir Reynald Argal, he is characterised as 'the onely glory of his times, while he lived.' See also the highly-wrought encomium in the address 'To the Reader.'

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 515. A note appended to Playfere's name in College Register of Admissions to Fellowships implies that he was not altogether of sound mind in his latter years (see Baker-Mayor, p. 290), a statement of which I have found no corroboration.

[3] '—the unhappy and unlooked-for reviving which he heard yesterday at the *clerum* sermon, to his great grief, from Dr Baro, would be, he feared, a great and dangerous occasion of overturning that their quiet state, with so comfortable hope begun.' Abstract of letter from Roger Goad to Whitgift; Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 17.

university.' Within two days of the delivery of his sermon, Baro had himself become so far conscious of the dissatisfaction occasioned by his utterances, that he deemed it expedient to defend his conduct in a letter to Whitgift, and eventually to seek a personal interview. His appeal, however, was fruitless. His 'troublesome course of contending' seemed to the archbishop without excuse; even his nationality was brought forward as an aggravation of his offence[1], although, as Strype, with unwonted acuteness, observes, the doctrine which he had combated was at least equally foreign; and the archbishop was too definitely pledged to the defence of the new Articles to be able to entertain any proposition which involved their reconsideration or modification. He could consequently only advise that the academic authorities should make Baro's orthodoxy a subject of strict investigation and then further report to him in the matter. Baro was accordingly forthwith cited, like Barret, before the vice-chancellor and Heads, and required to produce the manuscript of his sermon, while he was peremptorily forbidden to enter upon further discussion of the doctrine involved in the Lambeth Articles. It is probable that the authorities would have proceeded to yet harsher measures, had not a further reference of the matter to the chancellor revealed the fact that Baro, though representing only a small minority, was not altogether without sympathisers and friends[2]. Burghley himself, who had from the first expressed his disapproval of the Lambeth Articles, gave it as his opinion, and that too with an emphasis unusual in his cautious utterances, that Baro had been too rigorously

Opposed opinions of Whitgift and Burghley.

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[1] '—how unfit it was that he, being a stranger, and receiving such courtesy and friendship here of goodwill, and not for any need we had of him (God be thanked), should be so busy in another commonwealth, and make himself as it were author of new stirs and contentions in this Church.' Abstract of letter from Whitgift to Roger Goade, 13 Jan. 1596 (N.S.). Strype, *Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 17.

[2] Baro appears to have had sympathisers at Court: Strype says, 'But forasmuch as there was something ado there [*i. e. at London, and at the Court it seems*] about the said propositions, &c., the archbishop would not have them, as he added, to proceed to any determination against him, until they had advertised him of his answer,' etc. Strype, *Ibid.* Both Heylin (*Presbyterians*, p. 344) and Sir Philip Warwick (*Memoires*, p. 86) concur in asserting that Elizabeth and Burghley evinced such displeasure at the Lambeth Articles that, in the words of the latter, 'soon after a copie of them was scarse to be found in Cambridge.'

Baro defended by an influential minority.

His ultimate resignation of his chair.

dealt with[1]. Overall, in like manner, altogether declined to affirm that the views put forth by his brother professor were heterodox[2]; and his opinion was supported by others whose sentiments could not prudently be disregarded,—by the recently elected master of St John's; by Harsnet a fellow of Pembroke and afterwards archbishop of York[3]; and by Lancelot Andrewes, also fellow of the same society, in whom discerning judges already recognised a promise which bade fair to add another name to the long succession which sheds lustre on that ancient house. To these and other like weighty expressions of dissent beyond the precincts of the university, we may attribute the fact that in the sequel the vice-chancellor and Heads deemed it prudent to abstain from further proceedings against Baro, and that he was not suspended from his professorial duties. Amid the wide-spread feeling that had been evoked against him, the efforts of his supporters availed him, however, but little; he had not the courage to solicit the usual biennial reappointment to his chair[4], and before the year had closed he deemed it necessary to leave Cambridge; *Fugio, ne fugarer*,—the expression attributed to him on the occasion, sufficiently indicates the moral compulsion under which he acted. He removed to London, where he died some three years afterwards and was honoured with an imposing funeral by that growing party, with Bancroft at their head, who shared his religious tenets[1].

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[1] Strype cites from the Trinity MS. the following expressions from Burghley's letter: 'Ye may punish him, if ye will; but ye shall do it for well doing, &c. in holding the truth in mine opinion. Ye sift him with interrogatories as if he were a thief,' etc. etc. Strype, *Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 18.

[2] The Regius professor was himself attacked by Some, a few years later, as holding unorthodox opinions. Cooper, *Athenae*, II 511. 'Overall's not subscribing' is noted down (30 Jan. 1598) by Ward, in his *Adversaria* as one among other signs of 'how popery dayly is spread abroad.' Baker MSS. XI 344.

[3] Harsnet's appointment as one of Whitgift's chaplains shortly after sufficiently proves that the archbishop was far from fully concurring in the Lambeth Articles. See Heylin, *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 345; Collier-Lathbury, VII 201.

[4] The election to the professorship was at that time for *two years* only, not *three*, as stated by Fuller (see Collier-Lathbury, VII 201), and Baro seems to have been given to understand that he would not again be re-appointed. 'Some,' says Fuller, 'conceive this hard measure, which was used to one of Dr Baro's qualifications; for first, he was a foreigner, a Frenchman,—*turpius ejicitur, quam non admittitur, hospes*. Secondly, a great scholar: for he who denieth learning in Baro (so witnessed in his works) plainly affirmeth no scholarship in himself. Thirdly, an inoffensive man for life and conversation...Lastly, an aged man, coming hither many years since (when the professor's place as much needed him as he it) and who had painfully spent his strength in the employment.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 289. Neither Bishop Short (*Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 257^8) nor Canon Perry (*Hist. of the Church of England*, p. 354) while agreeing with respect to the harshness with which Baro was treated, seems to have been aware that it led to the resignation of his professorship. The omission of the fact is also to be noted in Nares, *Life of Burghley*, III 256 and 446. It is a significant illustration

Barret also quits the university and allies himself with the Jesuits.

Peter Baro's departure was soon followed by that of Barret, whose Arminian tenets were gradually leading him yet further from the pale of the prevailing orthodoxy. He at last avowed himself a Catholic and allied himself with the Jesuits. The sinister activity of that fraternity was already exciting general alarm throughout England, and the presence of their influence in the university is probably denoted by the language of the Commission of 1592, appointed for the special purpose of making search for adherents of the Roman faith, in which the papists are described as doing 'much harm in corrupting youth.' The force with which the reactionary current was setting in is indeed remarkable. In the letter in which the Heads first took occasion to invite the archiepiscopal censure on Barret, we find them alleging as a primary reason for such interference that the false doctrines are fast spreading, while the works of the Reformers are falling into neglect; that no authors find a readier market than those whom they designate as 'popish'; and that the study of many a divine in the university who professed the tenets of the Church of England, would be found on examination to be largely composed of the works of the Schoolmen, of Francisan or Dominican divines, and of the tractates of the Jesuits, but 'of Protestants few or none[2].' Whitaker, in like manner, when vindicating the expulsion of Everard Digby from his fellowship, states that 'papistry' is greatly on the increase in the colleges, and particularly at St John's, and implies that if Digby were

Indications at Cambridge of a certain reaction against Puritan doctrines.

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of the disturbed state of theological opinion at the universities at this period, that the number of lady Margaret professors during the first three-quarters of the sixteenth century was *five more than during the following two hundred years.*

[1] Strype, *Annals*, Append. no. clx.

[2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, bk. iv, c. 14.

restored to his former position the task of maintaining discipline might prove beyond the master's power[1].

Praelections at the competition for the Regius professorship.

The election of Overall to the Regius professorship, above noted, is also of interest from the fact that it is the first occasion on which we find it recorded that the merits of the candidates were subjected to a preliminary test,—each of them being called upon to deliver a discourse founded upon a selected text of Scripture[2]. The other candidate was Anthony Wotton, a fellow of King's College, whose praelection is also said to have met with much commendation. 'Wotton,' says Fuller, 'was not rejected, though Overall was preferred to the chair.' He received some consolation for his non-success, by his appointment as first professor of divinity at Gresham College which was opened in the year 1596[3]. That generous but abortive scheme was regarded with little favour at Cambridge, and in the first instance excited some jealousy and apprehension[4]. The distinguished founder had been a pensioner of Gonville Hall, and when his beneficent design first became known, Bridgewater, who at that time filled the office of public orator, had exerted all the resources of his Latinity to set forth the prior claims of the university on its former alumnus[5], while intimating that an institution thus amply endowed if erected in the metropolis might bring about the ruin of both Oxford and Cambridge[6]. The sequel,

Anthony Wotton, first professor of divinity at Gresham College.

Opposition offered by the university to the foundation of Gresham College.

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[1] Strype, *Annals* III ii, c. 20; Heywood and Wright, *Camb. Univ. Trans.*, I 506–523; Baker MSS. XXII 148–9.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 288.

[3] 'The seven professors being all chosen, it was on the 31 of March following ordered by the Gresham Committee, that they should take their several apartments in the Mansion House, according to the allotment then made.' Ward, *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 38.

[4] 'doubting that in time it may be greatly prejudicial to our universitys.' Letter of Dr Jegon, vice-chancellor, to Lord Burghley, 30 Jan. 1596. *Ibid.* It would seem that Sir Thomas had on some former occasion held out hopes to the university of a present of £500 'either towards building a new college or repairing one already built.' The diversion of his liberality to the city of London was consequently all the more disappointing. *Ibid.* pp. 18–19.

[5] 'Cujus profecto nomine quum omnes bonarum litterarum studiosi immensas tibi atque immortales gratias habere debent, tum nos praecipue Cantabrigienses propiori quodam vinculo tibi devinciri, atque in tuorum numero censeri cupimus. Quod quidem non improbe, ut speramus, ab homine omnium optimo atque integerrimo, neque impudenter Cantabrigienses a Cantabrigiensi olim alumno petituri sumus.' Letter of the University to Sir Thomas Gresham; Mar. 1575. *Ibid.* Append. III ii.

[6] 'Sed Londini, ut speramus, ne utrique academiae *detrimentum, pene etiam ruinam pares:* Oxonii non debes, quia noster es et Cantabrigien-

it is true, has far from justified his apprehensions; but there are probably few who will be disposed to doubt that this 'college for the seven liberal sciences' if it had been added to the list of existing foundations at either of the universities would have achieved a much more substantial success[1], and might have served in some measure to promote the cause which Ascham pleaded so forcibly—that of the endowment of research.

The press at Oxford.

We have already noted[2] that the first production of the new printing-press at Oxford was the *Speculum moralium Quaestionum*[3] of John Case, a fellow of St John's College in that university. In his character and pursuits, Case reminds us not a little of Dr Caius, for he was a Catholic and a physician, and also a scholar and a man of enlightened views,—though inclining in his treatment of the subject of his treatise to the method of Aristotle rather than to the innovations of Ramus. His volume,—the first-fruits, as he styles it, of the new press,—is dedicated to Leicester, the all-potent chancellor of the university; and in the *Epistola nuncupatoria* he takes occasion to call the attention of the chancellors of both universities to the condition of the Ireland of his day,—that appalling condition, then presenting, to quote the words of a recent writer, 'pictures as terrible as anything in human history[4].' The Oxford scholar urges upon the con-

John Case: *d.* 1600.

His *Speculum moralium Quaestionum.*

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sis; et suae quisque academiae, quam alteri et externae, melius consultum velle debebit.' Ward, *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, Append. III. ii. 'Suis commoditatibus Londinum, portu amplissimo, mercatu omnium rerum celeberrimo, illustrissimo ad jus unicuique dicendum foro, principis curia, perpetua nobilitatis frequentia, caeteris, quae infinita sunt, privilegiis fruatur ac gaudeat. Nostra nobis relinquat bona, Musas, litteras, liberales scientias; quas si quisquam Londinum docendas transferre velit, *nae ille quidem praesentissimam utrique academiae ruinam parat.*' Letter of the University to lady Burghley, April, 1575: *Ibid.* III iii.

[1] The terms of the founder's will, placing the administration of his endowment in the hands of 'the maior and cominalty and cittezens' of 'the cittye of London' have unfortunately down to the present time been construed so as almost to defeat the real design of the founder,—a construction scarcely more defensible than would have been the maintenance of another condition imposed by his will, viz. that the lecturers must be *unmarried*. See *Ibid.* pp. 22, 23.

[2] *Supra*, p. 319, note 3.

[3] *Speculum Moralium Quaestionum in universam Ethicen Aristotelis.* Authore Magistro Johanne Caso Oxoniensi, olim Collegii Divi Johannis Praecursoris Socio. Oxoniae, ex officina Typographica Josephi Barnesii celeberrimae Academiae Oxoniensis Typographi, 1585.

[4] See Mr Lecky's description from Spenser and Peter Lombard in his

sideration of both the eminent statesmen whom he addresses, the fact that the absence of good schools of learning is ever the cause of ignorance, barbarism, and sedition. When philosophy died out at Athens, the glory of Greece passed away. When the student's lamp was extinguished at Bangor, Wales sank into comparative darkness. And in Ireland, where, as he testifies from his own knowledge, there is no lack of genius, he holds that a like cause is to be assigned for the prevailing turbulence and sedition[1].

He suggests that a university should be founded in Ireland.

FOUNDATION OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN: A.D. 1591.

We have no evidence to shew that Case's benevolent suggestion was attended by any immediate results, but when we note the rise, some six years later, of the 'College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity near Dublin,' it is difficult not to conjecture that the first production of the new press at Oxford may have contributed to lay the foundation stone of Ireland's university. It is certain however that Dublin was far more largely inspired by Cambridge than by Oxford. 'Dublin university,' says Fuller, 'was a *colonia deducta* from Cambridge and particularly from Trinity College therein (one motive perchance to the name of it) as may appear by the catalogue of the provosts thereof.'...'Know also that this university did so Cantabrize that she imitated her in the successive choice of her chancellors, the daughter dutifully approving and following the judgement of her mother therein.'[2] If however the credit of first originating the design of founding a university in Ireland can be said to belong to any one man, it must be assigned to one who at the time when Case penned his preface had been dead many years,—this was George Browne[3], archbishop of Dublin, who assumed a prominent part in the reign of Henry VIII in

GEORGE BROWNE, archbp. of Dublin: *d.* 1556.

Hist. of England in the Eighteenth Century, II 95–101.

[1] 'Ignoscite, quaeso (venerandi patres) si propius accedens nostram Hyberniam (terram profecto omnium longe saluberrimam) proponam, in qua (ut expertus loquar) sunt feracissima quidem ingenia; ferocissima tamen in nonnullis partibus facta, ea potissimum causa (si vestra cum venia dicam quae sentio) quod in tam beato solo nullum Musarum collegium, nullum philosophiae seminarium floreat: Arte enim non Marte emolliuntur mores.' *Epist. Nuncup.* f. 3.

[2] Fuller-Brewer, V 175–6; cent. xvi, bk. 9.

[3] George Browne, who had been an Augustinian friar, obtained his degree of D.D. abroad, but was subsequently incorporated both at Oxford and Cambridge. See Cooper, *Athenae* I 165.

carrying out that monarch's purposes with respect to the overthrow of the papal supremacy in Ireland. It was early in the reign of Edward VI, that archbishop Browne drew up his scheme, in which the collateral advantages alluded to by Case are still more emphatically insisted upon. The new society was 'to be called Christ's College of the fundacion of King Edward the Sixt;' the edifice was to be erected on the site of St Patrick's in Dublin; and four 'ordinary' lectureships were to be created,—'one of the Latten tongue, an other of the Greke tongue, the thirde of cyvill lawe, and the fourth of divinitie.' The author of the scheme then proceeds to point out how 'by proces of tyme the students beyng repayred to ther natyve shyres shall by ther learnynge and goode educacion be both example of goode lyvinge and also a lyvely trompe to call that barbarous nacion from evill to goode, and consequently from goode to better, and so to be perfight and civill[1].' A similar scheme, by an unknown hand, was drawn up in 1563[2]; and in the year 1584, Sir John Perrot, on his appointment as viceroy, received instructions 'to consider how a college may be erected; and St Patrick's Church and the revenue thereof may be appropriated thereunto, and every diocese by Act of Parliament be made contributory out of the leases of impropriations.'[3] Sir John Perrot's instructions, it will be noted, were nearly contemporaneous with Case's preface, and seven years later the royal charter was given nominating a provost, three fellows, *nomine plurium*, and three scholars, *nomine plurium*, to constitute a body corporate, empowered to establish among themselves 'whatever laws of either of the universities of Cambridge, or Oxford, they may judge to be apt and suitable; and especially that no other persons should teach or profess the liberal arts in Ireland without the Queen's special

His scheme for the foundation of a university at Dublin.

Scheme of 1563.

Instructions given to Sir John Perrot in 1584.

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[1] See 'A Scheme for the Endowment of a University to be erected in Dublin, from the Funds of the late suppressed Cathedral Church of St Patrick, &c. By George, Archbishop of Dublin.' In *Original Letters and Papers in illustration of the History of the Church in Ireland*, &c. Edited by Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq. (1851), p. 11.

[2] 'A Scheme for a College to be erected in Dublin.' *Ibid.* no. xlviii.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 5.

Subsequent alteration in his design.

First five provosts of Trinity College all Cambridge men.

ADAM LOFTUS, archbishop of Dublin: *b.* 1534. *d.* 1605.

Walter Travers: 2nd provost.

Speech of archbishop Loftus on introducing his successor.

licence.'[1] In the scheme put forth by Sir John Perrot one important modification was introduced; the site selected for the college was All Hallows, not St Patrick's,—a change effected through the mediation of archbishop Loftus with the corporation of Dublin. The archbishop himself was the first provost, and his undisguised sympathies served to establish not merely Cambridge but also Puritan traditions in the society. He had certainly at one time been a member, if not a fellow, of Trinity College, and he was known as a warm friend of Thomas Cartwright and his party[2]. In 1594, Adam Loftus resigned the provostship, and delivered on the occasion an address introducing and recommending his successor. This was no other than Walter Travers, formerly a fellow collegian, who, since he had been silenced at the Temple by Whitgift, had been vainly seeking some permanent office. The speech in which the archbishop introduced his friend is still extant, and is remarkable for the moderation and good taste of the sentiments to which it gives expression[3]. In referring to Travers, he speaks of him as 'a person of many solid excellencies, and to be much approved of for the generally well-deserving qualificacions and particularly for the laborious search he hath made into the depth of such learning as may make him useful to your society.' 'I must say thus much,' he adds, 'in declaration of his desert and your prudence, that for the promotion of learning the most criticall choice could not have fixed on a fitter person in this Kingdom as to his abilities for that employment which necessarily requires both a wise and a learned man.' Turning to Travers himself, whom he describes as summoned 'to preside over this royall and only fountain

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[1] '— et ut quascunque leges bene constitutas senserint in alterutra nostra academia Cantabrigiensi, aut Oxoniensi, modo sibi aptas et accommodas judicaverint, intra se stabiliant.' *Chartae et Statuta*, etc. (ed. 1844), p. 7.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 405; Shirley's *Original Letters and Papers*, etc. p. 321.

[3] Some doubt may perhaps be felt respecting the genuineness of this speech which I have taken from MSS. Lansdowne, 846, no. 29. The handwriting in Mr Maunde Thompson's opinion is that of the latter part of the 17th century; the English is certainly not that of the sixteenth nor is it like that of archbishop Loftus's recognised productions. But I incline to conclude that it is a translation of a Latin original.

He suggests a total abolition of religious controversy.

of learning in this Kingdom,' he significantly reminds him that the 'place requires a person of an *exemplary conformity to the doctrine and discipline of this Church, as they are established by law*.' Addressing himself again to the assembly at large, he warns them against 'the vain jangling of contests in sermons;' 'let controversies in the pulpit,' he says, 'be totally exterminated from amongst us, especially such as have been raised since the date of our Reformation,—for though the study of controversies are (*sic*) mainly profitable to such as are employed in the ministry, yet it is better to preach δογματικῶς than ἀγωνιστικῶς.'

Henry Alvey: 3rd provost.

Sir William Temple: 4th provost.

WILLIAM BEDELL: 5th provost. *b.* 1570. *d.* 1642.

It was but a short period that Travers held office; he suddenly left the country, alarmed, it is said, by the outbreak of Tyrone's rebellion, and when order was again in some measure restored he did not return, but was succeeded in the provostship by Henry Alvey. Alvey's Puritanism was of even a yet more marked character than that of Travers. He was a fellow of St John's; and the influence of his example and teaching among the Puritan section of that society was felt long after his departure. On the death of Whitaker, he would, according to Baker, have been elected to the mastership in preference even to Playfere, but that his views on the subject of church discipline made him obnoxious at court[1]. Alvey was succeeded by Sir William Temple, a fellow of King's College and the author of a learned treatise on Ramus. Sir William had formerly held appointments at once more lucrative and more important, but he gladly accepted the preferment and held it until his death, which occurred seventeen years after[2]. His successor was the eminent William Bedell, a fellow of Christ's College, who made his brief rule memorable by the introduction of prayers in the Irish vernacular in the religious services, and by judicious reforms in the college statutes[3]. It will, for the present, be unnecessary to follow further the records which fully justify Fuller's statement with respect to the extent to which the new university was governed by Cambridge men and inspired by Cambridge teaching.

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[1] Baker-Mayor, pp. 181, 182, n. 4, 190, n. 1, 610; see also *supra*, p. 324.

[2] See Borlase on 'The original of the Universitie of Dublin' in his *Reduction of Ireland*, p. 151.

[3] Bedell's brief tenure of office lasted scarcely a year. In revising the statutes he appears to have adopted Sir Walter Mildmay's theory with respect to residence, enacting that 'every fellow should study divinity, and after seven years' stay

FOUNDATION OF SIDNEY SUSSEX COLLEGE: A.D. 1596.

Two years before the charter was granted for the foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, died Frances, countess of Sussex, the aunt of Sir Philip Sidney, bequeathing by her will the sum of five thousand pounds for the foundation of a new college at Cambridge[1]. Her husband, viscount Fitzwalter, whose death preceded hers by some years, is believed to have studied at Cambridge; it is certain that, though he subsequently filled the office of lord-deputy of Ireland, the munificence of the countess inclined to the academic body with which he was connected rather than to the scene of his official career. In choosing between the two English universities, she could have felt little hesitation, for his preference for Cambridge over Oxford had been, on one occasion, expressed in no ambiguous manner[2].

Viscount Fitzwalter and the countess of Sussex.

The extensive site in Bridge Street, where the house of the Franciscans had long so conspicuously adorned the town but had eventually fallen so ignominiously, still arrested the attention of the passer-by, by its deserted aspect. The materials of the buildings, as we have already seen, had been taken to form part of the fabric of Trinity College[3], and a solitary tenement, used as a malthouse, was all that remained of the ancient structure. The two executors of the countess of Sussex, on whom it devolved to carry out her design, were the earl of Kent and Sir John Harington, a former alumnus of Christ's College and the accomplished translator of Ariosto.

The countess's executors: the earl of Kent and Sir John Harington.

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should go out into some employment in the church.' See his *Life* by his son (ed. Mayor), p. 42.

[1] If, in the opinion of her executors, this slender endowment were held insufficient for the maintenance of a separate college, it was to be employed for the enlarging of Clare Hall. Cooper, *Memorials*, III 12.

[2] The earl is represented as having said to Dr Chaderton on one occasion (in the year 1578): 'I am ready to pleasure the universitie to my powre. I am a master of arte of that universitie, and have been twice at Oxford, and there that degree hath been twice offered me, but I have refused the same: for I mean not to have two strings to my boe.' Cooper, *Athenae*, I 467.

[3] *supra*, p. 81.

CHAP. IV.

They proceed to treat with Trinity College for the transfer of the site of the Franciscan friary.

They now proceeded to enter into negotiations with the authorities of Trinity College for the purchase of the vacant site. An act of Parliament, empowering the latter to let the whole ground at fee farm (subsequently assessed at twenty marks per annum) was passed, and the executors forthwith commenced to erect the new buildings[1]. An incident that occurred at this juncture is deserving of note as indicating an apparent consciousness on the part of the authorities of Trinity of having parted somewhat too easily with the alienated property. The transfer of the malthouse had not been included in the agreement relating to the fee farm, and when the executors proceeded to endeavour to effect an arrangement, they found the master of Trinity in a somewhat impracticable state of mind. In concert with the seniority, he had been reconsidering the terms of the agreement already effected, and had come to the conclusion that, bearing in mind the 'slender recompense' to be received for 'so large and beneficial a graunte,' the bargain had been to the 'no small damage and prejudice of their college inheritance[2].' Such at least were the expressions in which they now vented their dissatisfaction to Whitgift, who had been requested to act as arbitrator in the new bargain between the two parties. The executors of the lady Frances, on the other hand, anxious to economise as far as possible the somewhat scanty funds at their disposal, were hoping for generous terms; and when Whitgift fixed the sum of one hundred marks to be paid as 'furder recompense' to Trinity College, they professed to consider the amount exorbitant[3]. 'I suppose,' wrote Sir John Harington in high dudgeon to Dr Neville, the master of Trinity, 'his Lordshipp hathe awarded you a farr greater soome then you either expected or would yourself have demanded, and I have

Difficulties attending the negociations.

The executors of the lady Frances plead for generous terms.

Whitgift's decision as arbitrator: 17 Sept. 1595.

The executors look upon the amount as excessive.

Sir John Harington's letter: 3 Oct. 1595.

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[1] Cooper, *Memorials*, III 15.

[2] Baker MSS. IV 194.

[3] It must be admitted that Trinity College gave its former master a fairly plain intimation that it expected to be handsomely indemnified, requesting that the amount might be 'answerable to the buildings and other comodities of stone and stuffe, as well within as above the ground, *which by estimation of workemen being of great valew*, we are content to leave behind us,' etc. *Ibid.* IV 194.

appointed this bearer to deliver you so much of the same soome as you will take, praying you to have consideration that how much you shall abate of this soome, so much shall Sydney Culledge be furthered and bettred by your good meanes and favour[1].' Respecting what ensued directly upon the receipt of this letter we are not informed, but we find that a few days later the earl of Kent found it necessary to have recourse to something like entreaty in order to prevail upon the master of Trinity to complete the original agreement. At length, before the end of the year 1595, the deed of transfer was duly completed; and on the twentieth of May, 1596, the foundation stone was laid by Mr Montague (a relative of the foundress), who was subsequently appointed the first master of the society, and afterwards became in succession, dean of Worcester, bishop of Bath and Wells, and bishop of Winchester.

Final completion of the transfer.

Laying of the foundation stone: 20 May, 1596.

The first master.

In the year 1599, the buildings were completed, and eleven fellows, chosen from different colleges, were appointed. Of these, the two who represented St John's College—Thomas Gataker and Samuel Ward—far surpassed the rest in the reputation they subsequently achieved.

The first fellows.

The defects adverted to by Fuller in his description of his own college,—'this Benjamin College,' as he terms it,—as being 'low, lean and little' at its birth, were remedied long before his epithet ceased to be applicable. The slender fund of five thousand pounds,—'alas! what is that,' ejaculates the historian, 'to buy the site, build, and endow a college[2],'—was augmented by several benefactions from Sir John Harington himself, by Mr Leonard Smith, a citizen and fishmonger of London, and by bequests from other charitable persons; but, notwithstanding, in the year 1612, the executors found it necessary to ordain that, 'whereas, much more than her [the countess's] legacy had been expended in building and endowing the college, and yet their estate was not sufficient for the maintaining a master and ten fellows, there should be but seven of these, unless the revenues of

Subsequent bequests still leave the college poor.

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 291.

CHAP. IV. the college should hereafter be sufficiently encreased. And that, whereas the master, by the college statutes, was allowed only twenty pounds per annum, and two shillings by the week for commons, and each fellow only forty shillings per annum and two shillings by the week for commons, the former should have an additional allowance of £5. 12*s.* per annum, and each of the latter an addition of £2. 16*s.* per annum[1].'

The Blundell scholarships.

The feature, however, which more especially calls for comment in connexion with the endowments of Sidney College, are the scholarships founded by Mr Blundell, a wealthy clothier of Tiverton in Devonshire, who bequeathed the munificent sum of two thousand pounds for the foundation of six scholarships at *either* of the universities or at *both*, but restricted them to students who had been educated at his own foundation of Tiverton school and were in need of pecuniary aid. Two of the scholarships were accepted by Balliol College, Oxford; and it was at first designed that two should be attached to each of the colleges of Emmanuel and Sidney at Cambridge. The conditions involved in the acceptance of the scholarships were however irksome, if not humiliating, for it was required that each senior scholar should 'be deemed in every way a fellow' and receive no less than fifteen pounds per annum,—an income, it will be noted, approximating to the original income of the master of Sidney himself[2]. In order

Singular conditions annexed to their acceptance.

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[1] *Documents*, III 585-6. Dr Ward in his *Adversaria* says: 'The only land which is given for the maintenance of the foundation of the college, is, the manor of Saleby (Itterby) in Lincolnshire, which we hold by feoffees in trust, for that it is holden by knight's service, whereas our mortmain is only for land held in soccage tenure. The yearly revenue when first it was given to our college by my lord Harrington was £120 per ann., but since it is raised almost to £150 per ann., and we hope will continue at this rate. Besides this my lord Harrington gave us a rent charge of £30 per ann., which is paid out of the manor of Baggington in Warwickshire by Sir Henry Goodyere. Sum total £180.' Baker MSS. XI 351. He adds that, supposing all the fellows to be ministers, the allowance for the *ten* would be only £72 per annum; the scholars were allowed only 12*d.* per week. *Ibid.*

[2] Dr Ward in his *Adversaria* under date 31 Aug. 1612, says: 'D. Higgs told me that Balliol Coll. would never have condescended to take these covenants, but that only y^e^ abate of the Fellows was confined to the will, for otherwise they would overtop the other Fellows, considering y^e^ great allowance...... 4. That the founding of these places caused more trouble in the college, than all the business beside, for the twenty years he was fellow. 5. That these places were

to render these terms more palatable, it was further provided that the master was also to receive two pounds out of the endowment and the college one pound for 'repairs.' But notwithstanding these allurements, the scholarships were declined by more than one college at Oxford and were ultimately rejected at Emmanuel;—the two designed for that society were accordingly added to those already allotted to Sidney[1].

They are declined both at Oxford and at Cambridge.

The original statutes of Sidney College, given by the executors in 1598, are notable rather for their exuberance of diction than for any originality of thought, being in most of their provisions little more than a transcript of the code of Emmanuel. By the adoption of a time-honoured simile, the college is compared to a hive or seminary of the Church, but one whose inmates are encouraged to roam forth at will to gather honey from all kinds of flowers, so that when at length they permanently quit their place of abode, they may seek other 'sedes Ecclesiae' and there deposit some of the stores they have gathered. Such is the foundress's express design and desire, whereof should any member of the college prove himself disregardful, refusing to toil for so beneficial a result, the rest are enjoined to pursue him with 'bites and stings,' and to harass him in every way until he shall have been driven forth from the hive as a useless drone[2]. Those

Original Statutes of Sidney College.

The main conception that of a seminary for the Church.

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refused to be accepted in many colleges in Oxford.' Baker MSS. XI 350. It would accordingly seem that these scholarships had been offered to other Colleges at Oxford *before* Sir John Popham's decree assigning them to Balliol, but that they were declined by Emmanuel *subsequently*. See *Documents*, III 583.

[1] In 1860 (Dr Phelps informs me) the two senior scholarships 'were thrown open and made exactly like the other fellowships of the college;' and in place of the other scholarships 'three exhibitions of three years' duration were given to the school—one to be assigned each year in succession by examination at the school' (Letter, 24 Jan. 1883). The two at Balliol, as I learn from information courteously afforded me by the present master, the Rev. Dr. Jowett, were afterwards expanded to two fellowships and two scholarships; these were in turn commuted for five scholarships by the Commission of 1857.

[2] 'Nec modo seminarium angustum et conclusum nimis, verum in se amplissimum campum collegium esse cupimus; ubi juvenes, apum more, de omnigenis flosculis pro libitu libent, modo mel legant, quo et eorum procudantur linguae, et pectora, tanquam crura, thymo compleantur: ita ut tandem ex collegio, quasi ex alveari evolantes, novas in quibus se exonerent ecclesiae sedes, appetant. *Haec mens nostra, hic finis:* quem qui non respicit, ad quem qui non collimaverit, hunc morsibus et aculeis, modis denique omnibus vexent, donec pro fuco ex alveari pepulerunt.' *Documents*, III 536; see also Vol. I. of author's *History*, p. 522.

statutes which relate to the functions and powers of the master differ somewhat from those of Emmanuel, in that his authority is slightly enhanced. In the event of not considering it desirable to elect a master from their own body, the fellows are instructed to give the preference to a member of Trinity College, *not* (as at Emmanuel) to Christ's. The statute *de Mora Sociorum in Collegio*, transcribed from the code of Emmanuel, was rescinded, as already noted[1], after the death of Sir John Harington, by the surviving executor.

The statute *de Mora Sociorum* soon rescinded.

The College distinguished as the first foundation where Scotchmen and Irishmen were eligible to fellowships.

The only feature that presents us with any novelty of conception in the code of Sidney, as finally left by the executors, is to be found in a 'Recognitio' or revision of the statute *de Sociorum Qualitate*, passed early in the seventeenth century[2]; and the society which educated Thomas Gataker, Fuller, Bramhall, and Seth Ward, may also recall with pride that it was the first Cambridge college which opened its fellowships to those of Scottish or Irish birth,—requiring only that such candidates should previously have studied six years in the university and should be of the standing, at least, of bachelor of arts.

John Young, a Scotchman, elected fellow 1606; proceeds S. T. B. 1611.

It was by virtue of this innovation that, in the year 1606, one John Young, who is described as 'the first Scottish man who ever kept his acte and tooke degree in the universitie[3],' was elected a fellow of Sidney. The statement, though not to be accepted without qualification, brings home to us very forcibly the small amount of polite and lettered intercourse that existed between England and Scotland prior to the union of the crowns. Scotchmen who sought in those times for abler teachers or a wider range of culture than were

Relations existing down to this time between the Scottish and the English universities.

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[1] *supra*, pp. 315, 317.

[2] *Documents*, III 576. It is however certain that Scotchmen were admitted to fellowships long before this time. The two elder sons of John Knox, Nathanael and Eleazar, though born in Scotland, were admitted fellows of St John's as natives of Richmondshire. See Baker-Mayor, I 290; M'Crie, *Life of Knox* (ed. 1874), p. 326. The mediaeval universities were more catholic in this respect than those of post-Reformation times (see Vol. I 239). Mr F. Maxwell Lyte, who is now engaged on a History of the sister university which will be received with much interest, has kindly drawn my attention to a statute of Queen's College, Oxford (A.D. 1340), which expressly forbids the exclusion of anyone from the foundation on the score of nationality [see Appendix (E)].

[3] Baker MSS. x 416.

afforded by the chairs of their own struggling and poorly-endowed universities, betook themselves to Paris and to Poitiers, to Padua and to Geneva, but rarely to Oxford or to Cambridge. Although therefore at the time when John Young was admitted to his fellowship at Sidney, nearly two centuries had elapsed since the foundation of the first Scottish university, the intercourse between the two English universities and the centres of the higher education north the Tweed had been so slight and casual as scarcely to call for notice in our preceding chapters. It will, however, at this stage of our enquiry, be not without advantage to note some of the more important features connected with the rise and earlier developement of the higher schools of Scotland.

Outline of the history of the Scottish universities.

FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ST ANDREWS: A.D. 1411.

Its three colleges.

The first university was that of St Andrews, founded in 1411 by Henry Wardlaw, the bishop of that see, and modelled after the constitution of the university of Paris[1]. It acquired all its three colleges,—St Salvator's, St Leonard's, and St Mary's,—before the Reformation; the first having been founded in 1456 by bishop James Kennedy; the second, in 1512, by the youthful archbishop, Alexander Stuart, natural son of James IV., and John Hepburn, the prior of the monastery of St Andrews; and the third, also in 1512, by the Beatons, who in the year 1537 procured a bull from pope Paul III dedicating the college to the Blessed Virgin Mary of the Assumption and enriching it with further endowments. The most ancient of the universities of Scotland, with its three colleges, was thus, it will be noted, reared in an atmosphere of mediaeval theology and undoubtedly designed as a bulwark against heresy and schism. But 'by a strange irony of fate,' says a recent writer[2], 'two of these colleges became, almost from the first, the foremost agents in working the overthrow of that Church which they were founded to defend.' St Leonard's, more especially, like St John's or

St Leonard's College becomes a centre of Reformation doctrines.

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[1] St Andrews was accordingly divided like Paris into four 'nations': these were Fife, Lothian, Angus, and Alban. See an interesting article by Principal Shairp in *Fraser's Magazine* June, 1882, entitled 'The Earliest Scottish University,' to which I am indebted. for some of the following facts.

[2] Principal Shairp in article above cited.

Queens' at Cambridge, became a noted centre of intellectual life and Reformation principles. That he had 'drunk at St Leonards well,' became a current expression for implying that a theologian had imbibed the doctrines of Protestantism; and among the earliest students at the college was that same Alexander Alane whose remarkable career at Cambridge and elsewhere has already received some notice in these pages[1].

FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW A.D. 1453.

The university of Glasgow, which followed next, was founded in 1453, and possessed two colleges. But prior to the Reformation it acquired little celebrity. Although professedly a *studium generale*, where all the arts and sciences were taught, its discipline was singularly lax and its instruction inefficient. The number of the students was small; the lectures were irregularly given, according to the convenience of the professors or the caprice of the learners; and but few of its members achieved in after life any reputation for scholarship. A modern critic[2], one of the most distinguished ornaments of the university, described its ancient constitution as labouring under two radical defects: first, that no funds were provided for the maintenance of regular lectures in the higher faculties; and secondly, that there was no adequate executive power for the maintenance of discipline and the repression of abuses.

FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF ABERDEEN: A.D. 1494.

The university of Aberdeen, which was founded in 1494, at first possessed only one college,—that of King's; Marischall College not being founded until the year 1593. Elphinstone, to whom the university owed its origin, had been educated at Glasgow, and had subsequently studied and taught both at Paris and at Orleans; and to the wider experience he thus acquired we may fairly attribute the fact that the constitution of the university at Aberdeen was free from those glaring defects which then characterised that of the university of Glasgow[3].

The Scottish universities at the Reformation.

When the Reformation came, the three universities were all ruthlessly plundered and Glasgow narrowly escaped complete extinction[1]. It obtained, indeed, some fresh endowments in the reign of Mary, but these barely sufficed for the maintenance of two regents; and on the death of John Davidson, the principal of the *Paedagogium*, the little band of students was dispersed and the school literally closed[2].

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[1] *supra*, pp. 14–16, 118.

[2] Dr Thomas Reid: see Preface to *Fasti Aberdonenses*, p. xvi.

[3] *Fasti Aberdonenses*, Pref. p. xvi.

They are reconstituted by John Knox.

The year 1560 marks a turning-point in the history of the Scottish centres of learning. John Knox extended to them a support which relieved them from much of their unpopularity with the Reformers; and by the scheme which he published for their partial reconstitution[3] abolished many of their mediaeval and Latin characteristics. His attitude, however, was always one of mistrust of their theological tendencies; and it was his advice 'above all things' to 'preserve the Kirk from the bondage of the universities[4].'

ANDREW MELVILLE: *b.* 1545. *d.* 1622.

The teacher in whom we recognise the Melanchthon of Scotland was Andrew Melville, the successor, in no small degree, to John Knox's reputation and influence, and whom, in the year 1580, we find entering upon the office of principal of New College, St Andrews. Although it is impossible to deny the uncompromising and subversive character of Melville's policy, it must also be allowed that he was a man of fine culture, high aims, and much[5] discernment. He had studied at Poitiers and at Paris, where he had been a disciple of Ramus. At Geneva he had been both a learner and a teacher; and had there enjoyed exceptional advantages in the study of the law, having attended the lectures both of Francis Hottoman and of Bonnefoy, the colleague of Cujacius[6].

His early career.

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[1] 'From its peculiar constitution, the university of Glasgow necessarily suffered more from the change of religion at the Reformation than the other learned establishments of Scotland. The professors in the higher branches being all supported by their livings in the Church, and adhering to the old religion, successors could not be appointed to them owing to the total want of salaries.' M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, I 65 and note L.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See Knox's scheme in his 'Buke of Discipline.' Knox-Laing, II 213—221. According to his design Aberdeen was 'to be conforme to the universitie of Glasgou, in all sortis.' *Ibid.* II 216.

[4] Burton, *Hist. of Scotland*, v^2 77.

[5] 'Melville,' says Burton (*Ibid.* v^2 150), 'though born in a higher position [than Knox] was more of a leveller. He was the type of a class who, to as much of the fierce fanaticism of the Huguenots as the Scots character could receive, added the stern classical republicanism of Buchanan.' See also George Herbert's *Works* (Lansd. ed.), p. 10.

[6] M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, I 21-28.

CHAP. IV.

His reforms as principal of the university of Glasgow.

The history of Glasgow as a seat of learning may almost be said to date from Melville's acceptance, in the year 1574, of the office of principal; and Melville, his nephew, pupil, and coadjutor, is said to have been the first regent who there read the Greek authors with his class in the original language[1]. It was just the time of the great Puritan defeat at Cambridge, and Andrew Melville used his best efforts to induce Cartwright and Walter Travers to assist him in his labours in his new sphere of activity[2]. In this endeavour he was not successful, but undiscouraged he redoubled his own exertions, and aided by his nephew and one or two other young students of promise, he succeeded in bringing about a complete reform in the university, and Glasgow soon became the centre of a learned enthusiasm previously almost unknown in Scotland. Before the second session under Melville's principalship was over, students had begun to flock in from all parts of the realm, and not a few who had graduated at St Andrews hastened to matriculate at Glasgow[3]. 'I dar say,' writes the younger Melville in a retrospect of these years, the characteristic complacency of his race as yet unmodified by a wider experience, 'I dar say ther was na place in Europe comparable to Glasgw for guid letters during these yeirs for a plentifull and guid chepe mercat of all kynd of langages, artes and sciences[4].' His high estimate of their work is, however, corroborated by evidence less open to dispute,—the names of the numerous students in his uncle's classes during the latter's short stay at Glasgow, who afterwards rose to eminence[5].

His invitation to Cartwright and Travers.

His success as a teacher at Glasgow.

Alexander Arbuthnot.

The principal at King's College, Aberdeen, at this time, was Alexander Arbuthnot, a man of amiable character and considerable attainments, with whom Melville was on terms of intimacy and in frequent communication. Together they

Melville and Arbuthnot prepare a new constitution for adoption at their respective universities.

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[1] M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, I 64–5, 69.

[2] Fuller prints the formal letter of invitation. 'Messem hic videtis,' says Melville, 'singulari vestra eruditione et pietate non indignam.' The historian conjectures that the two Cambridge divines were 'discouraged with the slenderness of the salary assigned unto them.' Fuller-Brewer, V 180–2; cent. xvi, bk. 9.

[3] M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, I 70.

[4] *The Diary of Mr James Melvill* (Bannatyne Club), p. 39.

[5] M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, I 71.

discussed the condition of their universities, and as the result of their consultations drew up and eventually procured the adoption of a completely new code both at Glasgow and at Aberdeen[1]. St Andrews, which still remained under its imperfectly amended constitution, was next the object of their solicitude; and Melville's influence was exerted with the General Assembly to bring about the introduction of a like measure of reform at the third centre of learning. In this he was completely successful; and, as part of the new constitution, St Mary's (or the New College, as it was sometimes termed) was made a theological college exclusively, and it only remained to appoint a competent head. A unanimous expression of opinion summoned Andrew Melville himself to the office, and in the year 1580 he removed from Glasgow to St Andrews[2]. His signal success in this new field of labour may be gathered from the testimony of one who was certainly not biassed in his favour. This was Thomas Wilson, the biographer and son-in-law of Melville's most conspicuous antagonist, Patrick Adamson, the archbishop of St Andrews; and his account is deserving of quotation not merely in connexion with Melville's reputation as a teacher, but also as an illustration of the learning and studies of the time. 'Of his [Melville's] first course,' writes Wilson, 'extending to four or five years, I can speak from personal knowledge, having been one of his eager and constant hearers. He taught learnedly and perfectly the knowledge and practice of the Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, and Rabbinical languages. At the same time, he elucidated with much erudition and accuracy the heads of theology, as laid down in the Institutions of John Calvin and other writings of approved divines, together with the principal books of both Testaments, and the most difficult and abstruse mysteries of revealed religion[3].'

St Andrews is similarly reconstituted and Melville is elected to preside over St Mary's College.

Thomas Wilson's account of his lectures at St Andrews.

But like all reformers, Melville, notwithstanding his tact and acknowledged intellectual superiority, found it impossible altogether to escape the personal odium that attaches to

Opposition excited by Melville's attitude as a reformer.

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[1] MᶜCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, i 158.

[2] *Ibid.* i 160–1.

[3] *Ibid.* i 165.

one who honourably prefers the interests of the community to those of individuals. The regents who were found unqualified to act as instructors in connexion with the newly-instituted *curriculum* were offended at their displacement; others, at finding their salaries reduced; while Melville's courageous adoption of the same independent position as that assumed by his great teacher Ramus in relation to the authority of Aristotle, alarmed the more stolid adherents of the traditional teaching[1]. Of his courageous conduct in defence of the principles of the National Covenant and his struggle with Arran and the Privy Council we cannot here stop to speak, but his subsequent flight into England is to be noted as affording a point of contact between the nascent learning of Scotland and the English universities. It was on this occasion that Melville visited both Cambridge and Oxford, and there, to quote his nephew's record, 'conferrit with the most godlie and lerned[2].' The graceful tribute (already cited)[3] which he subsequently paid to the memory of Whitaker at the one university and to that of Reynolds at the other, we may fairly regard, with his biographer, as one of the results of this intercourse; while the letter, written at a briefer interval, which he addressed to the two young Oxonians with whom he had formed a special friendship[4], a letter full of genuine admiration of all that he had witnessed, probably betrays the contrast that must have forced itself upon his notice as he contrasted the comparative opulence and refinement of the older universities with the condition of those in his native land.

His flight to England.

He visits Cambridge and Oxford.

The results of his visits.

From Oxford, Melville returned to London, where a very different experience awaited him,—that of watching by the death-bed of his friend James Lawson, who had fled with him from Scotland. The memory of James Lawson can scarcely but be held in reverence by every patriotic Scotchman, for not only did he ably fill the place left vacant by

Death of James Lawson.

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[1] M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, I 166–171.

[2] *The Diary of Mr James Melville*, p. 146.

[3] *Supra*, p. 324; M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, I 232.

[4] The young Oxonians were Thomas Savile (a younger brother of Sir Henry) and George Carleton: see M'Crie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, II Append. no. iii.

FOUNDATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH, A.D. 1582.

Robert Rollock, its first teacher.

His course of instruction.

Knox in the Church at Edinburgh, but it is to his exertions that the city is indebted for the restoration of its High School and the foundation of its university. The university of Edinburgh, in marked contrast to the three older centres, rose comparatively untrammelled by the traditions of mediaevalism, and its creation appears to have been effected not without some jealousy and opposition on the part of its predecessors[1]. It received its charter from king James in the year 1582; and its first course of instruction was commenced in the Kirk of Field under the direction of Robert Rollock, who had been educated under Melville at St Andrews. The description given by the historian of the university indicates the humble character of this commencement. 'He begun to teach,' says Craufurd, 'in the lower hall of the great lodging, there being a great confluence of students allured with the great worth of the man; but diverse of them being not ripe enough in the Latin tongue, were in November next, put under the charge of Mr Duncan Narne, a lerned and pious young man, who, upon Mr Rollock's recommendation, was chosen second master of the college[2].'

Members of the university required to subscribe the National Covenant.

In 1585, both Rollock and Nairne subscribed the National Covenant, and a like subscription was from that time required from all who were admitted to degrees in the college[3].

Death of lord Burghley: 4 Aug. 1598.

To return to Cambridge: as the century drew towards its close, the university was called upon to lament the loss of two of its most distinguished sons. Full of years and honours, passed away its great chancellor, who forty years long had watched over its fortunes and for a yet longer period had guided the helm of the state. He died in August,

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[1] 'After the Reformation of religion was established in Scotland, the citie of Edinburgh and ministry thereof were very earnest and zealous for the promoting of learning, their great intention being to have an universitie founded in the citie; but the three universities of St Andrews, Glasgow, and Old Aberdeen, by the power of the bishops bearing some sway in the Kirk, and more in the state, *did let their enterprise.*' See *History of the University of Edinburgh from* 1580 *to* 1646. By Thomas Craufurd, A.M. Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics in the College of Edinburgh in 1646, p. 19.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 25.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 28.

Death of Edmund Spenser: 16 Jan. 1599.

The poet and his persecutor.

1598; and in the following January, at a tavern in Westminster, in obscurity and want, died also Edmund Spenser, —a victim of that same storm in Ireland at whose first mutterings Walter Travers, taking warning, had fled and escaped. It is no pleasing conclusion to which the evidence compels us,—that the brightest genius that adorned our university in that age was persecuted by her greatest benefactor[1]. But the foregoing chapters will have been written to little purpose if they fail to suggest how unjust is the theory that Burghley diverted the royal patronage from Spenser owing to his sheer incapacity for appreciating literary merit. We may not claim indeed for that wise statesman, to whom England and Cambridge alike owe so much, powers of the highest order,—the swift intuitions, the marvellous combinations, which belong to genius as distinguished from ability. But one faculty Burghley undoubtedly possessed in a very eminent degree, and that was the capacity for discerning merit before it had been marked out by success. To this faculty, more especially, we attribute the tact and the discernment with which he mediated between contending parties in the university, recognising in a Cartwright, a Travers, and a Barret, virtues, talents, and a certain reasonableness, where Parker or Whitgift could see only factiousness and malice. And as we compare his firm but temperate rule with that of Leicester during his long tenure of the like office at the sister university, 'an influence,' says Huber, 'shackled by no law, no right, no moral consideration, but determined solely by his personal interests[2]', we cannot doubt but that to this wide difference in the administrative merits of the two chancellors is to be attributed, in no small measure, the larger share which Cambridge, as compared with Oxford, at this period unquestionably possessed in the national regard[3].

Burghley's distinguishing merit.

His chancellorship of the university contrasted with that of Leicester at Oxford.

The external man corresponded to the mind within, and few portraits harmonise more completely with our conception of the subject than that of Burghley by Gerards. As we mark each feature of that 'reverend presence,' that 'calm and undisturbed countenance,' which moved the admiration of Camden—the massive, well-rounded brow, the clear blue eye, discerning but serene, the suave but firm expression of the lips, the fresh complexion, the finely-shaped nose, inclining to the aquiline,—we realize better than before the character of the great English statesman, who in that eventful and tempestuous age baffled alike the machinations of conspiracy abroad and of faction at home; who, while the assassin's dagger waited for him in the senate-chamber and the palace, was yet his sovereign's discreetest counsellor,—sagacious, wary, and deliberate; and who, when his university was distracted between bigotry and schism, was ever her watchful guardian,—untiring[1], dispassionate, just.

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[1] See Professor Hales's *Life of Spenser*, prefixed to Globe edition of his Works, pp. xxx and liv.

[2] 'The character of this chancellor and his coterie,' adds Huber, 'is enough to explain even the worst phenomena of Oxford.' *English Universities*, I 351.

[3] Baker's eulogium on Burghley as regards St John's College, may, I

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think, be applied with perfect justice to the university at large. 'As,' says this writer, 'he was a true friend to the university, so particularly he was a constant patron and protector to this college during the long and happy reign of queen Elizabeth, often united the fellows when they were broken by their own divisions, kept them within tolerable bounds when by their indiscreet zeal they were running into confusion, and by preserving good order and discipline among them rescued them from being a nest of zealous Puritans, which without him they must probably have been.' Baker-Mayor, I 10.

[1] With respect to Burghley's singular assiduity, the observations of Nares, whose research entitles him to be heard on such a point, are deserving of quotation: 'It is, in short, almost impossible to discover any transaction of a public nature, that was not after some manner or other submitted to his particular judgment and discretion; and though his office of secretary might, in a great degree, account for the infinity of letters addressed to him, and still preserved in our public repositories, yet it is remarkable how in all such addresses there appears to be a direct appeal made to his individual decision, sentence, and determination.' Nares, *Life of Burghley*, II 515.

CHAPTER V.

COLLEGE LIFE AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

CHAP. V.

GILES FLETCHER of King's: *b.* 1548. *d.* 1610.

AMONG the members of the university in the latter half of the sixteenth century, Giles Fletcher, the father of the poets, Giles and Phineas, filled a distinguished place. He had received his early education at Eton and from thence passed on to King's College, where he was elected to a fellowship in 1568. He appears to have continued to reside at the university some twelve years longer, and his attainments as a Latin scholar may be inferred from the fact that in the year 1577 he acted as deputy orator[1]. His career as a diplomatist, and his notable mission to Russia, of which he left so interesting a record, together with his projects in the province of history which might have forestalled the labours of Camden, are matters beyond the scope of these pages. Sometime between the years 1595 and 1599, however, Fletcher would seem to have revisited Cambridge, and to have composed on that occasion his poem *de Litteris antiquae Britanniae*[2], in which he enumerates the fourteen existing colleges and briefly describes their external characteristics. His descriptions add

His poem *de Litteris antiquae Britanniae*: circ. 1595.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, III 35.

[2] There being no copy of this rare little volume in the University Library, the portion descriptive of our Cambridge colleges has seemed deserving of being printed [see Appendix (F)]. It will be noted that in the lines referring to Sidney College, Fletcher speaks of the college as *not yet built*. As however in his imaginary circuit of the town, from west to east, he assigns its position as coming next to Magdalene, it is evident that the site had been already determined on. We may accordingly infer that the poem was composed after 1594, when Sidney had received its charter of foundation, but before 1599, when the first buildings were completed.

but little to our knowledge of the Cambridge of his day. We learn, indeed, how the then modest structures of St Catherine's and Clare appeared dwarfed in their proximity to the 'lofty walls' of King's; that the new buildings recently added to Caius by its second founder considerably enhanced its appearance; that the horns of the antelope over the portals of St John's were gilded and the arms tinctured; and that Trinity, with its extensive precincts and majestic towers, was already almost what Giles Fletcher the younger affirmed it to be after Dr Neville's improvements, 'the fairest sight in Cambridge[1].' But the value of this short poem consists not so much in the information it supplies in connexion with points of detail as in the general impression which it produces on the reader by the tone of pride and exultation with which the writer describes his survey. It is evident that the feelings with which the elder Fletcher and his son at the close of the century could contemplate their university were widely different from those of its loyal sons some fifty years before, when scholars and preachers lamented in piteous phrase the despoiled condition and diminished numbers of almost every Cambridge foundation. To foreigners, indeed, the noble structures and internal economy of the colleges of the two English universities had, as we have already seen[2], appeared even in those earlier days almost unrivalled. But the language of Peter Baro, when preaching before the university about the year 1588, is far more emphatic than that of Peter Martyr or Martin Bucer, and may reasonably be interpreted as pointing to a corresponding advance. He declares,—his testimony preceding by a few years that of Justus Lipsius[3],—that the stately buildings and ample revenues of the foundations at Cambridge could hardly be matched among the most famous

Description it contains of the Cambridge colleges.

Impression which we derive from the poem as to the condition of the university.

Testimony of Peter Baro to the prosperous condition of the colleges.

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[1] See dedication to Dr Neville, of his poem, *Christ's Victorie* (written probably about 1610); where, after comparing the two universities to the two eyes of the land, he thus continues: 'And truly I should forget myself, if I should not call Cambridge the right eye: and I think (King Henrie the 8 being the Uniter, Edward the 3 the Founder, and yourself the Repairer of this college wherein I live) none will blame me, if I esteem the same, *since your polishing of it*, the fairest sight in Cambridge.'

[2] *Supra*, p. 96, n. 1; see also Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 400.

[3] See *supra*, p. 96, n. 1.

Other evidence to the same effect.

universities of the Continent[1]. In other words, though her professoriate could scarcely compare with that of Padua or Heidelberg, and though she was content to be an imitator of Strassburg in her classical studies and to derive her theology from Wittenberg or Geneva, her colleges probably surpassed those of any university abroad in the combination they presented of external splendour with internal comfort and even luxury. To the satirist, indeed, they appeared over 'stately'; and the author of the well-known *Return from Parnassus*, which was acted at St John's College in the year 1602[2], declares that such edifices are fitted rather to be the abodes of 'knights, lords, and lawyers' than of the 'ragged clerks,' 'weavers' and butchers' sons,' who, along with others of like humble origin, represented the great majority of the student class[3].

Testimony of William Soone.

'The way of life in these colleges,' writes William Soone in the year 1575 (he had himself been professor of the civil law in the university), 'is the most pleasant and liberal; and if I might have my choice, and my principles would permit, I should prefer it to a kingdom[4].'

This condition largely attributable to the Act for the Maintenance of Colleges, etc.

To the increasing prosperity of the nation, which rendered the lands and tenements belonging to each college more productive in the form of rental, and to the liberality of successive benefactors, we must undoubtedly refer a certain share in the production of those 'ample revenues' adverted to by Baro in such singular contrast to the destitution so pathetically described by Lever little more than thirty years before; but in order adequately to account for the change we must also take into consideration a special and somewhat remarkable circumstance. Sir Thomas Smith had died in the

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[1] '—the founders of your colleges, who have erected unto you these so sumptuous and stately buildings, and enriched them with such ample revenues, that there are scarse any in all Europe to be compared with yours, etc.' See p. 401 of *Fower Sermons and two Questions. As they were uttered and disputed ad Clerum in S. Marie's Church and Schooles in Cambridge. By that learned Frencheman P. B., D. of Divinitye. And Englished by J. L. Imprinted at London by John Woolfe.* [n. d.] See also Dyer, *Privileges, &c.*, II, p. cxlviii.

[2] See Cooper, *Annals*, II 617, n. 4.

[3] Act iii, sc. 2.

[4] Bruin, *de praecipuis totius Universi Urbibus*, ii, 1; Soone's letter is translated in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, XLVI 201.

This measure chiefly owing to the forethought of Sir Thomas Smith.

year 1577. The last thirty years of his life had been chiefly given to the discharge of important diplomatic and political functions in connexion with the state, but we have abundant evidence that his thoughts never ceased to revert, from time to time, to the scenes of his youth and of his earliest successes,—to Cambridge and to Queens' College; and one of his last acts was the introduction of a measure which long afterwards caused his name to be held in grateful remembrance not only at Queens' but in every college in Cambridge and in Oxford, as well as at Eton and at Winchester. Among the statesmen of his time, he appears to have been one of the very few who bestowed any really intelligent study upon questions of finance and the general state of the currency; and some Tables of Money which he compiled are still extant to attest his painstaking researches in this direction. The relations of the currency to the revenue were a subject which he seems to have investigated with peculiar care. It was the time when gold and silver were pouring in from the Americas in a continuous and apparently inexhaustible stream. There seemed to be no limit to the supply, and it was generally believed that there was no limit. On the other hand, land and the produce of land were alike supposed to be an ascertained maximum, the latter being liable to no variations except those resulting from bad seasons and deficient harvests. Agricultural chemistry lent no aid to nature; machinery afforded no assistance to the labourer. It was plain, therefore, that as the measure of value increased in quantity, land and crops, which it seemed could not increase, must rise in price, and all landholders and cultivators of land derive a corresponding advantage. Fortunately for Cambridge, and fortunately for Oxford, Sir Thomas Smith was something more than the economist and the politician, he was also the philanthropist and the scholar; and while our landed proprietors throughout the realm were building up princely fortunes on the broad acres wrested from the monasteries, his discerning eye descried a favourable opportunity for securing to our struggling colleges a certain share in the surrounding

Circumstances of the time which served to suggest his scheme.

increase of wealth. Their condition at this time, it here becomes necessary to note, was in many cases still further prejudiced by the conduct of the governing bodies. In the earlier part of the century they had suffered from the open greed of the despoiler; in the latter part, they suffered, in scarcely less degree, from the covert disloyalty of unfaithful stewards.

The system of fines.

Even those who possess but a superficial acquaintance with the history of our land tenure in mediaeval and subsequent times, can hardly fail to be aware what an important element was represented by the system of fines,—of payments, that is to say, made to landlords or tenants-in-chief, on the alienation of property or on the renewal of leases. To the prodigal or necessitous landowner this system offered special temptations. On renewing an old lease, or on granting a new one, he would often exact from his tenant a heavy fine on the condition of accepting but a low rental,—thus, in a manner, discounting his future revenues in order to meet his immediate necessities. In no cases were such expedients more frequently resorted to than where the management of the property in question was in the hands of those whose interest was represented merely by a life-tenure or some correspondingly limited period,—as, for example, when the lessors were trustees for an estate or acting for an endowed corporation. The fines which they imposed were too often grossly misappropriated, and only the annual revenue was devoted to the legitimate purposes for which the endowment was originally designed. With such a body as the master and seniority of a college it became a frequent practice to anticipate the revenues as much as possible by granting long leases at very low rentals but stipulating for heavy fines,—such fines becoming, of course, available for immediate expenses and immediate dividends,—while to succeeding administrators there was left nothing but the diminished income resulting from the lowered rentals. Such was the system under which a college was too often starved, while the governing body was enriched.

Its frequent abuse by the trustees of corporations or of ecclesiastical bodies.

Legislation of Parliament in relation to the question.

To such an extent had this evil grown, that, in the 13th year of Elizabeth, Parliament interfered by direct legislation;

Act of 13th Eliz.

and it was enacted that all leases, gifts, grants, feoffments, or conveyances of estates by the master and fellows of a college, etc......(other than for the term of twenty-one years, or three lives, from the time any such lease or grant shall be made, whereupon the accustomed yearly rent or more shall be preserved, and payable yearly during the term) shall be void[1].'

Act of 18th Eliz.

This enactment was however ingeniously evaded. Heavy fines had before been levied at long intervals; recourse was now had to lighter fines levied at very short intervals. The lessors yielded technical compliance with the law by granting leases of the required length; but long before each lease fell in, they found (with the connivance of the tenant) a pretext for a new one, under slightly modified conditions, and the fines accrued and the rents diminished, much as before. The frequency of these practices may be inferred from the fact that within five years from the former act, Parliament found it necessary again to interfere, and it was further enacted that 'if any new lease shall be made, for twenty-one years or three lives, of any collegiate lands, tenements, or hereditaments, *whereof the old lease shall not then be expired within three years;* That then the old lease shall be void[2].'

Special provision of the Act: one-third of the college rents to be paid in corn.

It is impossible to say to what extent this enactment might also have been evaded, had not Sir Thomas Smith's ingenuity devised an additional check. At his suggestion[3], there was passed in the same year an Act for 'The Maintenance of the Colleges in the Universities,' and by this it was required that in all new leases issued by the colleges it should be made obligatory on the lessee to pay 'one-third part at least' of the old rent in corn or in malt,—'that is to say,' says the Act, 'in good wheat after 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter or under, and good malt after 5*s.* the quarter or under,' 'to be delivered yearly upon days prefixed to the said colleges,' 'and *for default thereof*, to pay to the said colleges after the rate at which the best wheat and malt in the markets of Cambridge, Oxford, Winchester, and Windsor, for the respective neighbouring colleges, is sold the next market-day before the rent is due; and all other leases to be void. The wheat, malt, or money, coming of the same, to the use of the relief of the commons and diet of the said colleges: and by no fraud or colour to be let or sold away, under pain of deprivation of the governor and chief rulers of the college, and all others consenting[1].'

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[1] Reeves, *History of the English Law from the Time of the Romans to the End of the Reign of Elizabeth* (ed. Finlason), III 621.

[2] Act 18 Eliz. c. 10; MSS. Baker, XLI 212.

[3] The preponderance of the evidence is certainly in favour of Fuller's representation (Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 273) of Sir Thomas Smith as 'the chief procurer of the passing of this Act.' But it is another proof of Dr Perne's reputation as a benefactor to the university that he was also credited with at least a share in the measure [*supra*, p. 181; Strype, *Annals* (ed. 1824), IV 609]. Lord Burghley, again, is named by Strype as the reputed author (*Ibid.* II, bk. ii, c. 5). It may, however, be assumed as beyond question that the idea was conceived by a loyal son of the university of Cambridge and was primarily designed to benefit his place of education, although the measure necessarily included the sister university. This fact might fairly have been recognised by Professor Montagu Burrows in his recent reference to the Act and its eminently beneficial results. See *Register of the Visitors of the University of Oxford* (Camden Soc.), Introd. p. xiii.

Advantages resulting to the colleges.

The advantage thus secured to the colleges is obvious. In times of scarcity and famine, such as had before often half emptied those struggling societies, the collegian now lived secure. A cheap loaf had become his certain and inalienable privilege; and the governing body could apportion out the expenditure of the yearly revenue of the college with comparatively little misgiving as to the results which might follow upon a deficient harvest. The wheat, of course, although it might be worth six times or ten times the money in the open market, could never be placed to the credit of the tenant at more than 6*s.* 8*d.* a quarter, nor barley at more than 5*s.* There are those living who can remember how it once reached the figure of £5 the quarter, and the opposition which Robinson's Act encountered when it was proposed, in the year 1815, that whenever the price of wheat reached 80*s.* per quarter the importation of corn from other countries should be permitted. It will thus be readily understood how this one-third of the rental payable to the colleges rose in time to be far more valuable than the remaining two-thirds, which were payable simply in the current coin of the realm, and how the revenue resulting from this third gradually came far to exceed all reasonable requirements in the direction originally indicated by the framer of the Act, when stipulating that the wheat, malt, or money coming of this same one-third should be expended 'to the use of the relief of the *commons and diet* of the said colleges.' The term 'commons,' it is to be remembered, denoted the meals partaken of by the members of the college in the *common* hall, and represented the chief if not the entire maintenance of a member,—whether fellow, scholar or sizar. Originally, this allowance represented the main though not the full value of a fellowship[1]. Thus we find that at King's College, then the richest in the university, but where, by the will of the founder, the provost appropriated a share of the revenue equal to that of ten fellows, each fellow being a master of arts, received as his stipend £1. 6*s.* 8*d.* yearly, and £4. 6*s.* 8*d.* for commons, besides a small allowance for clothes or, as it was then termed, 'livery.' At St John's, the majority of the fellows received 13*s.* 4*d.* stipend, and £2. 12*s.* 0*d.* for commons. At Queens' College, which was in somewhat better circumstances, stipend, commons, and livery amounted to £6. 13*s.* 4*d.*[2] Generally speaking, the fellow of a college who received 1*s.* 6*d.* a week for what we should now term his 'board' thought himself well off. Whitgift, when master of Pembroke, received only £4 as his annual stipend and 1*s.* 6*d.* per week for commons[3]. By the operation of Sir Thomas Smith's Act, however, the scanty allowance for maintenance expanded into a sum exceeding the original whole and became, to quote the expression of Baker, 'a second additional endowment to every college[4].' 'Learning,

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[1] Reeves, *u. s.* III 624; *Stat.* xviii Eliz. c. 6; Cooper, *Annals*, II 343; Wood-Gutch, II 178; Baker-Mayor pp. 170, 592.

Augmentation in the value of fellowships.

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[1] Professor Montagu Burrows (*u.s.*) goes so far as to describe 'the whole system of regular money allowances to fellows and scholars' as 'previously almost unknown and quite unrecognized.' I cannot say how far this is correct as concerns Oxford, but at Cambridge, as the statements in the text shew, it is unquestionable that money payments to the fellows ('*stipes*') had been systematically made long before 1575.

[2] See Cooper, *Annals*, I 431–8, *sub ann.* 1545.

[3] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, II 339.

[4] Baker-Mayor, p. 170, see also p. 593. Dr Goad, in the year 1576, when repelling the charges brought against his administration as provost of King's, supplies us with a noteworthy illustration: 'The bargain of grain made with y^e sd: Launcelot was for 33 quarters of wheat at 12s: the quarter. The next yere

Various testimony with respect to the results of the Act.

I am sure,' writes the historian of the sister university, 'hath been much encouraged thereby, and antient colleges enriched[1].' Even so early as the year 1601, in a formal account of the university drawn up for Sir Robert Cecil on his election to the office of chancellor, the measure is described as that 'most blessed and gracious statute, without which happie helpe the colledges had, many of them, bene left forsaken by theire studentes long ere this[2].' 'At this day,' says Fuller, writing some fifty years later, 'much emolument redoundeth to the ancient colleges of each university by the passing of this Act, so that though their rents stand still, their revenues do increase. True it is, when they have least corn, they have most bread, I mean best maintenance, the dividends then mounting the highest[3]'.

Consequent disappearance of the hostel.

Among the collateral results of this increase in the revenues and domestic attractions of each college, we may include the final extinction of the ancient hostel. The charter given in 1603, whereby the universities gained the long-coveted privilege of sending representatives to Parliament[4], appears to be the latest document in which these hostels are referred to as still existing institutions; and we may perhaps concur in the suggestion of one writer[5], that their ultimate disappearance is partly attributable to the increased power of the Heads, who regarded with disfavour any scheme of residence whereby students were withdrawn from their immediate control. The Elizabethan statutes as we have already seen[6], had (in marked contrast to the statutes of 1549) greatly enhanced the authority and influence of the Heads, and the augmented revenues and numbers of each college, together with the fact that these foundations now included almost all the residents in the university, must have tended to a like result. The office of Head was thus rising at once in importance and in estimation. In the

Increased importance of the office of Head.

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after ye bargain was made, when he servyd in 7: or 8: quarters, wheat did ryse to 30sh: the quarter, therfore it were hard now to take the forfayture of his Bound.' Baker MSS. IV 11.

[1] Wood-Gutch, II 179.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 602.

[3] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 274.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, III 3.

[5] Walsh, *Historical Account of the University of Cambridge*, pp. 18–19.

[6] See *supra*, pp. 223–4, 230, 236, nn. 2 and 3; and cf. p. 113.

earlier part of the century, the contentious and factious spirit fostered in each society by theological differences, the smallness of the stipend[1], and the precariousness of the revenues, had often combined to render the office a far from enviable one and its practical duties were not unfrequently evaded by non-residence. The fellows, on the other hand, if they had succeeded in gaining as their Head one possessed of influence at Court or in the Church, were little disposed to complain if he treated the appointment as a mere appanage to some higher office,—a bishopric, a deanery, or a royal chaplaincy. Fuller seems to look upon Rotheram's non-residence at his college as sufficiently excused by the fact that the master of Pembroke was also archbishop of York[2]. Respecting a later master of the same society, the eminent Lancelot Andrewes, the same writer tells us that, owing to his liberality, he was generally a loser by his office at the end of the year, and that the appointment though honourable was of but small value[3].

Change in the sense of responsibility attached to the office.

With the commencement of the seventeenth century, however, we can discern a considerable change both in the actual position of the Head and in the estimation in which the office was generally held. The repressive policy sanctioned by the Elizabethan statutes and the enactment of the Lambeth articles had, to a great extent, silenced theological controversy within the precincts of the university; and the national creed, as by law established, was rendered less open to dispute. The master, if he differed from the Articles in his interpretation of any particular dogma, deemed it prudent to abstain from too open an avowal of his private belief; the fellows, if his opinions were orthodox, no longer

Some of its difficulties become diminished.

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[1] See Leonard Pilkington's declaration (*supra*, p. 186, n. 1) concerning the mastership of St John's in 1561,—'that whosoever have it he must have other living beside.'

[2] 'It must not be forgotten that this archbishop kept the mastership of Pembroke Hall till the day of his death and so did his successors in the same college, bishop Fox and bishop Ridley; not that they were covetous (what is a *molehill* to those that have *mountains?*) of the place, *but the place ambitious of them, to be guarded and graced by them.*' Fuller, *Worthies*, I 184.

[3] *Abel Redevivus*, II 160. Andrewes' tenure of the mastership lasted from 1589 to 1605. To Casaubon, the heads of colleges at Oxford, in 1613, seemed to live 'like noblemen.' Pattison, p. 403.

ventured to combine for the purpose of ousting him from his office simply because his theological sympathies were at variance with those of the majority among themselves.

The average length of its tenure during the periods 1560—1600 and 1600—1640 compared.

The office having thus become not only more lucrative but also more dignified and less invidious, we should naturally be disposed to expect that it would exhibit a greater duration of tenure. So far, however, is this from being the case, that we find that the number of changes in the fourteen colleges existing prior to 1560 that occurred during the first forty years of the new century, was only three less than the number during the last forty years in the preceding century; and if we eliminate from the comparison the exceptional cases of St John's and Magdalene[1], the later period (1600—1640) shews six changes more than the earlier. Of this, the true explanation is probably to be found in the fact that the office, having risen in estimation and importance, was no longer regarded as subsidiary to a more valuable appointment and was therefore generally resigned as soon as the holder was promoted to any high ecclesiastical function, such as a bishopric. Residence, again, on the part of the Head, was now more strictly observed, and although he might be the holder also of a deanery, archdeaconry, or some valuable living, he no longer ventured altogether to absent himself from Cambridge. An excellent illustration of the change that thus gradually grew up in the general conception of the office is afforded by a comparison of the language of Dr Bridges, the dean of Sarum, in 1587, with that employed by Fuller in the year 1648. The former, in repelling the attacks of the Puritans, which were levelled against nearly all ecclesiastical dignities indiscriminately, finds it necessary not simply to defend the character of the Heads at Cambridge in his day, but even the office itself. The Puritan denounced the Heads as drones; to which Bridges replies that all the Heads are by no means drones, and that even a drone may do far less harm in a hive than 'an

The language of Dr Bridges in relation to the office and that of Fuller compared.

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[1] St John's saw *seven* new masters between 1560 and 1600; Magdalene, *six*; between 1600 and 1640 the two societies had only *two* new masters apiece.

angrie waspe.' To the Puritan demand that no one should be appointed a Head who was not also a sound and competent divine, he makes the somewhat inadequate rejoinder that in some societies the special studies pursued render it desirable that the master should be rather a civilian or a physician[1]. The tone of Fuller, in his ideal sketch of 'The Good Master of a College,' is widely different. He holds that learning, to the extent requisite to fit its possessor for the professorial chair, is not needed in a Head, and maintains that acquirements of a lower degree are even to be preferred, as more likely to be associated with discerning and practical administrative capacity. In his view, the more important duties of such a post consist in setting a good example in the observance of the statutes, maintaining discipline in the college, regarding only merit in elections to fellowships, and in watching over the interests of the foundation by enforcing punctual and proper payments from the tenantry[2].

Unrestricted powers of the Head in some of the smaller colleges.

The augmented powers of the Heads in relation to the university at large, almost necessarily made each more able to assert his authority in his own college. In some of the smaller societies, indeed, the office appears to have become very nearly an autocracy, and one whose prerogative was sometimes harshly and tyrannically exercised. Fines were imposed on the fellows very much at the master's discretion; and even their persons were but imperfectly protected, for as we have already seen their superior could venture to order them to be beaten or to be put in the stocks[3]. Another expedient for reducing one or more contumacious fellows to submission was that of involving them in a costly law-suit, wherein the master's heavier purse, if it failed to help him to a favourable verdict, at least secured him from the ruin in which his opponents became involved[4]. At Corpus College

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[1] Bridges, *A Defence of the Government*, etc., p. 525.

[2] For the most part, there seems to have been scarcely sufficient stringency in this last respect. 'Generally,' says Fuller, 'I hear the Muses commended for the best landladies, and a college lease is accounted but as the worst kind of freehold.' See his *Holy State* (ed. 1840), pp. 79–81.

[3] *Supra*, p. 201, n. 1.

[4] *Ibid.* Note also the statement

Example afforded at Corpus Christi College.

the Head acquired unusual influence through the enactment of a clause twice confirmed by the Visitors, that any question requiring the consideration of the master and fellows might be finally decided by *a majority of the fellows present*[1]. As the master possessed in all questions the casting vote, it can scarcely be doubted that his authority was thus extended beyond all reasonable limits. Those to whom the characteristics of the period are even but superficially known, will hardly be surprised to learn that the large discretion which each Head was thus enabled to exercise was often turned to his private advantage rather than to the general good of the society.

Complaints to Parliament of the abuse of these excessive powers.

Among other ecclesiastical abuses which were made the subject of formal complaint to Parliament in the year 1597, was 'the ill-usage of masters of colleges,' who, the petitioners allege, 'convert the college profits, given and ordained to the advancement of learning, to the preferment of themselves, their wives, and children.' And in the same

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in the petition against Dr Nicholls, master of Magdalene, in his treatment of one of the fellows named Johns, that 'he was fain to allow of him as fellowe againe to his small credite after he had caused Mr Johns to spend in one weake more than he might well spare in three years of that smal living he hathe which every good man that knoweth him thinketh toe litle.' *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Eliz.*, CXXVII, no. 18.

[1] *I. e.* provided that the whole number present at the time of recording their votes constituted a majority of the entire number of the fellows,—'modo major pars totius numeri sive societatis pro tempore existentis in capitulo interfuerit et appareat' (*Documents*, II 467; see also Masters, *Hist. C. C. Coll.*, p. 127). From a petition presented by the major part of the fellows to Burghley, it would seem however as though this important saving clause was disregarded by Dr John Jegon, the master; for in the year 1592, he carried the election of his brother, Dr Thomas Jegon, to the office of proctor 'with the consent of 4 felloes (yf so many) of 12;' this was done, moreover, in the long vacation, he 'calling the felloes that were at home by chaunce in the college to a meeting *under pretence of disposing of another matter*' (Heywood & Wright, *Camb. Univ. Trans.* II 46). Masters speaks of this regulation as one which 'must have made an extraordinary alteration in the constitution; it manifestly throwing so much power into the hands of the master (especially if the chancellor's decree was at the same time neglected) as must greatly overballance that of the fellows: but although' (he goes on to say) 'this afterwards occasioned great disputes, and the fellows were so generally dissatisfied with it that the Interpreters of the statutes were again called in upon this head in 1613' [see their confirmation of the rule in *Documents*, II 467] 'yet no redress could then be obtained, nor indeed at any time since. So pleasing is authority however acquired, and so difficult is it to recover a privilege that hath once been departed from' (*Hist. of C. C. Coll.*, p. 127). Dr Lamb, in his edition of Masters' work (p. 145), thought fit altogether to omit the above criticism.

session, a member of the house, one Mr Davies of the Inner Temple brought forward a motion for the appointment of what would now be termed a Committee of Enquiry[1]. His motion was met by a counter-petition from the two universities, that from Cambridge being signed by John Jegon (the vice-chancellor), Some, Tyndall, Andrewes, and Clayton. In this the assertions made by Davies are designated as slanderous, and it is urged that he should himself be called upon to undertake the invidious and difficult task of bringing forward the evidence on which his assertions were founded. The opposition thus raised appears to have been effectual in shielding both universities from the proposed scrutiny, for in an Act passed in the same year, empowering the appointment of Commissioners to inquire into the misapplication of funds given to charitable uses, and 'to make orders for the proper employment thereof,' the colleges and halls of Oxford and Cambridge are expressly exempted from its operation[2].

Motion brought forward by Mr Davies.

Counter-petition of the universities.

As the beneficial results of Sir Thomas Smith's Act became more distinctly felt, the position of the fellows was changed from one of indigence to one of modest competency. They were consequently enabled to assume a more independent attitude, and the master, if designing any practices of the kind above indicated, generally deemed it prudent to secure the assent of at least a portion of the seniority. In this manner, a kind of conspiracy was sometimes formed between the Head and certain of the senior fellows to plunder the college for their own private enrichment[3]. The Head would be permitted to appropriate, in addition to his stipend, the lease of some valuable piece of college property. In return

Increased value of college fellowships.

Mutual connivance of master and fellows in the administration of college revenues.

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[1] D'Ewes, *Journals of Parliaments of Q. Elizabeth*, p. 559.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 587.

[3] Among the articles exhibited against Dr Goad in 1576, and by him forwarded to Burghley as slanderous, we find the following: 'That I and the Seniors consent in spoile. Make a dividend of the Colledge goods. Public dilapidations of the College money....Neglegint in hudling up accompts to defraud the Coll:...Deteyning the Coll: money and diverting it another way...My hurtful affection to the Colledge, the Seniors serve my turne.' etc. etc. Baker MSS. IV 9. The evidence, as we shall hereafter see, enables us to exonerate Dr Goad; but the fact that such allegations could be thus recklessly brought forward itself suggests the conclusion that such maladministration was far from uncommon.

for this connivance, he would himself allow the senior fellows to indulge in like acts of misappropriation, and in this manner not merely the customary fines[1] but the leases themselves became alienated from their legitimate employments. Baker, whose testimony on this point must be looked upon as above suspicion, gives us an account of scandalous malpractices of this kind committed in his own college during the mastership of Owen Gwynne (1612—33)[2] and also states that matters were no better at Trinity under Gwynne's contemporary, Dr Richardson[3].

Instances at St John's and Trinity.

Position of the senior and junior fellows contrasted.

The position of the younger fellows seems to have differed considerably from that of the seniority. It will be better understood if we bear in mind that they were generally elected soon after being admitted to their bachelor of arts degree[4] and that their average age at the time of election was probably not over twenty. The increased value of a fellowship, combined with the fact that candidates were eligible at so early an age, seems accordingly to have made the competition much more severe. The society of St John's, in the year 1620, when deprecating a royal nomination (to which they had yielded, however, the required obedience), declare that there were often thirty candidates on a single vacancy[5]. Merit, again, in those days being less impartially estimated and independently established, there was often a sense of indebtedness on the part of those elected which contributed to render them still more subservient to the wishes of their seniors. A royal nominee sometimes found his way into the number of the fellows much against the wish of the majority, but unaided talent and desert could rarely hope for recognition, especially if it had become in any way obnoxious to the electing body. A querulous poet of the Restoration complains that good looks were almost indispensable as a recommendation[1]. There is indeed only too good reason for concluding that the award of a fellowship solely on the ground of merit was the exception rather than the rule; and even the out-going fellow generally contrived to obtain a certain 'consideration' as the price of the exertion of his influence in favour of a successor[2]. Nor were the inducements to a dishonorable subserviency at an end when a fellowship had been gained. As nine-tenths of the fellows were clergymen, the next object of ambition was a college living, and in the endeavour to secure a valuable benefice recourse was too often had to expedients whereby the statutory provision for succession according to seniority was to a great extent set at nought.

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[1] One of the first reforms (introduced at Burghley's suggestion) of Dr John Jegon, on his succeeding to the mastership of Corpus in 1590, was a proviso, 'That leases being lett to the best advantage, *the fines thereof be whollie received and used to the stock of the house.*' Masters, *Hist. of Corp. Chr. Coll.*, Append. N XXXVII.

[2] 'The last master had a lease given to him, this was continued and afterwards a better lease bestowed upon this master, who by a due acknowledgment gives the seniors an option in their turns, so that in some years a good part of the fines and leases were cantoned out among the seniors.' Baker-Mayor, p. 199.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 207.

[4] See, *e.g.*, elections of John Rogers and Mark Sadlington (Cooper, *Athenae*, II 385, and the same work *passim*). We find Dr Perne and the fellows of Peterhouse resisting an injunction to elect one John Tenison on the ground of 'his degree, being master of artes.' Strype, *Annals*, III ii, Append. [no. 39].

[5] Baker-Mayor, p. 485.

Undue influences in elections to fellowships, and in the succession to college livings.

The disposition, now very observable, on the part of the fellow, to look upon his college as his permanent home and the place where his best days were to be spent, was fostered by concurrent influences against which discerning founders like Sir Walter Mildmay found themselves unable to interpose any effectual barrier. The fellowship had itself become an independence,—a prize at once more eagerly sought and less lightly relinquished. Residence again was strictly required and only dispensed with under exceptional circumstances; and, as an almost invariable rule, the absent fellow forfeited his 'commons,' and in some cases his allowance[3]. It was precisely at the period when the fellow thus found himself under the strongest inducements to attach himself permanently to his college, that the ordinary bachelor of arts aiming at a higher degree was permitted, if not encouraged, to be no longer a resident in the university. In the year 1608, a decree of the vice-chancellor and heads (given in

Growing tendency to look upon the fellowship as a provision for life.

Counter tendency to dispense with residence on the part of bachelors of arts (not being fellows) studying for the degree of M.A.

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[1] 'I oft expected—To have been elected | But desert is reprobate | Masters of colleges | Have no common graces | ……And those that scholars are | Must have handsome faces.' Wild (R.) *Iter Boreale and other Poems* (1668), p. 52.

[2] Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, I 151.

[3] See Baker-Mayor, p. 491; Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae*, p. 259.

The obligation to reside abolished by decree of 1608.

virtue of the right of interpretation conferred by statute[1] 50) virtually rescinded the statute[2], whereby bachelors of arts were required to reside nine whole terms in the university before admission to the degree of M.A. Candidates, it was decided, were not 'so bound to a local commorancy and study within the university or town of Cambridge, but that being at the end of nine terms able by their accustomed exercises and other examination to approve themselves worthy to be masters of arts, they may justly be admitted to that degree[3].'

Reasons alleged by the authors of the decree in defence of this innovation.

Tried by the standard of the familiar proverb, 'qui s'excuse s'accuse,' the authors of this important innovation would appear almost self-condemned, for the reasons which they hold it necessary to set forth in vindication of the measure are elaborate and lengthy. They urge that when the status of bachelor of arts has been attained, a student may fairly be trusted to carry on his studies by himself[4]; that the 21st statute of Elizabeth had frequently been interpreted so as to allow of such a construction as that which it was now proposed to place upon it[5]; that by 'following their books in the country' and at the same time acting as curates or schoolmasters, young men would be enabled, by the permission now accorded, at once to serve the Church and the commonwealth, and also to avoid being driven by poverty to the adoption of 'manual trades'; that the statute respecting the degree of bachelor of divinity afforded a certain precedent; and finally, that the original statute, if 'literally taken and construed,' bore very hardly upon those who, by the outbreak of an epidemic or from any private circumstance, had been prevented from being resident during the whole of each of the nine terms[1].

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[1] 'Si quid dubii vel ambigui in istis statutis et sanctionibus oriatur, id per cancellarium et majorem partem praefectorum collegiorum explicabitur et determinabitur.' *Documents*, I 495.

[2] *Supra*, p. 231; Peacock, *Observations*, p. 49; *Documents*, I 459.

[3] Heywood & Wright, *Camb. Univ. Transact.*, II 230.

[4] —'a man once grounded so far in learning as to deserve a bachelorship in arts, is sufficiently furnished to proceed in study by himself, and such conference as he may easily have elsewhere to attain perfection enough not only for a mastership, but higher degrees also, as experience daily teacheth.' With respect to the strict interpretation of the 21st of the Elizabethan statutes, it is urged that 'it is evident by the words of this interpretation, that this restraint is only for young scholars matriculated before any degree taken, and therefore so green and ungrounded as they cannot of themselves profit abroad in the country in our university studies,' etc. *Ibid.* II 230, 231.

[5] See *supra*, p. 284, l. 1.

Results attributable to this decree.

Such was the measure whereby the obligation to reside during the interval between the degrees of bachelor and master of arts was not only placed at the discretion of the authorities, but was practically altogether done away with; and, as the result, a resident class which had once formed the connecting link between the college fellow and the undergraduate suffered considerable diminution, while the evil so forcibly deprecated by Ascham sixty years before[2] was still further intensified. That both the fellow and the undergraduate were losers by the change it is difficult not to believe. The interest of the former in the outer world would have been sustained and quickened by contact with those of his own age and academic status who were looking forward to a career and to active duties beyond the precincts within which his own activities were for the most part restricted; the undergraduate would have benefited by a certain intercourse with those, who, having passed through his own curriculum, were occupied with more advanced studies[3], and who, it seems reasonable to suppose, would have set him a good example by a more scrupulous regard for learning, sobriety, and discipline.

Weakening of the connecting link between the master of arts and the undergraduate.

It is evident, indeed, that the authors of the Elizabethan code were desirous that the graduate, of whatever degree, should supply a kind of model of academic propriety to the undergraduate body. 'No one,' says the 46th statute, '*who has been advanced to any degree in the university*, shall go forth from his college, except he be clad in a gown reaching down to his ankles and a hood befitting his degree, or at least having a sacerdotal distinction about his neck,—a fine of six shillings and eightpence shall be imposed on any one who disobeys in this respect.'[4] In common with the fellows,

The graduate required by the statutes to be a model with respect to dress.

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[1] Heywood & Wright, II 231.

[2] *Supra*, p. 89.

[3] It can hardly be doubted that the statute of 1608 must have materially diminished the attention given to Greek, as this language was not included in the undergraduate's course of study, but reserved for the course preparatory for the degree of M.A. See *Documents*, I. 459.

[4] 'Statuimus ut nemo ad aliquem in universitate gradum evectus nisi

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the graduate was also required to wear 'the superior scholastic and squared cap,' and to eschew the linen shirt, and plaited ruffles about his neck and wrists[1].

The constitution of the university in the early part of the seventeenth century contrasted with that of a hundred years before.

As compared not only with mediaeval, but even with sixteenth-century times, the constitution of the academic community in the days of king James thus presented some important features of difference. It was far less democratic and it was far less homogeneous. The heads of colleges had become a distinct body invested with peculiar powers and special privileges. The fellows of each society, divided into seniors and juniors, often represented opposing interests and discordant aims; but both sections alike were still more strongly marked off from the small body of resident bachelors and masters of arts, by their assured position, superior influence, and the greater consideration that necessarily attaches to a permanent as contrasted with a transient element in the university. From the undergraduate body they were isolated to a yet greater extent than before, in proportion as differences of age, of acquirements, and of academic status were brought out into stronger contrast by the gradual dwindling of that intermediate class who were graduates but not fellows.

The undergraduates of the period.

In the characteristics of the undergraduate body at this period we may recognise not only the prevailing rudeness of the age but also the results of the modified conditions of their academic life[2]. It had been the aim of Whitgift and

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toga talari caputioque congruente aut ad minimum insigni circa collum sacerdotali indutus collegio exeat.' *Documents*, I 482.

[1] 'Item statuimus ut socii cujusque collegii, et graduati qui non sunt socii, dum moram traxerint in universitate, superiori pileo scholastico et quadrato (nisi aegrotaverint) utantur.' *Ibid.* I 483.

[2] In the following pages I have been much indebted to Mr Christopher Wordsworth's *University Life in the Eighteenth Century* and his *Scholae Academicae*, in which he has collected with a care and industry that entitle him to the grateful thanks of all true scholars, a vast array of facts relating to both universities, not only in the eighteenth but also in the seventeenth century. I have also to thank Dr E. K. Bennet for the loan of the manuscript of a paper read before our Cambridge Antiquarian Society (19 Feb. 1883), entitled 'Notes from a Norfolk Squire's Note Book,' in which he affords us an amusing insight into the manful efforts of a worthy country gentleman (Richard Wilton, Esquire, of Topcroft Hall, co. Norfolk), a magistrate and lord of manors, with two sons at Cambridge, to keep some kind of private account of receipts

his party to stifle controversy in the university by a prompt repression of heterodox utterances, and to maintain discipline by a series of minute regulations enforced by a rigorous system of fines and punishments. In the former design, they had, as we have already seen, been so far successful, that those who openly differed from the teaching of the Established Church had for the most part been either silenced or driven into exile; in the latter, they would seem to have overshot the mark, and the ordinary undergraduate, finding himself treated as a schoolboy, too frequently resented that treatment by a perverse neglect of rules, by annoying his superiors, and setting the authorities at defiance. At no period do we find the conduct of the students more unfavourably represented. If we except the kindly-hearted Dr Perne, whose persistent good-nature could not be deterred from taking a hopeful view even of the lads who satirized and disobeyed him[1], it will be difficult to find any testimony in the half-century that follows upon the year 1570 which describes the general condition of the students as satisfactory. William Soone, whose evidence we have already cited[2], writing in the year 1575, notwithstanding his favourable estimate of college life, describes them as continually engaged in conflicts with the townsmen and the watch, and notorious for their rudeness to strangers. Apart indeed from direct evidence, we might almost surmise from the tone of successive enactments that the ordinary undergraduate of the days of king James was very much what the statutes expressly forbade him to be. The ideal undergraduate contemplated by university and college codes, was a decorous, modest, soberly attired youth who made his college his habitual home. Whenever he issued forth beyond its gates, it was only with the express permission of his tutor or the dean. Unless it devolved upon him as a sizar or poor scholar to perform some menial errand for a superior, he was

Their insubordination.

The ideal undergraduate of the statute book.

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and disbursements,—a task for which he was evidently but slenderly qualified either by education or genius.

[1] 'All other thinges are verie well and in good order in the universitie, both for the exercise of lerning and also for comlyness in apparell and manners of schollers as yt was this 20 yeres.' Perne to lord Burghley, 29 Apr. 1581. Cooper, *Annals*, II 387.

[2] *Supra*, p. 374 and note.

always accompanied by a fellow collegian. He wore his academic gown[1], reaching to his ankles and, unless a scholar, a round cloth cap[2]. His hair was closely shorn and he eschewed tobacco. He loitered neither in the market-place nor in the streets and shunned alike the lodging-house and the tavern. He attended no cock-fights, no baitings of bears or of bulls, no fencing matches; the popular and apparently innocent diversion of quoits could attract him neither as a player nor even as a spectator. He neither bathed nor boated. At the early morning service at five o'clock, and again in the evening, he was regularly to be seen in his place in the college chapel. On Sundays, feast-days, and eves, he wore a shining surplice, and although the garment was then five times more costly than at the present day[1], no narrowness of means could prevent him from possessing it in due newness and cleanness. Not less assiduous would be his attendance on the public lectures in the schools specially designed to assist him in his undergraduate course of study,—a patient attentive auditor from the commencement of each lecture to its close. His commonplaces in the college chapel and his public 'acts' were regularly and carefully performed without flippancy, personalities, or paradox. At Christmas, amid the licence permitted even by statute at that festive season, he might venture to take a hand at cards, but he invariably refused to touch the dice-box. On such a paragon of academic virtues the smiles and approval of his superiors were supposed invariably to rest, and if he failed either through lack of talent or of private interest to gain a fellowship, he would at least depart for his remote country living or curacy with the best of omens for his future success.

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[1] The general discipline of the *undergraduate* seems to have been left very much to the college authorities and the statutes of the university are almost silent on the subject of the gown, except in so far as worn by graduates. In the Injunctions given to the colleges by the Visitors in the year 1549, it is enjoined that the 'dress and attire of fellows and scholars' (*sociorum et discipulorum vestitus et cultus*) shall be decent and suitable, and their caps (*pilei*) 'scholastic and square' (Lamb, *Documents*, p. 143). In the statutes given in the *first* of Elizabeth (see *supra*, p. 178) it is enjoined that 'all scholars and graduates' shall wear the special dress enjoined by the statutes of their respective colleges,—*ejusmodi utantur vestitu qui illarum aedium in quibus sunt statutis praescribitur* (*Ibid.* p. 290). This is, so far as I have been able to discover, the earliest trace of a distinctive *college* dress. In the statute of the 12th of Elizabeth above cited (p. 387, n. 4) the words *nemo ad aliquem in universitate gradum evectus* (Lamb, p. 341; *Documents*, I 482), seem to imply that, as above suggested, the discipline of the undergraduate was regarded as the concern of his college rather than of the university. Lord Burghley's decree in the year 1578 requires every person having commons and residence within a college to 'wear such comely apparell, both for the stuff and fashion, as shall become a student and professor of lerning,' and Heads are directed to cause all members of their respective colleges 'to reform ther disordered apparell accordyng to the locall statutes of the houss' (Cooper, *Annals*, II 361). It may, however, be regarded as beyond question that the undergraduate usually wore a gown at this period. The *Return from Parnassus* (Act iii, sc. 2) describes the poor student, before his degree, as wearing 'a sleeveless gown'; and Richard Wilton, (see *supra*, p. 388, note 2) on the occasion of his son Thomas going to Cambridge (April, 1621) enters in his account book as 'having pd. for his gowne makinge' (Transcript lent me by Dr E. K. Bennet). On the cap and gown generally, see Mr C. Wordsworth's *University Life*, pp. 454–467. I must here notice that the translator of the statutes of 1570 employed by Mr Heywood has supposed the *caputium* to be the *cap*, and *superpellicium* the *hood*, and has thus (p. 30) represented the graduates as required to come to chapel 'in *caps* befitting their degree'!

[2] The *square* cap was reserved for *graduates:* Burghley, in 1588, directs that 'all scholers being graduats upon the charges of any howse, do wear a *square* cap of clothe, and lykewise scholers of howses that be no graduate, and all other scholers that have taken no degree of scholers, and do lyve upon their own charges, do weare in the said university a *round* clothe cap.' Ellis's *Letters*, III no. 24.

Contumacy of the actual undergraduate.

Especially in respect to dress.

With this sober and edifying conception of his duties and his recreations, the ordinary undergraduate himself would appear to have been in continual conflict. In the matter of dress he was especially contumacious. In the year 1578 we find the authorities denouncing 'hoses of unsemely greatnes or disguised fashion,' 'excessive ruffs,' 'apparrell of velvet and silk,' and 'swords and rapiers'; they even forbode that 'if some remedy be not speedely provided, the university, which hath bene from the begyning a collection and society of a multitude of all sorts of ages, and professyng to godlines, modesty, vertue, and lerning, and a necesary storehouse to the realme of the same, shall become rather a storehouse for a staple of prodigall, wastfull, ryotous, unlerned, and insufficient persons[2].' These gloomy anticipations would seem, however, to have had but a slight deterring effect, for Dr Fulke, writing to Burghley some four years later, declares that the 'excess in apparel' 'doth not diminish but dayly increase[1]'; and twenty years from the date of Fulke's letter, when Robert Cecil was designing to mark his succession to the chancellorship by measures of effective reform, it was reported to him that the statute respecting dress was 'greatlie neglected,' and that 'schollers now goe in their silkes and velvets, liker to courtiers then schollers[2].'

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[1] Richard Wilton, among the entries of payments for his son Thomas, has '& xiis. I left w. goodewiff Chambers for a surplis,'—an outlay which Dr Bennet is probably right in estimating as equal to 'at least fifty shillings of our money.'

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 360–1.

Statements of William Stafford and Henry Peacham with respect to a certain class of the younger students.

Many sent at too tender an age to profit by a university curriculum.

Peacham's description of their habits of life, circ. A.D. 1625.

It is reasonable to suppose, however, that extravagancies of this character were confined chiefly to the sons of the wealthier classes and to that fugitive element whose brief sojourn is caustically described by William Stafford as attended with little profit to themselves and with no little detriment to the university[3]. The description of one whose knowledge of the facts does not appear to have been derived from personal experience, is borne out, some forty years later, by the testimony of a master of arts of Trinity, who was at the pains to compose and publish a manual for the guidance of the youth of the upper classes in his day. In his *Compleat Gentleman*, Henry Peacham depicts an element in the universities for whose benefit, it may safely be asserted, the colleges of Oxford and Cambridge were never designed. He tells us that many parents, 'out of pride to have their sonnes out-goe their neighbours, or to make them men before their times,' 'take them from schoole, as birds out of the nest, ere they be flidge, and send them so young to the universitie, that scarce one among twentie proueth ought.' 'For as tender plants,' he goes on to say, 'too soone or often remoued, beginne to decay and die at the roote; so these young things, of twelve, thirteene, or fourteene, that have no more care than to expect the next carrier, and where to sup on Fridayes and fasting nights: no further thought of studie, then to trimme up their studies with pictures, and place the fairest bookes in openest view, which, poore lads, they scarce ever opened, or understand not; that when they come to logicke, and the crabbed grounds of art, there is such a disproportion betweene Aristotle's *Categories* and their childish capacities, that what together with the sweetnesse of libertie, variety of companie, and so many kinds of recreation in towne and fields abroad (being like young lapwings apt to bee snatched up by every buzzard), they prooue with Homer's willow *ὠλεσίκαρποι*, and as good goe gather cockles with Caligula's people on the sand, as to attempt the difficulties of so rough and terrible a passage[1].'

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[1] Johnston, *On the King's Visitatorial Power*, p. 246.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 616.

[3] 'For nowe a dayes' (written in 1581) 'when men sende their sonnes to the universities, they suffer them no longer to tarry there then they may have a litle of the latin tongue; and then they take them away and bestowe them to be clerkes with some man of lawe, or some auditor and receyuer, or to be a secretary with some great man or other, and so to come to a lyuing, whereby the universities be in a maner emptied.' Stafford, *Compendious Examination*, etc. (ed. Furnivall for New Shakspere Soc.), p. 20.

Life in the college.

Women no longer permitted to be resident.

The colleges however greatly over-crowded.

Age alone excepted, the presence of such an element, affecting study but studious only of amusement, will probably always be one of the characteristics of our national universities. But if we now turn to mark what the present chapter is especially designed to illustrate—the real student life of the time—we cannot but be struck by the presence of conditions which, to our more modern notions, seem well nigh incompatible with a genuine pursuit of knowledge. It is true, that Elizabeth's disapproval of a married clergy[2] had resulted before the end of her reign in an almost complete withdrawal of the softer sex from college precincts; and though, as we have already seen, the chiding voice of the master's wife was still sometimes to be heard in tones inimical to studious quiet[3], yet the wail of the babe or the sound of children at play was no longer to be included among the ordinary sources of distraction. The over-crowded condition of the colleges must however have been a serious drawback. At the period at which we have now arrived, the hostel, as we have seen, had ceased to exist, while residence in lodgings was as yet so rare as hardly to require to be taken into consideration[4];

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[1] *The Compleat Gentleman.* By Henry Peacham, Master of Arts, sometime of Trinitie College in Cambridge. 2nd edit. London, 1627.

[2] See *Parker Correspondence*, pp. 146, 151, 158; Cooper, *Annals*, II 169; *Zürich Letters* (2), pp. 61, 62; Nares' *Life of Burghley*, II 240–1.

[3] See *supra*, p. 287, n. 4.

[4] William Soone, writing in 1575, expressly states respecting the collegians that '*none* of them live out of the colleges in the townsmen's houses' (Cooper, *Athenae*, II 329). Fuller, in his description of the 'Good Master,' says, 'As for out-lodgings (like

and these facts, when viewed in connexion with what we know of the extent of the buildings and actual numbers of the students, point to an inevitable conclusion that the normal condition of the young collegian must have been one of extreme discomfort. Generally speaking, each student would appear to have shared a single room with three, or at least two, other occupants[1], a state of affairs which lends almost an air of irony to the proviso that such rooms were not to be made available for assemblages for purposes of play, feasting, or gossip[2]. It was not until he had attained to the dignity of a fellowship that the collegian rejoiced in the privilege of being the sole occupant of a single room.

Each room generally tenanted by three or four occupants.

The tutorial system much the same as now.

The Cambridge system, by which the expenditure of the student is supervised to a certain extent by the tutor, was in operation as early as the sixteenth century. Remittances were forwarded at the commencement of the term either through the pupil himself or through some friend who might happen to be a resident member of the university. The fact of the young scholar being thus frequently the bearer of what in those days appeared a considerable sum of money, seems to have sometimes marked him out when travelling Cambridge-wards, for the special attention of the highwayman or footpad, and the news of his safe arrival whether travelling on foot or on horseback, would always be awaited at home with some anxiety[3]. Sometimes the amount forwarded to the tutor included all payments, the pupil being entrusted only with a little pocket-money for himself. Sometimes, however, he received the whole or the greater portion

Payments how made.

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galleries, necessary evils in populous churches) he rather tolerates than approves them.' *The Holy State* (ed. 1840), p. 80.

[1] See *Documents*, III 487, 540,—'in quibus quaternos cubare volumus escholaribus'—statutes of Emmanuel and Sidney Colleges. 'In those days scholars were content to '*lodge*' in College, not to 'keep;' they were content to share a single chamber; no one dreamt of the luxury of rooms: *commorabantur non habitabant*.' Wordsworth, *Univ. Life*, p. 88; see also pp. 88–89 and 635. A letter from one John Smith, a young student at Emmanuel, written about 1630, advises his brother to apply for 'Lankeyshire chamber, he may have James and Chrōfer Colson in it.' (A letter found in the binding of a volume in the cathedral library at Lincoln).

[2] *Documents*, III 510, 563.

[3] 'If he come,' writes John Smith (*u. s.*) of his brother, 'let him beware with whom he cometh. There be many robers abroad.'

of the sum deemed adequate for his entire expenses, and was expected to husband it accordingly[1]. In such cases, an allowance equivalent to from £150 to £200 of our present money would appear to have been deemed sufficient for pensioners, even when sons of wealthy country gentlemen; while the fathers of fellow-commoners expected them to make ends meet on something under £300 a year[2].

Scale of expenditure of sons of gentlemen.

Furniture of the college chamber.

The furniture of the college chamber varied, of course, with the means of the occupant. When Robert Devereux entered at Trinity College, and as the son of a peer found himself sole occupant not only of a bedroom, but also of a study, the cost of furnishing and fitting up, as drawn out by his private tutor, Gervase Babington, amounted to £7. 0*s.* 10*d.*[3] Peacham's account[4] implies that pictures and handsome books often formed part of the adornment.

Tutors and their pupils. Laxity of college regulations with respect to tutors.

The duties of a tutor, a function which might be assumed by any fellow of a college, were at this time somewhat loosely defined. Generally speaking, they involved the superintendance and instruction of not more than half-a-dozen pupils[5], and it not unfrequently happened that the tutor was but three or four years his pupil's senior. As there was then no fixed scale of tutorial fees, he would often, if a man of lax notions, condescend to accept what was practically a bribe for conniving at extravagance and indolence, and would ingratiate himself with a son of wealthy parents, not by a conscientious performance of his own legitimate duties but by his dexterity in extricating his pupil from some scrape. Lord Burghley himself, in the year 1587, aminadverts upon the tutors' stipends as excessive and derived to a great extent from such malpractices[1]. The relations of the scholar and his mentor had however their more favourable as well as their less creditable aspect as compared with those of later times. As the tutor stood not merely *in loco parentis* in relation to his pupil, but was also his instructor, and to a great extent his companion, the influence he could thus exercise was almost incalculable, and when exerted for good was productive of results that could not be mistaken and were widely felt and recognised. At no period do we find this influence, as exerted by men possessing not merely high culture and intellectual endowments, but also the requisite moral qualities and sympathetic faculty, forming so prominent a feature in our academic history as in the seventeenth century. The work of Parke and Clarkson at Clare, of Perkins at Christ's, of Preston at Queens', of Worthington, Tuckney, and Whichcot at Emmanuel, became a part not only of their celebrity as individuals but also of the greatly enhanced reputation and usefulness of their respective colleges.

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[1] Mr Wilton (*u. s.* p. 390, n. 2) thus records the departure of his son Robert: 'It^{m}. Ro. went to Camb. xv Jan. 1615, when I dded him v^{li} vj^{s} vj^{d}. he to finde himself appēll and all other things excepting his tuition his com̄ons in ye halle and sisesings in buttre w^{h} I am to defray.' In the following year, when his confidence in his son's discretion appears to have become confirmed, we have the following entry: 'I have taken order anewe, vidl^{t}. to allow him xxx^{li} ꝑ ann., and he to paye all com̄ons sizesings & fynd himselfe appēll & all whatsoever besyde w^{h} Ye Lorde blesse I hūbly praye.' I may note that many of the college charges represent a difference much greater than that arising out of the fall in the value of money. Strype, the historian, writing to his mother in 1662, speaks of having in view a 'very handsome chamber' on the first floor in Jesus College, the rent of which is only 20s. per annum. Cooper, *Annals*, III 505.

[2] Sir Simonds D'Ewes, who entered at St John's as a fellow-commoner in 1618, says of himself and his father: 'We had discourse together of an annual stipend to be allowed me. The utmost I desired was but 60*l.*; my father conceived 50*l.* to be sufficient; which I was willing to accept, being able to obtain no more, rather than be at his allowance.' *Autobiography* (ed. Halliwell, I 119). D'Ewes' father, I must notice, was a man of very penurious disposition.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, II 352–3.

[4] *Supra*, p. 394.

[5] By the statutes of St John's College given in 1545, no fellow was allowed to have more than one pensioner as a pupil: and the master not more than four. This limitation appears however soon to have been abandoned; and as originally imposed was evidently designed not to limit the number of the *pupils* so much as that of the *pensioners*; 'Numerum autem pensionariorum ita determinatum esse volumus, ut nullus sociorum ultra unum pen-

Lord Burghley's complaint.

More favourable aspect of these relations.

Average age at entrance.

The average age at which students entered was probably about sixteen, but the irregular manner in which, at the

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sionarium habeat, nec magister ultra quatuor.' Mayor, *Early Statutes of St John's College*, p. 87.

[1] 'I am credibly informed by the great complaints of divers, both worshipfull and wise parents, the which have brought their children to the universitie, that thorowe the great stipendes of tutors, and the little paines they doe take in the instructinge and well governinge of their puples, not onely the poorer sorte are not able to maintaine their children at the universitie; and the ritcher be soe corrupte with libertie and remissnes, so that the tutor is more afrayed to displease his puple thorowe the desire of great gaine, the which he haithe by his tutorage, then the puple is of his tutor.' Strype, *Annals*, III ii c. 12.

commencement of the seventeenth century, such entries were made and preserved renders it difficult to arrive at an exact estimate. In the month of January, 1629 (O. S.), however, a praiseworthy precedent in such matters was set by the society of St John's. Dr Owen Gwyn, the master, in conjunction with the seniority, made an order for a systematic registration of the entries at the college, and this valuable record, as recently published[1], throws considerable light upon various questions connected with the classes from which the collegians of those days were mainly recruited[2]. Intermingling with a certain small minority of scions of noble houses and country squires, we find the sons of poor parsons, yeomen, husbandmen, tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, innkeepers, tallow-chandlers, bakers, vintners, blacksmiths, curriers, ostlers, labourers, and others whose humble origin may be inferred from the fact that they are described merely as 'plebeians.' The inference which has been drawn from this apparent fusion of different elements, that the relations which then existed between the aristocratic and the poorer classes afford a favourable contrast when compared with those of later times[3], becomes somewhat modified when we consider that the sizar and poor scholar were often called upon to perform offices distinctly menial in character. The chapel clerk, the porter at the gate, the college cook, and the steward were all alike on the foundation and generally recruited from the subsizars; while those of that class who were invested with no definite office acted as valets to the fellow-commoners and pensioners[4]. Each was required to

Dr Owen Gwyn's order for the registration of freshmen at St John's.

Classes from which students were then mainly recruited.

Considerations which serve to qualify the supposed fusion of classes.

The sizar often really a menial.

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[1] See *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge* [Edited by Prof. John E. B. Mayor]. 1882–3.

[2] Nothing can be more clear than that the class who *paid* (the 'pensioners') was now beginning to exclude, or reduce to an inferior status, the class for whom the colleges were originally designed, viz. the poorer students who could not maintain themselves. See Vol. I. p. 368.

[3] Mr C. Wordsworth (*University Life*, pp. 91–92) speaks of the free intercourse between the aristocratic and poorer elements in the university at this period as presenting a marked contrast to the latter part of the eighteenth century. One feature is certainly incontestable, viz. that the aristocratic disdain of trade was then rarely evinced: Mr Wilton, the opulent country squire, while he sent his eldest and third sons to Cambridge, sent the second (Richard) to be apprenticed for eight years to a mercer in Cheapside. Dr Bennet's MS. *u. s.*

[4] Sir Simonds D'Ewes says: 'At the same time was admitted one

Services which he was thus called upon to render.

Such services, being a source of emolument, rendered without reluctance.

rouse his master for morning chapel, to clean his boots, and sometimes to dress his hair. He brought his orders from the butteries, carried his letters and messages, and in some cases wrote his college exercises. Nor do such services appear to have been rendered reluctantly or with any sense of indignity. At the period with which we are concerned, it would rather seem to have been the main anxiety of those who performed them, lest they should be supplanted by ordinary menials and so lose the slender emoluments they were wont thus to earn[1]. Such were the conditions under which that poorer class which, as we have already noted[2], seemed at one time likely to disappear altogether from the universities, now effected its return. When the master and the servitor retired for repose at night, the former slept singly in his bed, while the latter occupied a low couch on rollers (a truckle-bed, as it was termed) beneath him. The tutor and his pupil often occupied the same relative positions; and poor scholars generally slept two together in a bed, or four in the same room, and were hence designated in the statute book as *concubicularii*,—a term from whence, it has been conjectured, comes the college 'chum[3].'

The freshman's ordeal.

'Salting.'

As the fine October days of his first term slipped away, and the charcoal brazier was to be seen burning in the gloom of the November evenings in the college hall, the freshman became aware that an ordeal was awaiting him to which the more timid probably looked forward with no little apprehension. This was the ceremony of 'salting.' The freshmen were summoned to the hall, there to make the acquaintance of their seniors, the senior and junior sophisters, by a process

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Thomas Manning to be my sub-sizar; the son of a grave and religious, silenced divine, being a very pious and well disposed youth,' &c. *Autobiography* (ed. Halliwell), I 107.

[1] 'On the 19th of December (1625) the vice-chancellor and eleven heads of colleges made a decree, reciting that contrary to the ancient statutes of the university and colleges, within a few years, boys and men ignorant of letters, and altogether unapt to make any progress in the studies of the university, and women besides, had crept within the college walls, to do those works which used to be done by indigent students to help bear their charges; from whence great damage had accrued to poor scholars and scandal to the university at home and obloquy abroad.' Cooper, *Annals*, III 182; see also Wordsworth, *u. s.* p. 410.

[2] See *supra*, p. 95.

[3] Wordsworth, *University Life*, pp. 88–89.

—much as, at a later period, it was the fashion to call upon each guest for a 'sentiment,' as the wine circled after a festive dinner. The bold, the ready, and the quick-witted, who contrived to move the company to laughter, were rewarded with copious draughts of sack or beer; but to those who failed,—the boorish north-country lad, who could only blurt forth some old, familiar witticism, or the bashful southern boy, who sat crimsoning in silence, unable to collect his ideas,—were handed *salt* and water, or caudle largely mingled with salt, which each was compelled to swallow. After this the less merciful of the seniors would inflict upon him the punishment of 'tucking,' that is, an incision made with the finger-nail in the lip, or an abrasion from the chin to the lip, which caused the blood to flow. Finally, the senior cook administered to all the newcomers in turn an oath, to be sworn upon an old shoe which each was required reverently to kiss; and after the process of initiation had been thus completed, the freshman was entitled to take his place among his seniors[1]. Half barbarous as these proceedings now appear, they were sanctioned by the college authorities and even by so rigid a disciplinarian as Whitgift. The expense of providing the liquor consumed on the occasion fell upon the freshmen and was charged in the tutor's account; and in Whitgift's accounts as tutor during his mastership at Trinity we find a charge for the 'salting' of Francis Bacon[2].

'Tucking.'

Features in the undergraduate course of study which distinguish it from that of the mediaeval era.

If we now proceed to trace out the undergraduate course of study (so far, at least, as it differed from that already described in connexion with the mediaeval period[3]), the conservatism as regards secular studies is almost as remarkable as the innovations with respect to theology. We have already seen (*supra*, p. 111), that by the statutes of 1549, the study of mathematics had been substituted for that of grammar. In the Elizabethan statutes, however, the study is altogether

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[1] *College Life in the Reign of James I*, p. 15; Cooper, *Annals*, A. and C., p. 276.

[2] See *British Magazine* (1847), XXXII 361, 508–28.

[3] See Vol. I, pp. 352–6: the term 'undergraduate' (see *Ibid.* p. 352) may now of course be applied with propriety.

Mathematics no longer included as compulsory.

omitted from the prescribed undergraduate course. The mathematical professor still, indeed, delivered lectures, but there is no evidence that the attendance of students was in any way compulsory, and those who did attend appear to have been either sophisters or bachelors of arts. It is scarcely necessary to say that what they could thus learn was singularly little. They heard the elementary rules of arithmetic expounded from the page of Cuthbert Tunstal[1] or of Jerome Cardan[2]. In geometry they might learn as much of Euclid as was comprised in the definitions and axioms and a few of the propositions of the first book. In cosmography and astronomy the information obtainable was yet more unsatisfactory, for not only was it extremely meagre but much of it was absolutely wrong. In the age of Galileo and Kepler, and nearly a century from the time when Copernicus caught from the fantastic page of Martianus Capella the hint which guided him to his great discovery[3], the student at Cambridge and Oxford was still deriving his notions of the celestial system from the Σύνταξις of Ptolemy[4]; and, although no less a period had elapsed since Magellan and Vasco da Gama rounded the southern continents, he still turned for his cosmical theory to the *Timaeus* of Plato, and for his geographical information to pagan writers of the first century,—to Strabo and Pliny, or to the brief outline in which Pomponius Mela sums up the geographical knowledge of the Roman of the time of Claudius.

Subjects then included under that designation.

Antiquated character of the text-books.

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[1] Vol. I, p. 592.

[2] *Practica Arithmetice et mensurandi singularis.* Milan, 1539, 8vo. 'On this,' says De Morgan, 'there is no remark to make, except that, as might be expected from an Italian of that day, Cardan shows more power of computation than the French and German writers. There is a chapter recapitulating the numbers which have mystic properties, as he calls them, one use of which is in foretelling future events. These are mostly the numbers mentioned in the Old and New Testaments, but not altogether: 400, for example, makes its appearance, because it was (but it was not) the number of bishops at the Nicene Council.' *Arithmetical Books*, p. 17.

[3] See Vol. I, pp. 25–26.

[4] The statutes of the Savilian professor of Astronomy at Oxford, which date from 1619, mark the new departure (see prof. Fowler's note to his edition of Bacon's *Novum Organum*, p. 288, n. 59); and it is deserving of note that the first four professors of astronomy at Gresham College were all from Oxford. According however to De Morgan (*Companion to the British Almanac* for 1855, pp. 21–22, quoted by professor Fowler, *u.s.*, Introd. pp. 32–33) the anti-Copernicans were not altogether without excuse in their conservatism.

Reason why these subjects received so little attention at the universities.

The explanation of the remarkable indifference thus evinced for the studies then known as 'mathematical' is not solely to be found in a spirit of conservatism. A statement made by Wallis, the eminent mathematician, who entered at Emmanuel in the year 1632, throws additional light upon the subject. Even at that time, he tells us, mathematics were more studied in London than at either of the universities, owing to the fact that the subjects included under that designation were looked upon as appertaining to practical life rather than to the curriculum of a university[1],—as belonging, that is to say, to that class of 'matters mechanical' which, to quote the language of Bacon, it was then esteemed 'a kind of dishonour unto learning to descend to inquiry or meditation upon[2].'

Rhetoric takes the place of mathematics as the subject of the first year's study.

The place which this despised study had occupied in the prescribed curriculum half a century before was now engrossed by rhetoric; and here again, although the lecturer was enjoined to deliver his discourses in the vernacular, the treatment of the subject was purely traditional. The compends of Hermogenes,—the same manuals that the Gallic youth were conning over in the imperial schools at Treves, Autun, and Bordeaux, when the armies of Clodion and Clovis overthrew the remnants of the Roman power,—the *Institutes* of Quintilian and the oratorical treatises of Cicero, are the only sources named in the Elizabethan statute[3].

The ancient manuals still the only ones used.

It illustrates however the necessity for caution in the inferences which we derive from the isolated testimony of statutory law, that while there is satisfactory proof that portions of the Elizabethan Code were at this time already obsolete, there is no less satisfactory evidence that the statutes relating to the studies of the university convey but an inadequate conception of the mental activity that prevailed in relation to certain subjects. Among these subjects was logic, at that time the chief study of the junior and senior sophisters. And here, although the statute refers only to Aristotle and Cicero[1] as the recognised text-books, it is necessary to take into account a new and important element which, even at the time when the statute was drawn up, was already fast making its way in the chief universities of Europe, and was before long to become especially associated with the learning and the schools of Cambridge.

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[1] As 'mechanical, and the business of traders, merchants, seamen, carpenters, or the like, and perhaps some almanack makers in London.' Hearne's *Langtoft*, Pref. p. cxvii.

[2] *Of the Advancement of Learning*, bk. ii, I 5.

[3] 'Primus annus rhetoricam docebit.' (*Documents*, I 459) 'Praelector rhetorices Quintilianum, Hermogenem, aut aliquem alium librum oratoriarum Ciceronis. Quos omnes libros *vulgari lingua pro captu et intelligentia auditorum* explicabit interpretabiturque.' (*Ibid.* I 457). It is not improbable that this change was at least partly owing to the teaching of Ramus. He assigned mathematics a place in the more advanced or esoteric branch of instruction, his division of the sciences being (1) *exoteric*, including grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic; (2) *esoteric*, including mathematics, physics, and metaphysics. See *Ramus: sa Vie ses Ecrits et ses Opinions:* par Charles Waddington (Paris, 1855), p. 346.

Logic the chief study of the second and third years.

Peter Ramus. b. 1515. d. 1572.

His attack on Aristotle in the schools of Paris, A.D. 1536.

Sensation thereby produced in learned Europe.

Since the day when Luther fastened his theses to the portals of the Castle church at Wittenberg, no such shock had been given to traditional belief as that when, in the year 1563, a young student of the College of Navarre[2] put forward, as the thesis for his master's degree in the faculty of arts at Paris, the astounding heresy,—*Quaecumque ab Aristotele dicta essent, commenticia esse*[3]. 'The Aristotelians in Paris,' says Maurice, in referring to the event, 'felt that the cause which Ramus had pleaded in this early display, would be the cause which he would plead through life. What he had done was talked of throughout all France; the fame of it reached to Italy. Tasso alludes to it in his *Pensieri:* all Paris, he says, was confused and stupified by the boldness of this young man[4].' If such were indeed the impression produced upon those who witnessed this bold assault on tradition, it was in no way falsified by the sequel. Throughout his life, and long after that life had ended so tragically on the eve of St Bartholomew, the reputation of Peter Ramus was that of one, to whom, in all his researches, the attainment of truth was the chief motive, the paramount consideration. 'If ever,' says one of his chief admirers in

William Temple's

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[1] See Vol. I, pp. 44, 282, n. 2, 343.

[2] Of the College of Navarre at Paris I have given some account in my previous volume, pp. 127 *sqq.*

[3] Waddington, *Ramus*, p. 26.

[4] *Hist. of Philosophy*, II 142.

testimony to his genuine love of truth.

that Cambridge where his influence was so potent and so prolonged, 'if ever there was one in whom the desire of arriving at truth and overthrowing error was such, that he was delighted beyond measure if at any time he had gained a more accurate conception of any subject,—whether as the result of his own investigations or those of another, however humble,—it was Ramus. Patiently to submit to admonition when in error, to rejoice at being set right by another, was his most striking characteristic[1].' But while it may safely be asserted that neither Bacon nor Descartes, nor any other great leader in the regions of original research, ever scrutinised traditional doctrine with a more genuine candour than Ramus, a concurrence of authoritative opinion teaches us to look upon his genius as destructive rather than creative. As Luther shook the popular faith in the Fathers and the Councils, so Ramus shook the faith of the schools in the infallibility of Aristotle. And had he not overthrown, it may be questioned whether others could have so securely built. As the Reformer pulled down the houses of the Dominicans and the Franciscans on the sites where Emmanuel and Sidney subsequently rose, so it was the special work of Ramus to clear the ground whereon the imposing structures of Baconian science and Cartesian philosophy were subsequently to be reared[2].

His genius destructive rather than creative.

The *Dialectica* of Ramus.

This new conception of the logical art, in the form in which it first became familiar to Cambridge students, was embodied in a modest duodecimo volume[3], among the earliest (if indeed it was not *the* earliest) of the productions of the

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[1] 'Fuit ille vir, siquis alius, in studium disceptandǎe veritatis et erroris profligandi tantopere incitatus, ut si quid aliquando accuratius occurrisset, sive id ipse invenisset, sive ab alio vel infimo accepisset, vehementius laetaretur. Atque hoc plane Rameum est, et pati se de errore admoneri et laetari si ab aliquo corrigatur.' William Temple to John Piscator, June, 1581. (*Epist. de Rami Dialectica*, appended to *Pro Mildapettide unica Methodo Defensione contra Diplodophilum*, 1581.)

[2] Hallam's estimate of Ramus, though he seems to have been hardly aware of the extent of his influence, seems fairly just. *Lit. of Europe*, II[10] 118.

[3] *P. Rami Dialecticae Libri duo, Scholiis G. Tempelli Cantabrigiensis illustrati. Quibus accedit, eodem Authore, de Porphyrianis Praedicabilibus Disputatio. Item: Epistolae de P. Rami Dialectica contra Johannis Piscatoris Responsionem Defensio, in capita viginti novem redacta. Cantabrigiae, ex Officina Thomae Thomasii.* 1584.

Its main design to render the study of logic more easy and popular.

Its method.

His definition of logic.

Logic divided into three grades.

Cambridge University Press, when, as we have already seen, it rose again to life, under the protecting care of Burghley[1]. And at the time of which we are treating, this volume was probably in the possession of every Cambridge scholar who laid claim to anything beyond the most conventional acquaintance with the subject of which it treated. Taken as a whole, the *Dialectica* of Ramus may be not inaptly described as an attempt at a 'Logic made easy.' The Terminists of the schools, as we have before seen[2], had succeeded in rendering the study of logic eminently repulsive. Ramus, by means of a Latinity which won the reluctant admiration of Scaliger[3], and by the sacrifice of those portions of the Aristotelian logic which more especially tax the reasoning powers[4], had produced a compendium of an eminently popular character. His method had for its chief object to exemplify as far as practicable the employment of the natural reason, in the acceptance of facts or in arriving at conclusions, without recourse to those artificial processes which Aristotle, or rather his commentators, had prescribed as indispensable aids. Logic, or dialectic (which he looks upon as synonymous), according to his definition, is the art of arguing or reasoning[5]. But this art, in the course of its developement, passes through three successive and distinct grades: first, as it exists, in embryo as it were, in the natural reasoning faculty; secondly, as the principles thus derived are reduced to rules and formulated into an art; thirdly, as this duly matured art finds employment in its application to specific questions. In other words: nature points out the rules which art formulates and reduces to a system, and practice applies the rules thus obtained[1]. The parts of dialectic are twofold,—invention and judgement. Judgement, in turn, is to be considered as divisible into enunciation, syllogism, and method. The rules of dialectic are comprised in those of invention and judgement, and if the process of reason be conformable to the examples furnished in the writings of the great authors of antiquity, it may be regarded as having attained its full developement[2]. The Socratic method of disputation was, Ramus held, the true model; while scholasticism, with its useless refinements and multiplicity of rules, had, so far as the conduct of the human reason was concerned, only kept the human mind in a state of perpetual infancy[3].

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[1] See *supra*, p. 297.

[2] See Vol. I, pp. 190, 416.

[3] Waddington, p. 35.

[4] Keckermann points out the following omissions: '(1) alle Regeln und canones; (2) die Lehre von den Prädicamenten; (3) die von den Begrenzungen; (4) von der demonstratio; (5) de solutionibus sophismatum.' See his *Praecognitorum philosophicorum libri* II, bk. ii, c. 5: Tholuck, *das akademische Leben*, II 4.

[5] 'Dialectica est ars bene disserendi, eodemque sensu logica dicta est.' Temple adds, 'Illae duae voces, dialectica et logica, significatione non distinguuntur: sed eandem vim et sententiam subjectam habent.' *Dialectica* (ed. 1584) p. 1. 'Non placet tibi,' says Temple to Piscator, 'Ramea artis logicae definitio. Quid ita? Quia et vox illa *bene* redundat et disserendi verbo non omnis logicae doctrinae vis comprehenditur.' (*Ad Joann. Piscatorem*, p. 75). Ramus still halted in the earlier stage of the definition; in the Port Royal Logic it became 'the art of *thinking*.' See Mill, *Logic*, I^5 1—11.

Also into invention and judgement.

The Socratic method preferable to that of the schoolmen.

It would involve a more extended treatment of the subject than our present purpose requires or would justify, were I here to attempt any detailed account of Ramus's method[4], or seek to explain how it was, that, while his famous treatise has almost passed into oblivion, that great masterpiece of antiquity which he so unjustly depreciated is still studied and admired. From the foremost scholars of his own time, it must be admitted that he won but scant approval. Ascham could scarcely venture to admire a teacher who set his judgement in opposition both to Aristotle and to Cicero[5]. Hooker censured his method as one in which the chief value of the study itself was lost in vague and superficial generalisations[6]. To Bacon, who styles

Criticisms unfavorable to Ramus's treatise by Hooker,

Bacon,

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[1] 'Ars igitur naturam sibi propositam semper habeat, exercitatio artem.' *Dial. Partit.* (1543) fol. 1. 'Ramus's main objection to the Aristotelian logic is, that it is not the image of the natural process of thought; an objection which shows little philosophical insight; for the course by which we obtain knowledge may well differ from the order in which our knowledge, when obtained, is exhibited.' Whewell, *Philosophy of Discovery*, p. 101.

[2] Waddington, *Ramus*, p. 374. It is chiefly from the Latin poets, Vergil, Horace, Ovid, and Martial, that Ramus takes his examples.

[3] *Ibid.* 343.

[4] Its merits and defects as they appeared to the judgements of contemporary critics are set forth in the *Epistolae de P. Rami Dialectica contra Johannis Piscatoris Responsionem Defensio Gulielmi Tempelli, Cantabrigiae, ex Officina Thomae Thomae celeberrimae Academiae Cantabrigiensis Typographi.* 1584.

[5] Scholemaster (ed. Mayor), pp. 101-2.

[6] See his *Ecclesiastical Polity* (bk. i) where he speaks in terms of severe contempt of the pretentious rapidity with which this 'new devised aid' professes to indoctrinate students in the art of logic by 'such generalities as everywhere offering themselves are apparent unto men of the weakest conceit that need be.' *Works* (ed. 1821), I 138. Compare the representations of Ursinus at Heidelberg:

Keckerman, Scaliger, and Casaubon.

him a revolutionary rebel against the authority of Aristotle, his exaggerated conception of syllogistic reasoning and of demonstration as the unique method of scientific discovery, appeared but a narrowed view of the relations of the operations of mind to the external world of nature[1]. Keckerman, his rival in the schools, while unable to deny his astonishing success, ascribed it, not to any inherent merit in his method, but to the meretricious art with which he had mingled logic and rhetoric, and to the repulsive condition to which the whole study had been brought by the old conventional treatment[2]. Joseph Scaliger remonstrated in terms of strong indignation against the threatened introduction of the new method at Leyden, averring that it would result in the destruction of the peace of that flourishing university, and that it was wholly incompatible with a continued study of Aristotle[3]. Isaac Casaubon, with his experiences of Cambridge

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'Es sei weder eine rechte Dialektik, noch Rhetorik, denn viele Stücke seien hinweggeworfen; die Jugend solle ohne Federn fliegen lernen, ohne Silben und Buchstaben lesen.' Hautz, *Gesch. der Univers. Heidelberg*, II 57.

[1] 'Nullum mihi commercium cum hoc ignorantiae latibulo, perniciocissima litterarum tinea, compendiorum patre, qui cum methodi suae et compendii vinclis res torqueat et premat; res quidem, si qua fuit, elabitur protinus, et exilit; ipse vero aridus et desertissimus nugas stringit.' Bacon, *de Interp. Naturae*, c. iii; *Philosophical Works* (ed. Ellis and Spedding), III 530. 'Enfin, chose étrange mais incontestable, c'est lui qui, le premier depuis Aristote, a fait de la méthode un chapitre de la logique, et même le plus important à ses yeux. Cette méthode repose essentiellement sur le syllogisme et la démonstration, et Ramus a eu le tort, que Bacon lui reproche amèrement, de soutenir que c'était la méthode unique de toutes les sciences.' Waddington, *Ramus*, p. 378.

[2] 'Nicht seiner Güte verdankt Ramus seine ungeheure Verbreitung, die er in Deutschland und England gefunden, während Frankreich und Italien ihn zurückgewiesen, sondern weil sie die Schul-termini der strengen Dialektik vermeiden und Rhetorik und Eleganz an die Stelle gesetzt haben, und weil das Studium der Peripatetiker so abschreckend betrieben wird, dass dieselben sich wohl selbst auf das dictum des Ammonius berufen: *studia peripatetica requirere tolerantiam laborum asininam.*' *Praecognitorum logicorum*, tract. III, p. 133, quoted by Tholuck, *das Akademische Leben*, II 4-5.

[3] 'Rem novam quae mihi non admirationem tantum, sed etiam dolorem attulit, celare te non potui, mi Dousa. Audio, in consilio vestro, quod nuper hic habuistis, de admittenda Rami doctrina actum. Atque utinam de eo actum tantum, non etiam decretum esset, ut accepimus. Quod si fit, funditus de Scholae hujus incolumitate, quae ex omnibus Europae Academiis dignitatem litterarum ac nobiliorum scientiarum sustinere nunc videtur, actum est funditus. Nam per Deum Immortalem, quid erit aliud, quam Venetorum factiones et Prasinorum inter se committere? Quid esset, si Theologia pontificia induceretur? Putas fieri hoc posse, ut non ex dissimilitudine doctrinae gravissimae contentiones primum, mox pernicies ipsius Scholae sequatur?' Id. Mart. 1598. Iano

and of Cambridge hospitality still recent in his memory, recorded his deliberate disapproval of one and all of the innovations which Ramus had advocated;—an expression of opinion which carries the more weight in that it is immediately followed by a singularly noteworthy condemnation of what Ramus himself had especially attacked,—the prevalent practice of introducing unnecessary technicalities into elementary manuals of instruction[1]. But notwithstanding that the decisions of the greatest authorities of the age were thus undeniably adverse, it is difficult for posterity not to admire the true intellectual independence of the man, at once the genius and the scholar, the reformer of grammar and the reformer of orthography[2], among the first to shake off the authority of Aristotle, among the foremost to recognise the discovery of Copernicus[3]. As regards his innovations in logic, again, whatever exceptions may be taken to his method, it is impossible to deny the range and importance of his influence,—an influence, it may be observed, which would probably have continued to be discernible at a much later period had not nearly all that is most valuable in his treatise been incorporated in the well-known Logic of Port Royal[4]. Temple, in his dedication to Sir Philip Sidney of the Cambridge edition of 1584, speaks of the Ramistic logic as already spread throughout Europe and having numerous adherents in the chief universities[5], and before the close of the century it was

Genuine merit in Ramus notwithstanding.

Testimony of Temple of King's College to the widespread success of his Logic.

Dousae. *Epistolae* (ed. 1627), pp. 130-1.

[1] 'Nam Rami inventa, quae tantopere ipse probas, et quibus hodie multi *σεμνύνονται*, mihi non placere prae me semper tuli. Ut nihil de caeteris ejus scriptis dicam, lucubrationes illius grammaticas cur aestimari ab eruditis mereantur, equidem caussam invenio nullam... Rami vero tam insignis fuit amentia, ut etiam linguae Graecae, quam penitus ignorabat, praecepta dare auderet. Ego ingenue fateor, rem absurdam mihi semper esse visam, per definitiones et *διχοτομίας* artem aliquam pueros velle docere. Illa aetas definitiones non capit.' London, Mar. 1613. *Casauboni Epist.* 878.

[2] It is to Ramus that belongs the credit (?) of introducing the *j* and the *v* in Latin, letters which down to his time had been identified with *i* and *u*. See Waddington, p. 348.

[3] *Schol. Math.* II 47; Professor Fowler, however, classes Ramus with Patricius and Bruno as representatives of a class of converts who accepted the Copernican theory 'without seeming to have had any good reasons for their opinions.' Introd. to *Nov. Org.*, p. 33.

[4] Waddington, pp. 376, 391. A fact of which some of those who have depreciated Ramus and praised the Port Royal Logic seem to have been scarcely aware.

[5] 'Quid quod eam disciplinam

Centres where its success was most marked.

It finds disciples in Holland, Scotland,

and Ireland,

and even at Oxford.

taught and defended from nearly all the Protestant chairs of philosophy. In the Lutheran centres,—at Helmstadt[1], where the growing territorial wealth and wise philanthropy of the ducal house of Brunswick had led to the foundation of a university conspicuous among the schools of Protestantism for its ample endowments and catholic spirit,—at Wittenberg, at Marburg, and at Frankfort on the Oder, it found a ready acceptance. At Altdorf, now rising into prominence under the patronage of wealthy Nuremberg[2],—at Basel, by Freigius,—at Dusseldorf, by Fabricius,—at Rostock, by Chytraeus,—the new doctrines were taught with marked success[3]. In Calvinistic centres, notwithstanding the hostility of Beza,—at Heidelberg, where Ramus had himself once been silenced, at Herborn, and in the schools of Holland,—it also gained numerous partisans[4]. In Scotland, George Buchanan introduced it at St Andrews, and Andrew Melville at Glasgow. James Stuart and the Regent Murray were also its avowed disciples. Temple, installed as provost at Trinity College, disseminated its principles in Dublin[5]. Oxford, ever blindly loyal to Aristotle, afforded it a less favorable reception; but even at Oxford we find John Case, in the preface to his *Ethics* already cited[6], frankly admitting that the younger scholars had, at

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adames, quae P. Rami ingenio quasi vindicata ab interitu, et luculentius illustrata, diffudit jam sese per Europam, et quamvis primo excepta inhumanius, in optimis tamen academiis coepta est a plurimis adhiberi.' *Epist. Dedicat.*

[1] For the circumstances under which 'Academia Julia' took its rise in 1576 see Justi and Mursinna, *Annalen der deutschen Univ.*, p. 293; Henke, *Georg Calixtus u. seine Zeit*, I 2-5; Tholuck describes its theology as Lutheran with a certain infusion of the classic spirit of Melanchthon, and 'nicht ganz ohne Hinneigung zu dem antitheologischen Uebermuthe italienischer Humanisten.' *Das akademische Leben des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, II 49-50.

[2] The university of Altdorf had its origin in the Gymnasium at Nuremberg. The Gymnasium was instituted as early as 1526; in 1575 it was transplanted to Nuremberg, 'quo eo melius studiosa juventus in altioribus studiis erudiri posset,' says Apinus in his sketch of its first rector, Valentinus Erythraeus, a former pupil of John Sturm at Strassburg. Altdorf received its charter as a university from the emperor Rudolf II, in 1578. See Apinus, *Vitae Professorum Philosophiae qui a condita Academia Altorfina ad hunc usque Diem claruerunt*, &c. Nuremberg, 1728; Justi und Mursinna, *Annalen*, pp. 1-22; Tholuck, *das akademische Leben*, II 16.

[3] Waddington, *Ramus*, pp. 391-3.

[4] Tholuck, *das akademische Leben*, II 6.

[5] *Supra*, p. 356.

[6] *Supra*, p. 352-3.

one time, seemed ready to transfer their mental allegiance from the oracle of paganism to the Protestant philosopher[1].

Cambridge, however, becomes the great stronghold of Ramistic doctrines.

At no university however did the new logic find such distinguished converts or exercise so enduring an influence as at Cambridge, where Ramus's known accession to the ranks of Calvinism won for him the sympathy of the Puritan party. The enthusiastic tribute paid to his memory by his first Cambridge editor has already been cited. In the following century, his treatise was again edited by William Ames of Christ's College, the distinguished reviver of casuistical divinity; it was translated by Samuel Wotton, a fellow of King's; and exactly a century after the author's death, a still more eminent member of the university, John Milton, published yet another edition, enlarged and amplified by his own pen[2]. George Downham, fellow of Christ's College, and reader in logic in the university, was famous for his skill in the new logic[3]; nor had Ramus anywhere a more devoted admirer than he found in that eccentric genius, Gabriel Harvey, for some time a fellow of Pembroke. So early as the year 1573, we find him vigorously defending both his teacher and himself; and his language would seem to imply that even those who denounced the new logic as incompatible with a due respect for Aristotle, often themselves studied it in secret[4]. A few years later, in his *Rhetor*, Harvey's eulogium is pronounced in bolder terms, and he seems at a loss for language adequately to express his intel-

Editions of the Logic by Ames, Samuel Wotton, and John Milton.

George Downham: *d.* 1644.

Gabriel Harvey one of Ramus's warmest admirers.

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[1] 'Ceterum non est quin fateor juvenilem ardorem animi *in utraque academia* nuper decertasse, utrum in perdiscendis artibus plus Aristotelis magnum acumen quam Rami fluens ingenium praevaleret. Sed istam, ut spero, apostasim a veteri, vera, et sapienti philosophandi consuetudine senilis experientia tollet,—imberbis enim aetas id saepe agit quod recte fieri canities negat........ Ramum hic non condemno, nam doctus fuit; Aristotelem autem extollo, nam summus exstitit. Sed fortassis minoris aestimabitur hoc opus meum, quod veteres Aristotelis interpretes in eo loquar.' *Speculum*, F 5.

[2] *Artis Logicae plenior Institutio ad Petri Rami Methodum concinnata.* 1672.

[3] 'the University where Downham taught.' Hamilton, *Discussions*, p. 120; Fuller-Nuttall, I 295.

[4] After warmly repudiating certain charges of sympathising with innovators, brought against him by hostile critics, Harvey protests that he will himself, in future, do as his critics do: 'I will lock Melancthon and Ramus up in my studdi and bring Osorius and Omphalius into the chappel.' Harvey's Letter Book (MS. in Pembroke College).

lectual debt to his revered teacher[1]. Even in the province of rhetoric Ramus, he maintains, is entitled to take rank with the foremost teachers of his age,—with Sturm at Strassburg, with Sir Thomas Smith at Cambridge, and with Humphrey at Oxford[2]. Some thirty years later, a passing allusion dropped by that renowned logomachist, Richard Mountagu, would lead us to infer that to be well up in Ramus was regarded in Cambridge as equivalent to being a good logician[3]. A yet more convincing piece of evidence still remains, however, to be cited. Among the potentates of Europe in the early part of the seventeenth century, none possessed a higher reputation for general culture than prince Maurice 'the Learned,' landgrave of Hesse-Cassel. Henry Peacham, who had visited his court, describes him in his treatise, already quoted, as one 'who carryeth away the palm for excellency in whatsoever is to be wished in a brave prince'[4]. It is consequently not a little significant to find that when the landgrave, on a certain occasion, was gathering suggestions for the guidance of two of his young nobility, whom he proposed to send on a kind of literary tour to the chief centres of learning in Europe, the university of Cambridge was especially named as the leading school for the study of the Ramistic logic[5].

Students' abroad resort to Cambridge as a school of the Ramistic logic.

Even at Cambridge, however, it encounters opposition.

But even at Cambridge there was opposition, and that too of a kind which reminds us rather of the stolid defence of the ancient methods of study made by the opponents of the Humanists than of the enlightened arguments of a Bacon or a Casaubon. It is, indeed, far from improbable that Scaliger's alarm at the prospect of the new logic being introduced at Leyden, may have been partly the result of reports which had reached him there of an occurrence which had taken place in our own university some two years before. But however this may have been, the incident in question is well deserving of being here reproduced, as presenting us with a kind of companion picture to the memorable scene, already cited, which Schlüsselberg describes as occurring in his own university[1]. In the one case, it was a dispute in theology at Wittenberg; in the other, it was a dispute in philosophy at Cambridge; but both illustrate, in much the same degree, the fierce controversial spirit and ungentle manners that too often characterised the learning of those days.

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[1] 'Ac persaepe equidem cum P. Ramo, meo amicissimo cliente, optavi ut aureis atque grandibus litteris, pro foribus scholarum et gymnasiorum omnium, vel potius firma ac stabili intelligentia, in doctorum ipsorum pectoribus, duo illa inclyta et per eximia vocabula imprimerentur, ἐμπειρία καὶ ἱστορία.' *Rhetor*, p. iv.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. K iv.

[3] *Appello Caesarem* (ed. 1625), p. 14.

[4] Peacham (H.), *The Compleat Gentleman* (2nd ed.), p. 99.

[5] 'In Leyden der Umgang mit Scaliger, Junius und Snell, die Universität Cambridge wegen der Ramistischen Philosophie, Verona wegen der ritterlichen Gymnastik empfohlen wird.' See von Rommel, *Gesch. v. Hessen*, VI 442 and 445. He quotes from the Landgrave's own instructions as cited in Casparou's *Programm über die Handschriften des L. Moritz.* Cassel, 1775.

Experience of William Gouge.

It was in the year 1595, that William Gouge, the nephew of Chaderton, the master of Emmanuel, and also of Whitaker, the master of St John's, passed on from his school at Eton to King's College. He was a hard-working, studious young scholar, with a gravity beyond his years, and 'at the first entrance of his studies', says his biographer, 'he applied himself to Peter Ramus his *Logick*, and grew so expert therein that in the publick schools he maintained and defended him. Insomuch as when on a time divers sophisters set themselves to vilifie Ramus, for which end the respondent had given this question: *nunquam erit magnus, cui Ramus est magnus.* Which some of the sophisters hearing, and knowing the said William Gouge to be an acute disputant and a stiff defender of Ramus, they went to the divinity schools, where he was then hearing an Act, and told him how in the other schools they were abusing Ramus. He thereupon went to the sophisters' schools, and upon the moderator's calling for another opponent, he stepped up, and brought such an argument as stumbled the respondent; whereupon the moderator took upon him to answer it, but could not satisfie the doubt. This occasioned a sophister that stood by to say with a loud voice, "Do you come to vilifie Ramus, and cannot answer the argument of a Ramist?" Whereupon the moderator rose up, and gave him a box on the ear. Then the school was all in an uproar, but the same William Gouge was safely conveyed out from amongst them[2].'

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[1] *Supra*, pp. 105-6.

[2] Clarke (S.), *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*, p. 235.

Logic the chief secular study.

Studies of the bachelors of arts for the degree of M.A.

Ethics, physics, and metaphysics, in what sense to be understood.

Theology alone excepted, logic was undoubtedly the study which at this period engrossed the largest amount of attention, forming in conjunction with rhetoric the chief element of the ordinary academic culture. The studies that belonged to the *quadrivium*, or curriculum for the master of arts degree, sank into insignificance now that residence for that degree was no longer compulsory and the requirements for its attainment had become limited to the keeping of one or two acts and the composition of a single declamation[1]. We may, however, divide the bachelors at this period into two classes: the non-residents (most of whom had ceased to look forward to ever proceeding to their master of arts degree), and the residents, a small minority composed almost exclusively of clerical fellows of colleges, whose time was mainly given to the all-absorbing controversial theology of the day and to the composition of 'commonplaces[2],' to be delivered in the college chapel. The more industrious and intelligent seem to have sought to blend with this narrow culture some attention to the traditional ethics, physics, or metaphysics, of the time[3]. But in order to guard against the exaggerated impression which terms, now of so much significance, might otherwise produce, it is necessary to bear in mind that the schoolmen were still regarded as the standard authorities in these subjects, and that in arriving at a conclusion with respect to any moot question in physical science, the dictum of a Greek or Latin Father was often accepted as final[4].

Theology, while it becomes the

But theology was at once the chief study[5] and the arena to which those who contended for intellectual distinction, chief study of all, is conceived in a yet more narrow spirit.

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[1] See Wordsworth, *Scholae Academicae*, p. 213. Hacket says of archbishop Williams, who commenced B.A. in the year 1603, that 'it was his common theme, even when he was a bishop, if young students were at his table, to inveigh gravely against batchelors of arts, because commonly they misspent that triennial probation, and left upon that place a vacuum of doing little or nothing.' *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 10.

[2] 'Commonplace,'—'a college-exercise in divinity, not different in form from a sermon, but in length.' Clarke, *Life of Hildersham*, in Clarke's *Lives* (ed. 1659), p. 115.

[3] 'From logicke, I proceeded to ethicks, physicks, and metaphysicks (consulting the schoolmen on such points) according to the methods of philosophy then in fashion in that university.' Hearne, *Langtoft*, Pref. p. cxix.

[4] See a notable instance in *Camdeni Epistolae* (ed. 1691), pp. 165-7.

[5] 'Ego cum quondam in litterarum studiis ita versarer ut theologiam omnium scientiarum fastigium et

for popularity, and for the prizes of high office and social influence, found themselves, with but few exceptions, irresistibly attracted. And while thus absorbing to itself the best brain-power of the age, the study was at the same time conceived in a more and more narrow, intolerant spirit; and round the new standards of belief and the oracles of Protestantism[1], the controversial clamour began again to rise as loudly as of yore. The absence of any generally recognised authoritative system of casuistical divinity was painfully felt. Thomas Aquinas and the Master of the Sentences were gone; and the *Institutes* of Calvin, supplemented by the *Commonplaces* of Musculus, together with the decisions of a Beza and a Bullinger, seemed but imperfectly to supply their place. There were those, as we have before seen, in the English Church, who had already begun to repudiate all allegiance to Geneva, and who were more than half suspected of seeking to initiate a retrograde course which should ultimately conduct them back to Rome. Even Calvinism itself could not altogether shake off its scholastic modes of thought; and Whitgift and Cartwright, when they disputed respecting the Scriptural sanction for the prescribed usages of the Anglican Church, still deferred to traditional rules of logical form and figure, much as did the doctors of the schools a century before[2].

The habits of scholasticism still, however, prevail.

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tanquam apicem mihi proponerem ad eamque festinans ita properarem ut *reliquis modice cultis praelibatisque disciplinis*, ad hoc studium omne transtulerim,' etc. G. Acworth, *Epistola* (ann. 1560): MS. in Corp. Chr. Coll.

[1] Hacket mentions Peter Martyr, Chemnitius, Musculus, Calvin, and Zanchius, as the sources from whence Williams convinced himself that 'he might with a good conscience defend the integrity of the Reformed religion' (*Life of Williams*, p. 12).

[2] 'My meaning and my words be plain: you needed not to have offended again (as almost continually you do) in the ignorance of the *Elench.*' [*ignoratio elenchi*] 'whilst you do not reason nor answer *ad idem.*' Whitgift against Cartwright, *Works*, III 391. The Puritans, who ignored these conditions of controversy, lost ground considerably in the estimation of their antagonists. Baker, referring to Baxter's conduct of the argument at the Savoy Conference (1661) says: 'Mr Baxter, who knew nothing of an university nor was acquainted with any chair save that of the pulpit, only in the strength of natural logic ventured to engage in mood and figure with some of our best and most experienced divines, with such success as usually attends rash undertakings.' Baker-Mayor, p. 231. So also, the author of *An Abstract of certain Acts of Parliament* (see *infra*, p. 424, n. 3) invariably reduces his argument to syllogistic form at the conclusion of each separate process of reasoning.

This excessive attention to theology detrimental to linguistic studies.

This overweening attention to theological controversy involved again no little detriment to the cultivation of linguistic studies. During the latter years of the sixteenth century and the earlier years of the seventeenth, the chairs of Hebrew and Greek were each filled by an eminent scholar whose lengthened tenure of an honorable office was justified by his fitness for its duties. It may safely be asserted that if mere competence to teach could have commanded an audience, neither Edward Lively, who was Regius Professor of Hebrew from 1575[1] to 1605, nor Andrew Downes[2], who was Regius Professor of Greek from 1585 to 1625, would have failed in exciting an interest akin to that which had been awakened by the efforts of Smith and Cheke.

State of the study of Hebrew.

The Regius professors and readers: Thomas Wakefield,

Of the two languages, Hebrew undoubtedly received the larger share of attention, and had in no way wanted competent expositors. The first Regius professor, as we have already seen[3], was Thomas Wakefield, who in 1547 had been appointed to the office for life. It seems most probable that he continued to adhere to the ancient faith, for we find that, although his ability and learning were unquestioned, during the reign of Edward, and again in that of Elizabeth, readers were appointed to lecture in his stead. Among these were

Fagius, Tremellius, Chevallier,

Fagius, whose brief career at Cambridge has already been noticed[4],—Tremellius, who lectured from 1549 to 1552[5],—and Chevallier, who lectured in 1552 and 1553, and was again appointed in 1569. Chevallier died in 1572, and must be reckoned among the victims of the massacre of St Bartholomew, for he never recovered from the malady induced

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[1] The *University Calendar* gives the date of Lively's appointment as 1580: but Lively immediately succeeded Thomas Wakefield, and Wakefield died in April, 1575 (Cooper, *Athenae*, I 338). Lively, says Playfere, when preaching his funeral sermon, 'was professor of the Hebrewe tongue in this universitie *thirtie* years.' *Nine Sermons*, etc. (1621), p. 217.

[2] A scholar 'composed of Greek and industry.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 310. Hacket (*Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 10) styles Lively and Downes *duo Scipiadae;* Williams, he tells us, attended the lectures of both, and 'acquired most excellent skill in those learned languages.'

[3] *Supra*, p. 53.

[4] *Supra*, p. 119.

[5] Dryden, in praising Father Simon's *Critical History of the Old Testament*, speaks of it as 'A treasure which, if country curates buy,| They Junius and Tremellius may defy.' *Religio Laici*, ll. 240—1.

and Philip Bignon.
Edward Lively: *b.* (?) 1545. *d.* 1605.

by his sufferings as a fugitive from Paris on that fatal occasion[1]. He was succeeded as reader by Philip Bignon; and on the death of Thomas Wakefield, Edward Lively was appointed to the professorship. Against none of these teachers do we find any charge of incompetence alleged; Ramus in the year before his death testified to the profound learning and European reputation of Tremellius[2]; and with respect to Chevallier, Hugh Broughton, who was one of his scholars, had the generosity to bear witness, that 'men might learn more of him in a month than others could teach in ten years[3].' But they were all foreigners, and it can hardly be supposed that in those days their nationality pleaded in their favour. Tremellius was a converted Jew, and the antipathy and suspicion with which his race were then regarded in England is notorious. Towards the close of the century, we find another Jew, one Philip Ferdinand, earning a precarious livelihood in the university by giving private instruction, probably in the rudiments of the language[4]. His most assiduous pupil was William Gouge,—the same promising student who has just come under our notice as making so manful a stand in the schools in defence of Ramus. 'Many others of the students,' says Thomas Gouge (his father's biographer), 'took the opportunity of learning of him; but most of them grew soon weary, and left him, onely the said Master Gouge kept close to him as long as he tarried. But when he was gone, those which before had lost their opportunity, now seeing their own folly, they came to Master Gouge, and entreated him to instruct them in the

Philip Ferdinand. He reads Hebrew with private pupils.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 307.

[2] 'Tremellium sacrae linguae professorem esse tota Europa celeberrimum, Anglia Germaniaque commemorant, Gallia jam etiam idem domesticis testibus compluribus admonita memorabit: reconditam vero sacrarum rerum eruditionem, ingenii facilitatem ubertatemque accuratam de re quavis judicium quotidianis collocutionibus hospiti tuo amplissime declarasti.' Ramus to Tremellius at Heidelberg: nonis Mart. 1571. See communication by Dr A. Stern in *Revue Critique* (1882), no. 15, pp. 295–6.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, I 307.

[4] So at Oxford, which, in Mr Wordsworth's opinion, 'did more for these studies than Cambridge' (*Scholae Academicae*, p. 167), we find Jacob Barnet, a young Jew (who disappeared from the university when he had consented to submit to the rite of baptism) licensed by Richard Kilbye, the professor of Hebrew, to give elementary lessons to students. Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 413.

Comment of William Eyre on the results of Ferdinand's departure.

The necessary inference from the above two statements.

Erroneous estimate of the relative importance of Hebrew that then prevailed.

grounds of the said language, which he accordingly did, and thereby himself became an excellent Hebrician[1].' Among those who deplored the departure of the poor Jew, was William Eyre, a learned fellow of Emmanuel, who, writing to Ussher (afterwards the archbishop), observes that *while Ferdinand remained* there existed 'a slight hope' that 'by his means a certain knowledge of the language might be kept alive in the university[2].' It is impossible not to infer from these two independent statements, that the study of 'the holie tongue,' as it was then termed, was at this time at a very low ebb in the university, and that Edward Lively, who had been appointed in 1575, either very rarely lectured or succeeded in gaining but few hearers. This growing neglect of the language becomes yet more surprising if we bear in mind how exaggerated and false an estimate of the relations of Hebrew to other languages then prevailed. In the year 1605, it devolved on Thomas Playfere,—at that time the most distinguished pulpit orator in the university,—to preach at St Mary's Edward Lively's funeral sermon. In the course of his observations, he took occasion to insist, very emphatically, on the special claims of Hebrew on the attention of the student, as 'the auncientest, the shortest, the plainest' of all languages. 'A great part of wisedome,' the preacher went on to say, 'as Plato sheweth, is the knowledge of true etymologies. These in other tongues are uncertaine, in *this taking out of the naturall qualities of everything that is named.* In so much as when any man hath founde out the Hebrewe etymology, then he neede seeke no further.'......'Therefore though a man cannot read the Rabbins, yet unlesse he can understande handsomely well the Hebrewe text, he is compted but a maimed, or as it were but halfe a divine, especially in this learned age[1].' Another century was yet to elapse before Leibniz was to arise, 'to remove this one great stumbling-block from the threshold of the science of language[2].'

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[1] Clarke, *Lives* (ed. 1659), p. 236. John Udall, of Trinity College, the poor Puritan who atoned for his invectives against the bishops by his death in the Marshalsea, and whom King James pronounced 'the greatest scholar in Europe,' was the author of a Hebrew grammar. And of Aylmer, in the days of his Marian exile, Cooper, bishop of Winchester, tells us that 'at the last being staied at Jany [Jena], an university erected by the dukes of Saxonie,' he 'shoulde, if hee had not come away, *have had the Hebrewe lecture*, which Snepphinus had, intertained by them to reade in their said universitie both Greeke and Latine,' etc. *An Admonition to the People of England*, p. 61. Leonard Pilkington was Hebrew lecturer at St John's in the year 1560–1. *Gentleman's Mag.* CCIX. 486.

[2] 'Amisimus Judaeum, olim praeceptorem meum, cujus gratia in animo mihi fuit hoc studium suscepisse; quia *specula aliqua* affulserat, qualemcunque hujus linguae scientiam in academia nostra hac ratione locum aliquem habere potuisse.' Parr's Ussher, *Letters*, no. 4. Hacket (*Life of Williams*, p. 10) speaks of one 'Rabbi Jacob,' whom, he says, 'I remember for a long time a commorant in the university;' he mentions also Robert Spalding, fellow of St John's, and afterwards Regius professor of Hebrew, and tells us that 'with the instruction of these two,' Williams 'dived far into the mystery of that holy language.'

Playfere's view as a comparative philologist.

If Hebrew, though thus over-estimated, was yet so much neglected (at least in our own university), we can hardly be surprised to find that the study of Greek was equally on the wane. If its stolid opponents, whose prejudices Croke had striven with so much ingenuity to dispel, or the uproarious 'Trojans' of Oxford, could have revisited their respective universities, they would have exulted to find that the study they had once regarded with so much dislike and suspicion now seemed dwindling into insignificance amid the neglect of another generation. When John Bois entered at St John's College in 1580, the knowledge of the language in the former home of Ascham and Cheke had become almost extinct[3]. He found, however, a competent instructor in Andrew Downes; and we can hardly doubt the accuracy of the conjecture of Baker, that the intimacy thus formed between the preceptor and his pupil was the reason that, at the next election to the mastership, Bois gave his vote for Downes[4]. Whitaker was, however, elected; and Downes in the same year removed to Trinity and was appointed Regius professor of Greek. By his efforts the study was in some measure revived, but for the last forty years of the century it had but few

The study of Greek.

Its decline towards the close of the century.

John Bois and Andrew Downes.

Scanty evidence of genuine attainments in the language.

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[1] 'The Felicitie of the Faithful: a Funerall Sermon preached in S. Maries, 10 May, 1605.' See *Nine Sermons preached by that eloquent Divine of famous memorie, Th. Playfere, Doctor in Divinitie. Printed by Cantrell Legge, printer to the Universitie of Cambridge.* 1621.

[2] Max Müller, *Science of Language,* I⁵ 141–2.

[3] Baker-Mayor, p. 180.

[4] *Ibid.*

cultivators. We may, indeed, claim that Whitaker's[1] knowledge of the language and that possessed by Edward Dering[2] are beyond dispute; we may regard as fairly satisfactory evidence of like though inferior attainment, the Greek phrases and expressions which occur in the pages of Walter Travers' *Disciplina* and those of the *Rhetor* of Gabriel Harvey; and if to these instances we add the known attainments of Aylmer and perhaps one or two others, we shall have before us the chief names which serve to prove that a knowledge of Greek at Cambridge, at the period of which we are treating, was not wholly extinct[3]. 'One's industry,' wrote Casaubon to Camerarius in 1594, 'is sadly damped by the reflexion how Greek is now neglected and despised. Looking to posterity or the next generation, what motive has one for devotion to study?[4].'

Lament of Casaubon.

The study of History.

The study of History, so far as it derived any impulse from the two universities, was pursued with but little intelligence, and we look in vain, as yet, for any adequate conception of the qualifications demanded for its adequate exposition such as we find set forth in lord Brook's admirable ordinances for the lectureship which he established in 1628[5]. The

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[1] See Cooper, *Athenae*, II 198.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 199.

[3] As negative evidence, we may note Hallam's observation that Whitgift was ignorant of Greek, a statement which I have found nothing to contravene. Walter Haddon's ignorance is perhaps still more surprising (see *Index to Baker MSS.*, by Prof. J. E. B. Mayor, p. 432).

[4] *Epist.* 996 (quoted by Pattison). Hallam's treatment of the question of Greek learning in England at this period is unsatisfactory and even self-contradictory (see his *Hist. of Literature*, II¹⁰ 42, 370, 374, 375–6). He pronounces the age, as did Playfere, 'a learned one,' but he does not sufficiently distinguish wherein its learning consisted. As regards Greek, Scaliger's observation reveals the real state of affairs: 'Quis hodie nescit Graece? sed quis est doctus Graece?' *Epist.* 72 (written in 1602). There was a certain smattering acquired, even in the grammar schools, which enabled a scholar sometimes to intersperse words and phrases in an English or Latin treatise: but there was but little real acquaintance either with the language or its literature. Fuller (ed. Prickett and Wright, p. 310), after stating that there were five candidates for the Greek professorship after Downes' death in 1625, adds: 'How much was there now of Athens in Cambridge, when (besides many modestly concealing themselves) five able competitors appeared for the place!' Augustine Lindsell (bishop of Peterborough), Philemon Holland, Ri. Montague, Ri. Thompson, and Tho. Morton (bishop of Peterborough) would all, *at that date*, have been well qualified candidates.

[5] According to the regulations laid down, which may be noted with profit even in the present day, the professor was to be an M.A. of five years' standing at least, and a layman; without wife or child; no one was to

Reactionary tendencies in the conception of historical evidence.

Edmond Howes.

Peacham.

Giles Fletcher, the elder.

Richard Parker of Caius.

tendency in relation to antiquity was reactionary, and the enquiring spirit of the Renaissance had again given place to something like mediaeval credulity. Edward Lively, while exposing some of the rash emendations of Beroaldus in the early Persian chronology, fell back, in common with Josephus, on 'the sure ground of Daniel's prophesies[1].' While Popelinière in Paris was ably refuting the inventions of the monastic chroniclers respecting early French history, Edmond Howes, when, in 1614, he put forth his Continuation of Stowe's *Annals*, censured the enlightened scepticism of Polydore Vergil respecting our early legendary traditions as the mere outcome of an evil heart of unbelief[2]. We find, however, Henry Peacham, hardly as he deals with Polydore, venturing also to speak in slighting terms of Giraldus, of Geoffrey of Monmouth, and of Higden[3]. Giles Fletcher, the elder, aspired to write a History of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, commencing where Polydore's narrative leaves off, and even went so far as to address a letter to lord Burghley, in 1590, soliciting his advice and assistance[4]. We may conjecture that on hearing of Camden's labours in the same field he was induced to abandon his design. Camden's reputation among his contemporaries was certainly not below his merits; and although Sir Simonds D'Ewes ventured somewhat splenetically to assert that not a page of the *Britannia* was free from error[5], Cambridge frankly admitted the merits of the Oxford antiquary. 'The Elizabethan age,' says Richard Parker, writing in 1608 from Caius College, 'can boast of but one Camden[6].' The author of the *Skeletos Cantabrigiensis*, although to be held in honorable remembrance for his labours as an antiquarian and genealogist, cannot

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be held eligible who held another lecture and who had not *by published works* proved his ability in Greek and Latin cosmography and chronology. Foreigners were eligible, and those who had travelled beyond seas and *knew foreign languages* were to be preferred. Baker MSS. xxxvi 136–152.

[1] See his *True Chronologie of the Times of the Persian Monarchie*: Lond. 1597.

[2] 'hee rejecteth the whole history of Brute and his successors; by the same reason he may reject all auncient histories, and himself deserveth to be rejected for his many fabulous assertions.' *Preface to the Annales.*

[3] *The Compleat Gentleman* (2nd ed.), p. 51.

[4] Cooper, *Athenae*, III 35.

[5] *Vita Camdeni*, prefixed to *Camdeni Epistolae* (ed. 1691), p. xlv.

[6] Elizabethica jactitent unum Camdenum.' *Camdeni Epistolae*, p. 110.

certainly be cited in disproof of his own observation. He was a fellow of Caius, where he was at this time residing, deeply immersed in historical researches, and in learned correspondence with men of like pursuits throughout England. To his judicious patronage and aid, we may partly attribute the modest but useful labours of John Scot[1]. Another and better known Cambridge writer was Sir John Hayward, whose researches in connexion with the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth shed lustre on the annals of Pembroke; while Sidney, somewhat later, educated Thomas May, the historian of the Long Parliament. Edward Lively, also, compiled certain chronological collections of no great merit, but of which his admirers were wont to speak in terms which might fitly be applied to the labours of a Fynes Clinton or a Niebuhr. Thinkers of a higher order were however beginning to exercise an influence from without. Bodin[2], in the preface to the Latin version of his *de Republica*, published in 1586, expressly states that he had been induced to put forth the new version from having learned that his work had been used as a manual by teachers both in London and at Cambridge, and that in the university, at least, the text of the original had proved a stumbling-block[3]. In the years 1582—5, Giordano Bruno had visited England and Oxford. The sister university failed, it is true, to impress him very favorably. He thought that the undergraduates drank a great deal too much beer and that their seniors were stupid and pedantic[4].

Sir John Hayward.

Thomas May.

Influence of foreign thinkers.

Bodinus: his *de Republica* a text-book in the university.

Giordano Bruno at Oxford.

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[1] 'Liceat ergo a te hoc beneficii impetrare, ut hic Johannes Scotus solus a te potestatem habeat, qui funebria generosorum Cantabrigiensis agri insignia, si modo vestri collegii nullus intersit, depingat. Non potes homini aut melioris famae aut fidei sincerioris hoc beneficium conferre, adeo ut quicquid in hoc genere concedas, mihi concessum putem.' Parker to Camden: *Camdeni Epistolae*, p. 111.

[2] For a good criticism of Bodin, almost alone in his age in his scientific interpretation of history, see Flint, *Philosophy of History in France and Germany*, pp. 69–76.

[3] 'Sed non prius tibi acquieveram, quam legatio in Angliam suscepta, inde trajectio in Belgiam una cum Francisco Andium ac Belgarum duce, qui me ad consilium accersierat, propositum meum retarderunt: tametsi nova occasione ad id maxime impulsus essem, cum Londini Olybium Gallum hominem in privatis illustrium virorum sedibus, alium item apud Cantabriges in ipsa academia difficili ac molesta ratione Anglis Rempublicam nostram interpretari comperissem.' *Epist. Iac. Durallo*, in ed. of *De Republica*, 1586.

[4] Maurice, *Hist. of Philosophy*, II 167–196.

Inferiority of the English historical literature at this period to that of France.

But we can hardly doubt that the guest of Fulke Greville must have exercised some influence over the mind of his distinguished host, and that to that influence may be referred some of the liberal and enlightened conceptions which afterwards found expression in the *Treatise of Human Learning*. 'Histories,' wrote Bacon in 1597, 'make men wise;' but nothing that could be called history in this sense had as yet appeared at either of the English universities,—little, in fact, that deserved to be named with the great work of Thuanus, or that could compare, for method, with the labours of Bodin, La Popelinière, or Dupleix.

The study of the Civil Law.

The study of the Civil Law, which has so frequently before engaged our notice, was at this period entering upon a very critical stage of its existence as an academic study. It had, as we have seen, long been declining[1]. But it continued to be the code which regulated the proceedings of the court of the chancellor of the university[2]; the Regius professor still delivered his lectures, although these might occasionally be addressed only to bare walls; and a few stray students still pored over the page of Cujacius or Alciati. They were now mostly laymen[3], and, in conjunction with the students of medicine, represented accordingly the chief secular element in the university. The civilian of the seventeenth century was not, indeed, as has often been supposed, necessarily a layman, but his avocation frequently led to his employment in a capacity in which he appeared as a rival to the ecclesiastic, and by a certain section of the clergy he was at this time regarded with far from friendly eyes. The attempts which had been made to recast the canon law and to establish it as a still operative code had proved altogether

Rivalry between its professors and the clergy in the ecclesiastical courts.

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[1] *Supra*, pp. 137-8.

[2] George Dyer, so late as 1824, makes it a matter of complaint that the university courts are regulated more according to the forms of the civil law, than of the common law of England. See his 'Dissertatio Generalis,' *Privileges*, etc. II lxi.

[3] *Mostly* but not entirely. It is a common error to suppose that by this time the civilian was necessarily a layman. Even Sir Robert Phillimore is of opinion that 'towards the close of Elizabeth's reign the profession became, and has ever since been, composed *entirely* of lay members.' *Commentaries upon International Law*, I xxvii. But so late as 1641, Robert Greville, lord Brooke, writes, 'many civill lawyers take livings and have cure of souls.' See his *Discourse opening the Nature of that Episcopacy which is practised in England*, p. 113.

abortive[1]; and whatever of the system still survived and continued to be of any validity in England had become absorbed into the code of the civilian[2], whose technical knowledge accordingly rendered him more efficient and necessary than ever in the ecclesiastical courts. He frequently acted as commissary for a bishop or a cathedral chapter, and even exercised jurisdiction in their behalf. He was, however, more frequently than not, a layman; and by many of the clergy the intrusion of such an element into the economy of a spiritual diocese was warmly resented[3]. The civilian, accordingly, became an object of dislike with the clergy at large. In what light he was regarded at this time by the common lawyers is sufficiently well known. That powerful and rapidly growing body was now ably led by Coke, who had gone up in 1572 from Trinity College to London, to enter at Clifford's Inn. His services to his university in after life were neither few nor inconsiderable; but whatever slight bias he might have received at Cambridge in favour of the academic phase of legal culture, he soon shook off in his exclusive devotion to the popular and the practical branches; and his clear judgement, vast powers of application and endurance, and rude integrity, were henceforth enlisted in the services of a party whose views, it was evident, would, if they found effect, result in shutting up the ecclesiastical courts altogether and in reducing the study of the civil law to a mere harmless pursuit for a few isolated scholars whose antiquarian or historical tastes might lead them in that direction. Such a victory was not however to be gained

Hostility to the study on the part of the common lawyers.

Sir Edward Coke: *b.* 1549. *d.* 1634.

His sympathies, notwithstanding his attachment to the university, entirely with the common lawyers.

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[1] *Reformatio Legum ecclesiasticarum ex Authoritate primum Regis Henrici 8 inchoata: deinde per Regem Edouardum 6 provecta, adiunctaque, in hunc modum, atque nunc ad pleniorem ipsarum Reformationem in Lucem aedita. Londini: ex Officina Iohannis Daii.* 1571.

[2] 'Touching the administration of justice in anye civill cause...and where of practise is made in the ecclesiasticall court, there is nothing good in the whole body of the canon lawe...but the same hath been culled out of the ciuill lawe, it is but an epitomy of the ciuill lawe. The rules of the cannon lawe, are for the most part, rules taken out of the ciuill law,' etc. *An Abstract*, etc. p. 239. [See Appendix (G.)].

[3] The author of the *Abstract* discusses at some length the question, whether 'the exercise of ecclesiastical discipline' by such doctors of the civil law as are 'meere lay men' is permissible, and finally draws out the logical conclusion that 'it is unlawfull for a doctor of the ciuill law, a King's vassale and a lay man, to exercise the same.' *Ibid.* pp. 200-7.

without yet another struggle; and, as the seventeenth century dawned, it seemed not impossible that the civil law might even yet regain much of its ancient importance and its professors once more find themselves on the high road to office and emolument. At Oxford, a slight impetus was given to the renewal of the study by the appearance, in 1587, of the celebrated Albericus Gentilis as Regius professor. A learned jurist subsequently asserted that 'by his great industrie he quickened the dead body of the civil law written by ancient civilians, and in his learned labours expressed the judgment of a great state, with the soundnesse of a deep phylosopher and the skill of a cunning civilian[1].' At Cambridge, we may note a slight increase in the number of those who proceeded to degrees in this faculty; that of bachelors in the period 1591 to 1601 being twenty-five, of doctors, eleven,—a slight advance upon any previous decennium in the same half-century. This improvement is probably to be attributed to the ability and learning of Cowell, who had been appointed Regius professor in 1594, and in 1598 was elected to the mastership of Trinity Hall. Of the importance to which the whole question involved in the study was shortly after raised by the influence of the new sovereign and of Bancroft we shall have occasion to speak in the next chapter.

Slight revival of the study at Oxford.

Albericus Gentilis.

Similar revival at Cambridge.

Degrees taken in civil law between 1591 and 1601.

Professor John Cowell: *b.* 1554. *d.* 1611.

The fate of the civil law as an academic study was thus, it will be observed, really depending on the as yet undecided issue, whether the profession of the civilian was likely to afford any fair prospect as a career. In common, however, with those other studies which languished in an almost equal degree, it was evident that it was not a little prejudiced by the increasing tendency, already noted, of the collegian, to confine his attention as far as possible to the curriculum prescribed within his own college walls. If Greek, or Hebrew, or the civil law were not taught by one or other of the college lecturers, the spontaneous desire for instruction in

Perilous condition of those studies which were taught only by the professors.

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[1] Fulbeck, *A Direction or Preparative to the Study of the Law* (1620), p. 266 [quoted by Phillimore, *Commentaries upon International Law*, I xxvi]. 'It is certain,' says Prof. Holland, 'that from the time of Gentilis there was a reaction.' See his 'Inaugural Lecture on Albericus Gentilis' (1874), pp. 23–28.

CHAP. V.

The professors' lectures as badly attended as ever.

those branches was as rare as was that for instruction in Oriental languages in the first half of the present century. It was only when some lecturer of more than ordinary reputation, like Albericus, appeared, that his fame, and perhaps the novelty of the subject, attracted more than one or two listeners. In the year 1577, when Gabriel Harvey undertook to deliver two lectures on the subject of rhetoric[1], he was surprised (or professed himself surprised) to find an overflowing audience. As he looked on the throng of 'gentle lads' (*suavissimorum puerorum*) before him, he declared that he imagined himself at Paris[2] rather than at Cambridge. As he proceeds with his discourse, we learn, on authority which can hardly be called in question, that the schools still usually presented the same deserted aspect as in the days when Walter Haddon and Dr Caius uttered their pathetic remonstrances and laments[3], and that to ignore the ordinary lectures of the professors had become, by this time, a tradition in the college[4].

Notable testimony of Gabriel Harvey.

It is evident that the tendency to forsake the university lecture-room would be likely to produce a corresponding laxity with respect to attendance in the schools, and there appears sufficient reason for concluding that the public acts and exercises of former times were now frequently unkept or had dwindled to a mere formality. Theoretically, indeed, the requirements of an arts course still necessitated assiduous

Formal character of the proceedings in the schools still required before admission to degrees.

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[1] *Gabrielis Harveii Rhetor: vel duorum dierum Oratio de Natura, Arte, et Exercitatione rhetorica.* Londini, ex Officina Typographica Henrici Binneman. 1577.

[2] At *Paris*, it is to be noted, where (unlike the English universities) the *collegiate* system had in no way superseded or overwhelmed the *university* system.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 96 and 97.

[4] 'Quid enim tam novum, novum autem? imo quid tam prodigiosum in academia Cantabrigiensi, quam veterem non negligere cujusque disciplinae professorem, nisi novi is forte aliquid, et peregrini, et paene inauditi dicturus existimetur? Vidi ego vacua subsellia, vidi scholas desertas, partim praelegentibus, partim perorantibus iis, ex quorum linguis melle nectareque dulcior fluebat oratio. Etiam gemina ornamenta nostra, Bingus et Dodingtoñus (pudet dicere, sed nimis id verum est, et quidem etiam nimis intolerandum est) *verba non semel sed saepe ad parietes et subsellia facere sunt coacti.* Tanta est Cantabrigiensium aurium atque animorum mollities et elegantia! Nihil hic antiquum, nihil usitatum placet: vestes, mores, verba, gestum, omnia affectamus nova: etiam eundem diu audire, tametsi politissime dicentem atque optime, *nostratem praesertim et domesticum*, religio est.' *Rhetor.*

study, frequent appearances in public, and painful performance of numerous exercises. The author of *The Abstract* thus draws the outline of what, in 1582, was still required of candidates for '*any degree* in schoole' at Oxford or Cambridge: 'He must firste set uppon the schoole doores, his questions where in he is to answere: he must publikely aunswere to euery one that will oppose him: he must afterwarde in the universitie church, submit himself priuately to the examination of euery one of that degree, whereunto he desireth to be promoted. He must afterwardes be brought by his presenter into the congregation house, to the judgement and tryall of the whole house, and if he shall there haue a sufficient number of his superiours voyces allowing his maners, and pleased with his learning, he is then presented by one of the house to the vicechancellour, and proctors, and by them as judges in the name of the whole house, admitted to his degree[1].'

Account of these proceedings by the author of the *Abstract*.

Successive statutes, and other evidence of a less direct kind, fairly justify us in concluding that the elaborate method of procedure above described involved in the great majority of cases little more than a series of empty formalities; and it was only when some redoubtable dialectician, anxious to add to the reputation he had already acquired in the schools, was proceeding to his degree, that any real display of acquirement or ability was evoked. Another kind of ordeal, and one against which no scholastic attainments could fortify their possessor, was the prospect which confronted an unpopular candidate of having his degree non-placeted in congregation. Sometimes this annoyance was inflicted for what must appear very inadequate causes. If the candidate had offended his fellow-collegians by unsociableness or moroseness or by 'giving himself airs,' they would not always disdain to have recourse to this equivocal mode of manifesting their resentment. Among those who thus

Practice of non-placeting a degree.

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[1] *An Abstract*, etc. *u. s.* I must observe that Robert Beale shews little real familiarity with Cambridge, and his language would almost create a doubt whether he had been educated at any English university; but see Cooper, *Athenae*, II 311.

Instance of Gabriel Harvey.

suffered, was Gabriel Harvey, whose master-of-arts' degree was non-placeted by two other fellows of Pembroke, named Osborne and Neville; and we find him bitterly complaining to the Master, Dr John Young, of his consequent 'great defamation in the town.' At the same time, he indignantly repels the grave charges which had been brought against him of cutting his fellow-collegians in the street[1], of hurrying away from their company 'after dinner and supper,' and of absenting himself from the cheerful blaze of the fire in the combination room[2].'

Regulations with respect to religious duties.

Of the general character of the theology taught at this period in the college or in the schools some illustration has already been given in the preceding pages and more will be found in the concluding chapter, when we come to pass under review the most eminent Cambridge divines and preachers of the time. A formal attention to religious observances, it should however here be noted, was rigorously enforced, and this not merely in relation to the college chapel but also to St Mary's. The pulpit in the university received, indeed, an official support which was not vouchsafed to the professorial chair, non-attendance at the Sunday sermon *ad clerum* being punished by a fine of sixpence. We can scarcely be surprised to find that the less well-disposed took occasion to manifest their impatience of such compulsion by inattention and levity. A manifesto on the part of the

Attendance at the university sermon strictly enforced.

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[1] 'For mi self, whitch indeed am an inch beneath him, as he ons made his vaunt he can not deni it, he hath confest so mutch to me himself, that I passing bi him, and mouing mi cap, and speking unto him, he hath lookd awri another wai, nether affording me a word nor a cap: purposing, as I take it, to make of his inch a good long el, and to shew a lusti contempt of so silli a frend.' Written 'from Pembroke hal this xxi Mar. A. 1573.' Letter Book in possession of Pembroke College.

[2] 'M. Nevil laid against me mi commun behauiur, that I was not familiar like a fellow, and that I did disdain eueri mans cumpani. To this I made him answer that I was aferd les ouer mutch familiariti had mard al; and therefore where as I was wunt to be as familiar and as sociable and as gud a fellow too, as ani, seeing sum to be sum what far of, and other not to like so wel of it, as it was ment, I was constrained to withdrawe mi self, sumwhat the more, althouh not greatly nether, out of oftin and continual cumpani. Marri so, that at usual and conuenient times, as after dinner and supper, at commenti fiers, yea and at other times too, if the lest occasion were offrid, I continuid as long as ani, and was as fellowli as the best.' *Ibid.*

authorities in the year 1602, directed against the prevailing licence, animadverts upon the 'uncumly hemminge and hawkinge at holie exercises and at the preaching of God's word[1].' Such conduct may however be partly attributed to the fact that St Mary's pulpit was too often used as a means for violent personal invective. We find William Barlow, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, complaining in terms of no little warmth, of the manner in which, in the year 1601, he had been thus assailed by Andrew Byng, afterwards professor of Hebrew. 'It is no doubt,' he writes, in bitter irony, 'a great encouragement for men to answere the publiq calumniations of our open adversaries in cases of the highest controversie, and their pains to be barkt at by everie whelpe that can scarse quest without booke a sounde position of divinitie[2].' But in the estimation of the general body, no distinction, within the academic precincts, was more highly prized than that of being appointed university preacher and thus, in a manner, being called upon to instruct the future religious instructors of the nation. 'A preacher in the university,' says a writer of the time, 'doth *generare patres*, beget begetters, and transmit unto posterity what God is pleased to reveal to him[3].'

Uses to which the university pulpit was sometimes turned.

Estimation in which the function of university preacher was held.

If we now pass on to the diversions of the students,—always a significant feature in the characteristics of an academic body,—we find that the prevalent sports were still for the most part of that rude and even dangerous kind which Dr Caius had so quaintly deprecated. The only games recognised as strictly permissible by the authorities were archery (in the fields), quoits, and foot-ball (*reciprocatio pilae*). In the second year of king James's reign, a royal letter was issued forbidding 'unprofitable or idle games and plays' to be carried on 'within five miles compass of and from the university and town,' 'especially bull-baiting, bear-baiting, common plays, publick shews, interludes, comedies and tragedies *in the English tongue*, games at loggets, nineholes,

Sports and pastimes.

Prohibited games.

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[1] Baker MSS. XXVII 34.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, II 611.

[3] Ball, *Life of Preston* (in Clarke's *Lives*), p. 92.

and all other sports and games whereby throngs, concourse, or multitudes are drawn together[1].'

Plays in the English tongue.

The design in prohibiting the performance of English plays will be more apparent, if we here note the singular licence for which such compositions sometimes afforded scope. The college play was, in fact, far from being an entirely innocent recreation, and was sometimes made the vehicle for satire and gross personalities which were productive of no little ill feeling. Against the townsmen, impervious to such satire when it was clothed in a Latin dress, the English play easily afforded the means not only of ridiculing but also of making that ridicule felt: and Fuller in his *History of the University* has described with more than his usual humour a notable instance of the kind :—

Performance of Club Law at Clare College.

'The young scholars conceiving themselves somewhat wronged by the townsmen (the particulars whereof I know not), betook them for revenge to their wits, as the weapon wherein lay their best advantage. These having gotten a discovery of some town privacies, from Miles Goldsborough (one of their own corporation) composed a merry (but abusive) comedy (which they called *Club-Law*), in English, as calculated for the capacities of such whom they intended spectators thereof. Clare-Hall was the place wherein it was acted, and the mayor, with his brethren and their wives were invited to behold it, or rather themselves abused therein. A convenient place was assigned to the townsfolk (riveted in with scholars on all sides) where they might see and be seen. Here they did behold themselves in their own best clothes (which the scholars had borrowed), so lively personated their habits, gestures, language, lieger-jests, and expressions, that it was hard to decide which was the true townsman, whether he that sat by, or he who acted on the stage. Sit still they could not for chafing, go out they could not for crowding, but impatiently patient were fain to attend till dismissed at the end of the comedy. The mayor and his brethren soon after complain of this libellous play to the lords of the Privy Council, and truly aggravate the scholars' offence,—as if the mayor's mace could not be played with, but that the sceptre itself is touched therein![1]'

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III. 6–7: 'The university discipline,' says Hacket in his *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 31, 'began to be more remiss in those days (1588–1603) than in by-gone ages.' In the year 1620, Sir Simonds D'Ewes tells us, a famous bull arrived in Cambridge, and it was intended that he should be baited at Gogmagog Hills, where bowling, running, jumping, shooting, and wrestling were to be practised for a month or six weeks, under the designation of the 'Olympic Games.' The vice-chancellor however put his veto upon the project. *College Life*, pp. 109–10.

Performances at inns.

Sometimes, when the performance was of a character that trenched yet more nearly on decorum, the students resorted to one of the inns in the town,—the Black Bear, the Eagle, or the Falcon,—where galleries were constructed, overlooking the courtyard, from whence the spectators surveyed the Saturnine licence[2]. In the year 1600, a bachelor of arts of Corpus College ventured to take part in an interlude at the Black Bear, 'having,' to quote the language of the narrator, 'deformed long locks of unseemly sight, and great breaches, undecent for a graduate or scholar of orderly carriage; therefore, the said Pepper was commanded to appear presêntly, and procure his hair to be cut or powled, and which being done, the said Pepper returning to the consistory, was then suspended *ab omni gradu suscepto et suscipiendo*[3].'

Performance of Latin plays.

The Latin drama, on the other hand, represented a recognised and frequent diversion. It had been sanctioned by the high authority of John Sturm[4], who, in his scheme of education, enjoined a weekly performance of some one or other of the plays of Plautus and Terence. When an original composition was produced, the satirical spirit, as we have already seen in the case of the *Pammachius*, frequently also here found scope. Sometimes it was the school pedagogue of the period who was held up to ridicule, with as little mercy, if scarcely with the same humour, as the Dr Pangloss of later times[1]; while the common lawyer,—the *bête noire* of the cultured civilian,—came in, as we shall hereafter see, for yet more elaborate satire.

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[1] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, pp. 294–5.

[2] 'In the Black Bear and the Eagle,' wrote Cooper in 1843, 'are remains of galleries which were probably used for the accommodation of the spectators during the performance of plays, which in former times were very commonly exhibited in inn yards.' *Annals*, II 598, n. 2.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] von Raumer, *Gesch. d. Pädagogik*, I 270: Browning (O.) *Educational Theories*, p. 49.

That the recreations of both universities and the manners and habits of a large proportion of the students reflected to a great extent the coarse dissipation characteristic of the age, cannot be denied; and the similar fate of some of those whose genius was prematurely quenched in a melancholy end,—of Robert Greene[2] and Thomas Nash[3] of St John's, and of Christopher Marlowe[4] of Corpus,—is not unsuggestive of a sinister influence attaching to their common academic education. Yet, notwithstanding, there appears every reason for concluding that with respect not merely to material well-being but also to intellectual culture and discipline, both Oxford and Cambridge, at this period, might safely have challenged a comparison with the foremost universities on the Continent. Bruno's harsh censure of Oxford was, like its author, something altogether exceptional; and for the most part, foreign scholars appear to have regarded both universities with admiration, not merely on account of their external magnificence and the internal comfort of the colleges, but also for their order and morale. When De Dominis sought refuge in England, in 1616, and was still in the first flush of his flattering reception and imaginary success, his expressions of approval at what he witnessed at the two universities were enthusiastic in the extreme; and the effect produced upon him by the Cambridge Commencement, with its practised disputants, its brilliancy, and its decorum, was such that he

Comparison of the state of the English universities with that of those abroad.

Advantages of the collegiate system.

De Dominis, archbp. of Spalatro: *b.* 1566. *d.* 1624.

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[1] 'He' (*scil.* the schoolmaster) 'made us good sport in that excellent comedy of *Pedantius*, acted in our Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge: and if I bee not deceiued, in *Priscianus vapulans* and many of our English plays.' Peacham, *The Compleat Gentleman*, p. 27.

[2] 'For being at the universitie of Cambridge, I light amongst wags as lewd as myself, with whome I consumed the flower of my youth,' etc. See Cooper, *Athenae*, II 127.

[3] Nash was at St John's, according to his own statement, 'seven yeare together, lacking a quarter;' while according to his bitter enemy, Gabriel Harvey, he was so distinguished by his riotous conduct that 'a verie Nashe' was a common designation among them for 'euerie untoward scholler.' See Dr Grosart's *Memorial-Introduction* to the Huth Library edition of Nashe's *Works*, pp. xv–xvi.

[4] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 158.

His admiration of Cambridge and Oxford.

could not control his emotion[1]. The complacency with which most Englishmen regarded the two centres of the national learning was not less marked. 'I am glad,' wrote Carleton to De Dominis, 'that you were pleased with your visit; for our universities, together with the court, are the compendium of all England[2].'

State of the University of Jena.

The college system, again, however much it might tend to lessen the efficiency and popularity of the schools, was undoubtedly favorable to the enforcement of a stricter discipline; and severe as are the censures of contemporary critics on the follies, faults, and vices of the undergraduate body[3], and even of the bachelors of arts, at Cambridge, the indictment they involve stands in almost bright relief when compared with the strictures pronounced by the academic authorities themselves on the youth of the schools of Protestantism abroad. Even at Jena, then just entering upon its long career of extended popularity and learned fame, where the picturesque beauty of the Thuringian landscape, the ruined castles on the heights, the tranquil river, the silvan repose, seemed to invite the dweller to a meditative, studious, virtuous life,—even at Jena, nothing, if we may credit the almost universal testimony[4], could exceed the lawlessness, the recklessness, of the students. It was in the year 1607,

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[1] Richard Harrison, writing to Carleton, says that at Oxford the archbishop 'seemed to be infinitely pleased with the exercises of that place' and 'att the comencement at Cambridge, wept (as it is saide) for joye,' 24 July, 1617. *State Papers (Dom.) James I*, xcii no. 106. The disputations on the occasion of the archbishop's visit were however unusually brilliant. See Hacket, *Life of Williams*, pp. 31–32.

[2] *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Jas. I*, xcii no. 99.

[3] Dr Samuel Ward of Sidney thus notes down the 'Sinnes of the University:' 'i. Excesse in apparell. ii. Excesse in drinking. iii. Disobedience and contempt of authority in the yonger sort.' (No. iv. he leaves *blank*, though the numerals are inserted.) Manuscript Diary in library of Sidney College.

[4] 'Die Jenaischen Studenten standen ehedem wegen ihrer Wildheit und Renommisterei in übelm Rufe.' Justi and Mursinna, *Annalen*, p. 339. In 1624, 'Klagt Major gegen Schmid über die Petulanz und den Pennalismus unter den Studenten, und Hülsemann schreibt 1649 an I. Schmid, dass dessen Sohn "ob dissolutos commilitonum mores et insultationes" es in Jena nicht mehr habe aushalten können.' Tholuck, *Das akademische Leben*, ii 69. Nevertheless, the university managed to maintain not merely its existence but a certain prosperity throughout the Thirty Years' War: "Floret academia nostra," wrote Gerhard in the midst of the struggle, "sicut rosa inter spinas." *Ibid.* ii 61.

Professor Wolfgang Heyder of Jena.

that Wolfgang Heyder, professor of theology in the university, unable any longer to repress his feelings of concern and indignation, descended like some Hebrew prophet of old into the schools and delivered himself of a memorable diatribe. After placing before his audience a supposed example of the sad courses which he so strongly deprecated, he proceeded to sketch in detail the characteristics of the graceless student of the time[1]:

His description of the graceless student of the university: *circ.* 1607.

'He never prays,' cried the professor; 'he will never even pass by the House of God, if he can help it, much less be seen within its walls, where he is as rare a bird as a black swan in the forests of Africa. He says that the preachers are an ill-tempered, peevish, capricious set, who think it fine to harry, upbraid, and abuse others, denouncing them from the pulpit and consigning them to perdition; ever harping on the same string to the same tune,—*he* has heard them a thousand times, and more! The Bible is never in his hands, nor does he ever deign to read it. Perhaps, however, he falls ill, he breathes with difficulty, he begins to despair of life! Then he will borrow a Bible from his neighbour and mutter to himself some verses which meet his gaze; with no good will, however, for he yawns for weariness and his head aches with the effort. But as soon as the barber gives his patient hopes of recovery, the old book is flung aside, and the sick man quietly resumes his former ways. The baneful cravings which sway this unhappy youth (*Schling Frass*) destroy all sense of honour, all love of virtue, and all desire for study. He cares nought for wisdom, for acquirements, for the studies which dignify human life, for the Church's weal, or for politics. He is all for buffooneries, idleness, loitering, drinking, lechery, boxing, wounding, killing. Should you visit him in his chamber, what, I ask, will you see there, what is the furniture? You will see suspended on the wall some knives and daggers, some of which would not fetch three farthings, should he wish, in time of need, to pledge them with the rector. You will see a gun or two, which he is not ashamed to fire off from his lodging, or in the suburbs, among houses covered with shingle or barns stored with grain. You will see coats of mail and iron gloves, wherein the giant equips himself before appearing at the place of combat; and jerkins strongly sewn and stuffed with cotton, wool, hair or whalebone, so as to meet a thrust, when it comes to actual blows. You will see bowls and numerous glasses awaiting the visitors. You will see cards, draughts, and dice, and other devices which money brings together to ruin youth. Our student never, or but rarely, enters the college: he hears no lectures, for in the lecture-room he would seem like a dog in a bath. The lazy marmot goes sleeping on until after midday, or sits drinking with his boon companions, so as to fortify himself for his night-revelry and astonish others by appearing thus bold and fresh for the fray. When at length all is still, both indoors and out, when man betakes himself to slumber, when the bird on the branch ceases to sing, and the wild beast sleeps in its lair, then, with loud noise, he draws the bolt and flings open the door, and sallies forth, attended by his lad, to wound and to fight. Then you may hear extraordinary noises and doleful sport; bellowings, groanings, chargings hither and thither, shrieking, clamouring, the gathering together and hurling of stones and fragments,—had any Cyclops of old acted in like fashion, all Sicily would have banded together to drive him into everlasting exile! When he passes by the house of one whom he deems his foe, God help us! how he torments him with his tomfoolery! How he kicks at the door! How he hurls the stones at the lattice! With what lies, again, with what base devices, invectives, and slander, does he assail even the most blameless characters,—those in whom not even Momus' self could well find aught to cavil at,—so that, false and pure invention though it all be, something still sticks, and causes distrustful natures to eye his victims askance. As he goes along, should he meet other students wending homewards, or quiet citizens, he falls upon them like an assassin or a highwayman, with drawn sword, and curses innumerable, wounding, slaying, hurling them to the ground and trampling on and throttling them, at the same time snorting and raging like some fiend broke loose from hell; and sometimes he mutilates his antagonist, sometimes makes off with his plunder, still wrathful and furious. Should however place and time forbid, or should others interfere and prevent him from spilling another's blood on the spot, the blusterer, longing for notoriety, challenges them, thereupon with dreadful oaths and imprecations to do battle with him on the coming day; and the hour is fixed, the place appointed, just as though a campaign were being commenced and an army being assigned its quarters. And then, should the party challenged fail to make his appearance at the very instant, he is denounced as a scoundrel of all scoundrels, past, present, and to come. Then, when the arrangements have been made, his imprecations break forth afresh: If thou *art* an honest fellow, meet me early on the morrow! if thou *art* of honorable descent, measure swords with me!! If thou *art* anything better than a gallows-bird, fall to!!! When the fight is over, the proctor makes his appearance, and summons this centaur-like brawler and man-eater before the rector. Thereupon our fire-eater begins first of all solemnly to deny all of which he has been the cause, and to aver that he was overborne in the matter and himself, contrary to his intent, challenged to fight. When however he finds the counter evidence too strong, he tries other means of escape, and swears by Hades that he had drunk so deeply as to lose all consciousness, could neither hear nor see, and that all that he did or said has completely vanished from his recollection.'

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[1] This curious sketch seems all the more deserving of reproduction from the fact that it shews how the characteristic features of German student life, especially the mode of fighting duels, date back some three centuries. None of our European institutions, in fact, reflect more strongly the influence of tradition in manners and customs than the universities.

After a detailed and half humorous description of the pleas whereby the culprit vainly endeavours to mollify his judge and the expedients to which he and his companions have recourse to save him from imprisonment, the professor goes on to describe other characteristics:—

'His attire, if not of costly material, is always foppish and fantastic in cut, and is cast aside long before it is worn out. With his hair like the crest of a macaw and his visage seamed with wounds, he surpasses the wandering Achaemenides of Vergil[1]. His time is spent in sleeping, drinking, playing the rake, and brawling by night. Manly aims and honorable deeds are alike wanting in him. He wallows in the mire of all uncleanness. Such is the course of villainy in which he hardens himself more and more. So that at length all shame is lost, and without a sting of conscience he goes on from one crime to another. At last his idle, grovelling, vicious university career is over and he is summoned home,—unless, perchance, as is often the case, he has already been cut off on account of his heroic virtues as a pestilent member, and has been expelled from the student body. He goes forth from among them, nearly always in a penniless condition, an emaciated, half-eyed (*halbäugig*), halting, toothless creature, disfigured with innumerable scars and wounds. Such are the rewards of his proud and sublime career[2]!'

The college system in England would appear to have prevented similar examples of utter demoralisation in the universities.

Allowing for a certain cynical coarseness characteristic of the time, and the licence conceded to oratorical invective, there is no reason for supposing that the foregoing sketch had not its counterpart in an actually existent class among the academic youth of Jena. But it may safely be asserted that a like portraiture would at no time have been recognised as applicable to any section, however small, of our English undergraduates; and our college system, with all its defects, may fairly be entitled to the credit of having saved our national universities from the reproach of such signal failures, with respect not merely to attainments, but also to morals and manners, as still, even in the present day, mar the reputation of the chief German universities[1].

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[1] Vergil, *Aeneid*, III 590–5.

[2] Von Raumer, *Die deutschen Universitäten*, pp. 331²–7.

Criticisms of Bacon.

But there were other indictments, aimed at defects of a different order, from which neither any university, nor any class in a university, in those times, can with justice be exonerated. In the very same year[2] that Heyder, at Jena, delivered the above philippic, the greatest of English philosophers was scanning with piercing insight our whole university system, and giving expression to some of those unanswerable criticisms which stand as landmarks in the history of scientific thought, and whose undeniable force and justice the foregoing pages may serve in some measure to illustrate. We find him deploring that all 'the places of learning' are 'dedicated to professions' and consequently attract, for the most part, only those who are aiming at a professional career and substantial rewards[3]; we find him animadverting upon the insufficiency of the stipends assigned to the public lecturers[4]; upon the manner in which students are suffered to come all 'too unripe' to the study of logic and rhetoric,—'the gravest of sciences, the art of arts;' upon the prescribed exercises of the schools, as wont to make 'too great a divorce between invention and memory[5],' and thus almost entirely failing as a training of the mental powers for more extended acquisition and for the discovery of additional knowledge[6]. The other evils which Bacon deprecates,—the unwisdom of those who, wearying of theory and looking only

The universities frequented only for professions and emoluments.

Logic and rhetoric studied too early.

The exercises of the schools ill calculated to develope the mental powers with respect to further acquirements.

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[1] 'Warum verzichten wir Deutschen denn so ganz auf eine Einrichtung, welche Vernunft und Erfahrung gleichmässig empfehlen, welche Tausende von Vätern und Müttern von schlaflosen Nächten, von nagendem Kummer und peinigender Angst erlösen, und zahlreiche Jünglinge vom Untergange retten, andere vor lebenslänglicher Reue bewahren würde?' Döllinger, *Die Universitäten sonst und jetzt*, p. 31.

[2] The *Advancement of Learning* appeared in 1605; the *Cogitata et Visa* in 1607.

[3] *Advancement* (ed. Wright), p. 78. 'Cogitavit et illud: in moribus et institutis academiarum, collegiorum, et similium conventuum quae ad doctorum hominum sedes et operas mutuas destinata sunt, omnia progressui scientiarum in ulterius adversa inveniri. Frequentiam enim multo maximam professoriam primo, ac subinde meritoriam esse.' *Cogitata et Visa:* Works (Ellis and Spedding), III 597.

[4] *Advancement of Learning:* Ibid. III 326.

[5] *Ibid.* Cf. Milton's *Letter to S. Hartlib.*

[6] —'lectiones autem et exercitia ita disposita, ut aliud a consuetis ne facile cuiquam in mentem veniat cogitare.' *Cogitata et Visa*, *u.s.*

to the practical, call upon men 'to sell their books and build furnaces,' and the want of intercommunication between the great centres of learning[1],—may be looked upon as applicable not only to the age in which he wrote, but to times both long precedent and subsequent. As regards the theological strife and its attendant evils, he had already long before, when only in his thirtieth year, energetically denounced the 'private emulations and discontentments' to which the religious party spirit was continually giving rise, and the consequent 'contentions' which 'violated truth, sobriety, or peace;' nor did he hesitate to point to the universities as 'the seat or the continent of this disease,' from whence it had been 'derived into the rest of the realm[2].' As regards the unworthy occasions of these contentions, especially 'the cap and surplice,' 'since', he observes, 'they be things in their nature indifferent, and yet by some held superstitious, so that the question is between science and conscience, it seemeth to fall within the compass of the apostle's rule, which is, "that the stronger do descend and yield to the weaker."......And for the subscription, it seemeth to be in the nature of a confession, and therefore more proper to bind in the unity of faith, and to be urged rather for articles of doctrine than for rites and ceremonies and points of outward Government[3].'

The universities, the fountain head of the prevailing contentious strife in matters of belief.

The cap and the surplice better left to the individual discretion.

Conclusion.

But this serene philosophy, like the light gleaming from some remote snow-clad peak, reached only at rare intervals the dwellers in the misty valleys below. The Cambridge student, if he yearned for certainty, for sympathy, and for definite belief, found it, for the most part, in docile assent to some one or other of the warring creeds of his day, and in fierce denunciation of all who subscribed to another shibboleth than that to which he yielded up his own spiritual independence. And if, here and there, there was to be found some isolated thinker (like the one in mediaeval times whom we have pictured to ourselves in a preceding volume[1]), to whom the 'prostration of the intellect' seemed but a perilous expedient whereby to purchase the longed-for mental assurance, who reasoned, doubted, and enquired, and though ever baffled still returned to his Sisyphean toil,—if such a one there were, we cannot but think that as regarded intellectual satisfaction and spiritual enlightenment, his position was little better, was in some respects less enviable, than that of his antetype of a century before. The problem had become more complex, the abyss before him more profound. In faith and in science alike, his polar star seemed gone! The voice from Rome could no longer quell the tumult of the schools; if what some seers taught were true, the very earth itself, on which he stood, was but a wandering orb amid those 'rolling fires' of night! To us it is given to realise the hopes which he could not discern; and as we contrast the Cambridge in which he lived and moved, with the Cambridge of to-day, we can better estimate the gain. We see the two colleges, then just reared, still standing on the old monastic sites, but now, in common with the rest, the homes of a culture and of beliefs which differ scarcely less widely from the traditions and the creed represented by Laurence Chaderton and Samuel Ward, than did theirs from those of the Dominican or the Franciscan,—the physical laws, then unknown or discredited, now reduced like mighty genii to wait in myriad shapes on man's pleasure and well-being! And thus, in the education of the world, although succeeding generations, like retreating waves, may reck not of advance, the tide, without doubt, rolls on:

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[1] *Works* (Ellis and Spedding), III 326–8.

[2] See his 'Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England,' *Letters and Life* (ed. Spedding), I 82. This tractate was written, in Mr Spedding's opinion, in 1589, although not printed until the year 1640. See his admirable observations on Bacon's spirit and discernment, *Ibid.*, pp. 70–73.

[3] 'Certain considerations touching the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England,' *Ibid.* III 118.

'For while the tired waves, vainly breaking,
  Seem here no painful inch to gain,
Far back, through creeks and inlets making,
  Comes silent, flooding in, the main.'

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[1] Vol. I, pp. 375–8.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE DEATH OF LORD BURGHLEY TO THE ACCESSION OF CHARLES I.

CHAP. VI.

Election of the Earl of Essex as successor to Burghley in the Chancellorship.

His visit to Cambridge in 1598.

THE short interval which separated lord Burghley's death from that of Elizabeth was marked by few events of importance in the history of the university. Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, was unanimously elected to succeed Burghley as chancellor; although seven years before, thwarted by the caprice of his royal mistress, he had been an unsuccessful candidate for the like honour at Oxford[1]. In the course of the same year, he visited Cambridge and was lodged in Queens' College, where the apartment which he occupied, Fuller tells us, was for long after known as 'Essex chamber[2].' Here 'a pleasant comedy,' entitled *Lelia*, was acted before him, and he departed, having won all hearts by his stately courtesy, his affability, and his munificence[3]. Within less than three years, Whitgift and Bancroft, in London, had each been called upon, as loyal subjects, to arm their followers to aid in the suppression of his mutinous attempt to raise the city, and the once idolised favourite of the people had suffered a traitor's death on Tower Hill. He was succeeded in the chancellorship by Sir Robert Cecil, Burghley's only son by the lady Mildred, who for the preceding nine years

His execution for high treason: 25 Feb. 1600-1.

Sir Robert Cecil is elected his successor.

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[1] Murdin, *State Papers*, pp. 649–50. Whitgift himself stood sponsor for his old pupil's fitness for the office at Cambridge, as knowing his 'honourable disposition towards learning and learned men.' 'I doe not think,' wrote the archbishop, 'any man in England so fitt for that office, as he is.' Masters–Lamb, 148–9.

[2] Fuller–Prickett and Wright, p. 296.

[3] Cooper, *Annals*, II 592–3.

His character as a statesman.

had filled the office of High Steward in the university. Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury[1], had, like his illustrious father, been educated at St John's, but he sheds no such lustre on his college. He had his father's caution, but not his large tolerance; his capacity for business, without his capacity for social and domestic enjoyment. Those who remembered the fine presence, the enviable mental equilibrium, the wide sympathies of the former, could not but contrast such characteristics with the physical deformity, the narrowed (if keen) perceptions, and the cold selfishness of the son. The manner in which he concentrated his far from contemptible powers on questions of finance, left him but little time for letters or for attention to the interests of learning; while to his other deficiencies he united a feeble constitution, which led him, although still in middle life, and in the possession of great wealth, high office, and a distinguished reputation, to hail the approach of death as a relief from burdens and miseries too heavy to be borne. It is accordingly to be remembered to his credit that he nevertheless was not unmindful of the home of his own and his father's education. He sent his son to be educated at St John's[2]; and the university, on more than one occasion, had reason to be grateful for the effective exertion of his influence in their favour.

His good offices on behalf of the University.

Decision of Essex in the disputed question of precedence between the vice-chancellor and the mayor.

Essex, besides his office of chancellor of the university, had also held that of earl marshal of England, and in the latter capacity had been able, much to the gratification of the academic community, to act as arbiter in a long-disputed question of precedence between the vice-chancellor and the mayor of the town[3]. It is perhaps hardly necessary to say that his decision was in favour of the former. The dispute however was only one phase of the unhappy strife which, at this period, was again manifesting itself with all the old intensity in every relation between the university and the town. We have already seen that according to the statement of Fuller, above cited[1], the satirical spirit of which the burgesses had been made the victims at the performance of *Club Law*, was so warmly resented by the corporation, that they brought the matter under the notice of the lords of the Privy Council, by way of formal complaint. That distinguished body would appear, however, to have sympathised quite as much with the waggish ingenuity of the students as with the aggrieved feelings of the townsmen, and accordingly 'only sent some slight and private check to the principal actors therein[2].' A further effort on the part of the corporation to bring about what they deemed the adequate punishment of the offenders was still less successful[3], and the unfortunate burgesses, full of sullen resentment, would seem, for a long time afterwards, to have eagerly seized on every opportunity that presented itself for alleging some wrong, real or imaginary, suffered at the hands of the university. There is still extant a formal statement of these grievances which they caused to be drawn up in the year 1601. They believed themselves to be singled out for sarcasm and innuendo, not only on the stage, but in the pulpit,—'in publick sermons.' Against the academic authorities, the colleges, and the younger students, divers complaints are in turn alleged. The first are accused of unduly licensing alehouses in great number, for the sake of the fees thus levied,—of permitting, from like mercenary motives, the killing and eating of flesh in Lent,—of setting up and licensing tradesmen who had not served their due time as apprentices—of permitting their officials, on very

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[1] Created in 1605; his elder brother, lord Burghley (the offspring of the father's first marriage) was created earl of Exeter on the evening of the same day.

[2] The son, William, appears to have entered at St John's in 1605. See Green, *Calendar of State Papers (Dom.) Jas. I.* (1603–10), pp. 276, 302, 311.

[3] *Stat. Acad. Cantab.*, p. 278; Cooper, *Annals*, II 594.

Complaints of the town against the university in 1601.

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[1] *Supra*, p. 430–1.

[2] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 295.

[3] 'There goeth a tradition,' continues Fuller, 'many earnestly engaging for the truth thereof, that the townsmen, not contented herewith, importunately pressed that some more severe and public punishment might be inflicted upon them. Hereupon, the lords promised in short time to come to Cambridge, and (because the life in such things is lacking when only read) they themselves would see the same comedy, with all the properties thereof, *acted over again* (the townsmen as formerly, being enjoined to be present thereat) that so they might the better proportion the punishment to the fault, if any appeared. But rather than the townsmen would be witnesses again to their own abusing (wherein many things were too far from, and some things too near, the truth), they fairly fell off from any further prosecution of the matter.' *Ibid.* pp. 295–6.

insufficient pretexts, to break open 'the doors of honest inhabitants.' Against the colleges it is made a matter of complaint that they have materially diminished their customary weekly relief of the poor[1]; and of the collegians themselves it is asserted that 'being in taverns, alehouses, and divers publick places,' they 'do grievously and very disorderly misuse in generall all free burgesses and in particular the magistrates of the town[2].'

The town and the academic authorities.

In their dealings with this more ephemeral element in the university, the Nashs and the Greens, the tradesmen had but little opportunity for retaliation, beyond systematic extortion and a stolid refusal of credit[3]. The senior members of the academic body, and especially the executive authorities, were however more vulnerable; and the relations into which the mayor of the town was periodically brought with the vice-chancellor, enabled him to render the latter's tenure of office a far from enviable experience. Of such an experience we have a notable illustration in the case of Dr John Jegon, who was vice-chancellor in the year when *Club Law* was acted, and was again elected, for the third time, two years later. It is not improbable that the townsmen may have been resolved to make him sensible of their displeasure at the special affront to which they had been subjected during his tenure of office; but however this may have been, it is evident that the head of Corpus Christi was eminently unpopular with the whole body, nor is it less evident that he was a man of irritable temper, whom his assailants found

Dr John Jegon and the townsmen.

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[1] 'Whereas in the time of King Edward 6th, there being then but 14 colleges, and twelve of them not being bound thereunto by law, did of their meere charity, willingly give to the relief of the poor in the town 26 *sh.* every week; and where also the colleges before the last statute of 39 Eliz. did monthly contribute to the poore 5 *lib.* 6 *sh.* 8 *d.*, now sith the making of the statute yet for a year and more after the making of the statute, they did not contribute at all, and after yeilding to give weekly but 8 *sh.* 4 *d.*, which amounted not to above 6*d.* a college.' The University in its rejoinder affirmed that since the passing of the above statute, it had evinced 'a speciall care of the said poore, and for that purpose have joyned in mutual consent with the town for contributions to the poorer parishes there, as it will appear testifyed under their hands and seals.' Baker MS. XXII 83; Heywood and Wright, *University Transactions*, II 196-200.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] D'Ewes complains that in his time credit was very charily given even to fellow-commoners. *College Life*, p. 10.

He denounces the men that 'live by us' and yet object to the privileges of the university.

little difficulty in exasperating, almost beyond the bounds of self-control and official decorum. To Burghley, as long as Burghley lived, Dr Jegon was wont, ever and anon, to unburden his wounded and resentful feelings; nor did he allow any opportunity to pass, of denouncing these 'insolent and unmannerly men,' that '*live by us and our societies*, and yet could never endure us, or freedoms granted[1].' Whitgift, whose temper had not improved with advancing years and endless cares, having expressed to him on one occasion a peevish disapproval, at what he held to be the inconsiderate admission of a 'novice' (no less a person than James Mountagu, master of Sidney, and afterwards bishop of Winchester) to the degree of D.D., received from the recipient of his missive a reply couched in terms more appropriate to an overworked and ill-tempered domestic servant than to the head of a great learned community. Dr Jegon declares that he is worried almost to death by the labours and annoyances incident to his position, and avers that if the archbishop's displeasure is to be added to the burden already resting upon him, he shall be fain to pray that his year of office and his earthly existence may terminate together[2]. The first cry that greeted the ears of Essex, on his election as chancellor, was an urgent entreaty that he would forthwith endeavour 'in his wisdom' to devise some means of rescuing the university from 'the furious insolency of the townsmen[3].'

His letter in reply to Whitgift.

Essex's intervention entreated.

Theological dissension in the university becomes for a time less noticeable.

During the ten years that followed upon the promulgation of the Lambeth Articles in 1595, the period when the foregoing strife was at its height, the annals of the university present us with a comparative lull in the theological warfare[4]. We might almost, indeed, be inclined to conclude that the somewhat vulgar and very secular questions at issue between the vice-chancellor and the mayor of the town, served for a time to divert, in a great measure, the academic mind from questions of subscription and articles of faith. Such, however, was very far from being the case; it was only that the conflict had been temporarily transferred to a wider and a distant arena.

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[1] Strype, *Annals*, Append. vol. IV, no. CCXXX.

[2] 'The most insolent crossinge behaviour of our townsmen at home (as yet no way censured) increaseth, and doth in a manner oppresse me; to which if your Grace shall add the least displeasure, I wish my life may have end with myne office.' Baker MSS. XXIV 368; Cooper, *Annals*, II 592.

[3] *Ibid.* II 593.

[4] Fuller seems inclined to look upon the calm throughout the realm that immediately preceded Elizabeth's death, as the result of an attitude of expectancy: 'they' (*i.e.* the Puritan party), he says, 'did not so much practise for the present, as project for the future.' Fuller-Brewer, V 252.

Personal influence of King James in the universities. Death of Elizabeth: 23 Mar. 1603.

However defensible, in relation to later periods, may be the disposition shewn by certain historians to disregard the traditional regnal divisions in delineating our national history, it is impossible to deny that the death of Elizabeth was an event of epochal significance. Questions which during the last few years of her reign had waited in suspense or abeyance, now pressed forward for their solution; and the character, the predilections, and the past experiences of the new monarch, exercised, in relation to each, an influence which could not be mistaken. The university, to mark its grateful sense of the 'innumerable and unspeakable benefits' received at the late sovereign's hands, enjoined that in the annual commemoration of benefactors, the preacher should thenceforth 'give thanks to God as well for her faithful departure out of this life as also for her inestimable favours bestowed upon us, wherein we shall not only perform our duties but also give occasion to her successors for our mindfulness of her majesty *to esteem the better of us*[1].' To win the 'esteem' of Elizabeth's immediate successor became, indeed, an object of the highest solicitude with both universities. In his progress towards the capital, James did not visit Cambridge; but he stayed for a few days at Hinchingbrook, near Huntingdon, the seat of Sir Oliver Cromwell, distant little more than sixteen miles from the university, and thither, on the 28th of April, the Heads repaired,—'all clad,' says Nichols, 'in

Grace of the university on the occasion.

The deputation to Hinchingbrook.

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[1] *Stat. Acad.*, p. 364; Cooper, *Annals*, III 2. The language of the present generation is less enthusiastic: 'Queen Elizabeth gave us the Statutes by which until lately we were governed; and wisely provided for our better maintenance by the Act of Parliament for reserving rent-corn; she likewise by another Act confirmed all the Letters Patent and all the liberties, immunities, and privileges granted to the University by herself or any of her predecessors.' Revised Form of Commemoration proposed for adoption by Syndicate appointed June 3, 1869.

scarlet gownes and corner cappes; who having presence of his Majestie, there was made a most learned and eloquent oration in Latine welcomming his Majestie, as also intreating the confirmation of their charter and priviledges which his Majestie most willingly and freely granted. They also presented his Majestie with divers bookes published in commendation of our late gracious Queene, all which was most graciously accepted of his Highnesse[1].'

Bacon's advice to James.

There seems to be no reason for doubting that James set out for England with excellent intentions. It is certain that all those who had deplored or suffered from the coercive policy of the preceding reign,—the Puritan, the Catholic, and the philosopher,—alike regarded with lively expectation the accession of the new monarch as portending another order of things. Bacon, in the admirable paper (already cited[2]) which he drew up for James' guidance and consideration, plainly intimated that the time had come for a change of ecclesiastical policy. 'It is good,' he wrote, 'we return unto the ancient bonds of unity in the Church of God, which was, one faith, one baptism, and not, one hierarchy, one discipline; and that we observe the league of Christians, as it is penned by our Saviour Christ; which is in substance of doctrine this: "He that is not with us is against us;" but in things indifferent and but of circumstance this: "He that is not against us is with us[3]."'

Mr Gardiner's criticism.

'In dedicating this treatise to James,' says Mr Gardiner, 'Bacon laid his views before a man who was by no means incapable of appreciating them. James' mind was large and tolerant, and he was averse to the language of sectarian fanaticism. In his behaviour during the early months of his reign there were evident signs that he had pondered Bacon's advice[4]'.

The Catholic Petition.

The Catholics forthwith drew up their *Petition Apologeticall*[5], in which they recalled the 'often publique and gratious promises and protestations which your Majesty...hath made, as well to princes abroade as to priuate men at home; as well before as after the Queene's death, as well before as after your entruance to the realme; both in private and in publique; both in pallace and parliament, *that you would have no bloud for religion, that you would have no sale money for conscience contrary to the word of God, that you would reuiewe the lawes made against Catholikes, and giue order for clearing of them by reason, in case they haue beene in times past farther or more rigorously executed by the judges than the meaning of the lawe was*[1].'

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[1] Nichols, *Progresses of James the First*, I 101.

[2] *Supra*, p. 438, n. 3.

[3] *Letters and Life* (ed. Spedding), III 108.

[4] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, I 147.

[5] *A Petition Apologeticall, presented to the Kinges most excellent Majesty, by the lay Catholikes of England, in July last.* Printed at Doway by John Mogar, at the signe of the Compas. 1604.

The Millenary Petition.

Arthur Hildersham.

On his way, James also received the famous Millenary Petition[2]. Among those who headed the deputation was Arthur Hildersham, a divine eminent for his piety and learning, and one who, as long resident at Christ's College, had had ample opportunities for estimating at their proper value the propositions embodied in the petition which he presented. He had however rendered himself obnoxious by his Puritan principles, which seem not merely to have prevented his admission to a fellowship in his college, but subsequently to have rendered him an object of suspicion with the Court of High Commission[3]. It is evident that the clauses in the Petition relating to 'Church discipline and maintenance' were conceived in no friendly spirit to the universities. On the one hand, a blow was distinctly aimed at the college revenues, by the proposal that impropriations *annexed to bishoprics and colleges*, 'should be demised only to the preachers' incumbents for the old rent,'—thus altogether abolishing the lucrative system of fines; on the other hand, *laymen* were to be called upon to surrender only a sixth or seventh of any impropriations which they might have acquired for 'the maintenance of the preaching minister[4].'

The 'Petition' evidently unfriendly to the universities.

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 8.

[2] The copy of the Petition at the British Museum (Addit. MSS. 8978, fol. 107) has at the head 'April, 1603 A° RR^is^ Jacobi de Primo.' It seems therefore probable that the petition was presented when James was staying at Hinchingbrook, which would be a convenient point for the Puritan clergy of Northamptonshire. Brewer's note (see Fuller–Brewer, v 305 n. c) which says 'Presented 4th April, 1604,' probably refers to a second petition.

[3] Clarke's *Lives* (ed. 1659), pp. 114-5.

[4] 'The universities (and justly)

It was not necessary however for the universities to enter upon the questions thus raised, for the petitioners had opened up a series of other questions which really involved a reconsideration of many of the decisions but very recently arrived at with respect to the ritual and discipline of the Church. It is asserted by Strype, that such was Whitgift's vigilance at this crisis, that 'not a petition, pamphlet, or book escaped without a speedy and effectual answer[1].' As regards the Millenary Petition, it is certain that the reply of Cambridge was prompt and that of Oxford effective. The Petition had probably been presented towards the close of April; and on the ninth of June a grace passed the senate at Cambridge, decreeing that 'whosoever by word, writing or other way, should in the university openly oppose the doctrine or discipline of the Church of England, or any part thereof, should *ipso facto* be suspended from any degree taken or to be taken[2].' Oxford was more tardy,—but 'recompensing,' says Fuller, 'the slowness of her pace with the firmness of her footing;' and in the well-known *Answere* which she shortly after put forth, the compilers directly attribute their action to the example of 'their reverend brethren of the university of Cambridge[3].' But in the interval between the Cambridge grace and the Oxford *Answere*, James had been so far wrought upon by the prayer of the petitioners, and especially by their earnest and reasonable demand for a supply of 'able and sufficient' preachers, as to seek himself to initiate an important measure of Church reform.

Action taken at Cambridge and Oxford.

The Cambridge grace: 9 June 1603.

The Oxford *Answere.*

James himself proposes to initiate Church reform.

It was a fact beyond all controverting,—it had indeed been the continual plaint of successive archbishops, Parker,

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found themselves much aggrieved, that the petitioners should proportion a seventh part only out of an impropriation in a layman's fee; whilst those belonging to colleges and churches should be demised to the vicars at the old rent,—without fine, without improvement: whereas scholars, being children of the prophets, counted themselves most proper for church revenues; and this motion, if effected, would have cut off more than the breasts of both universities, in point of maintenance.' Fuller-Brewer, v 310.

[1] *Life of Whitgift*, II 482.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 2; Strype, *Annals*, IV no. cclxxvii.

[3] See *Epist. Dedicatory* to the *Answere of the Vice-Chancelour, the Doctors, both the Proctors and other the Heads of Houses in the Universitie of Oxford.* Oxford. Printed by Joseph Barnes, printer to the University. 1603. [The Cambridge grace is quoted in the *Epistle.*]

Grindal, and Whitgift themselves,—that large sections of the poorer populations of the realm (and more particularly of those northern parts which James had so lately traversed), were as sheep wandering without a shepherd,—passing away, generation after generation, uninstructed, unadmonished, and uncared for, from an existence of which vice and ignorance and superstition were the main characteristics[1]. It was equally notorious that considerable revenues of the Church, and those too which were under the control not of private laymen but of the Crown and the universities, were diverted by a vast system of impropriation from their legitimate use. Even Matthew Parker, notwithstanding his liberality and genuine devotion to the cause of education and learning, was not above the practice of presenting 'meere children' to cures, and enriching himself with the revenues of which he thus gained possession[2]. Such abuses were undeniable; and it is easy to understand that to James, amid his first endeavours to familiarise himself with the institutions and condition of affairs in his new realm, they must have appeared singularly glaring. He was still in the full flush of a genuine gratification at the tranquillity which had attended his accession to the Crown and at his loyal reception in England; and in a moment of generous impulse he aspired to set a noble and conspicuous example. He forwarded to the chancellors of the two universities letters calling their attention to these evils. He pointed out that the chief obstacle to the formation of a really learned ministry was the want of 'competent livings,' and declared it to be his intention,—as a first step towards remedying this state of things,—to restore the impropriate tithes which had devolved upon the Crown to their original and rightful use. It was his hope, he further added, that his example would influence others; and he called upon

He declares his intention of restoring the impropriations in the possession of the Crown.

His letters to the chancellors of the two universities:

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[1] 'For where is want of living, there will be want of preachers; where preachers or prophets are wanting, there prophesie or preaching faileth; and where prophesie faileth, there the people perish.' See Downham's *Two Sermons*, etc., published in 1608, p. 33; and for Downham himself see *supra*, p. 411.

[2] See 'Articles touching the late Archbishop' (drawn up by Grindal); referred to by Froude, *History of England* (ed. 1870), x 410–11.

and to the heads of the colleges, urging them to a similar course.

the universities to second his design by forthwith convening congregations whose express business it should be to consider how they might best carry the necessary corresponding measures into effect[1]. To the heads of colleges he addressed a similar missive. It was his full intention, he said, as the leases of tithes impropriated to the Crown fell in, to devote them to the maintenance of ministers; and he urged that the learned and influential body whom he addressed—'the lights of the land' as he was pleased to designate them—should initiate a similar course in connexion with their respective societies. The letter concluded with a request that lists of students duly qualified for the office of preaching might be forwarded to him[2].

Whitgift dissuades him from his design.

Like so many other projects conceived with excellent motives but too hastily and with an imperfect knowledge of the facts the kindly-hearted monarch's design melted away in the presence of adverse criticism, of considerations of expediency and of a more deliberate estimate of ways and means. On the very day on which Whitgift learned the royal intentions he dictated and forwarded an earnest remonstrance[3], in which he strongly dissuaded James from the project which he had entertained. He gave it as his deliberate opinion that such a measure, if carried out, would result in 'the

[1] '—whereas finding that as because there is a greater impediment then want of competent living to maintaine learned men in such places of our kingdoms, where no preaching is used at the churches being not settled and the parsonages are impropriate and in lay mens handes, we have found that there could not be a readier way to supply that defect than if those impropriations of tythes which by continuall usage to the right use for which they were first instituted (having me knowen by God's grace a good purpose so to do such of them as are yet found to be in our crowne landes) whatsoever any others may tell, being the whole example of them by purpose to induce by others possessed of the like to imitate us so far as with their abilities they may. In the meantime we have resolved that because beginning of so good a work none were more fitte than upon the scholars in our universities,' etc. Letter to the Chancellors of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge: 8 July, 1603. State Papers (Dom.) James I, II no. 57.

[2] Letter to the Heads of Colleges: July 1603. Ibid. II no. 58.

[3] In this document, which is only signed by Whitgift, he attributes James' action to 'Mr Galloway and some others, disquieted humorists of this our State.' He begs the King not to take further action 'until opportunity may serve me to attend upon you and to make known the inconveniences that may ensue thereof, not only to the saide universities, but to other places also of like condition.' Whitgift to the King: Croydon, 9 July, 1603. Ibid. II no. 59.

overthrow of the universities and of learning'; and in a formal statement, which followed close upon the letter, he set forth at length the practical results which must inevitably ensue if the proposed course were adopted[1]. The warnings of so experienced and sagacious an adviser could not be disregarded. The royal design was suddenly checked and the royal generosity turned in another direction. As for the proposed surrender of the Crown revenues, 'the king,' says Mr Gardiner, 'never found himself in a condition to lay aside money for any purpose whatever[2].'

The scheme is ultimately abandoned.

In the following October, when the university reassembled, one of its earliest measures was to draw up and forward to Oxford a letter expressive of complete concurrence in the views set forth in the manifesto of the sister community. The letter is remarkable for the tone of haughty, almost insolent, superiority, in which it refers to the Petitioners and their aims. 'In due course,' it is asserted, 'Cambridge alone would furnish a thousand triumphant replies to this petitioning thousand. Let them first answer these, before they again obtruded themselves so recklessly on the notice of their wise and learned king! Let them bear in mind, too,—abandoned as they were both by the universities and learning,—how inconsiderable an element they represented in the state[3]!'

Unanimity of the universities: the Cambridge letter to Oxford.

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[1] This document is a small neat quarto of four pages. Among other results which Whitgift asserts would follow upon the proposed measure, is the neutralization of Sir Tho. Smith's Act: 'No college in either universitie is able to maynteyn itselfe upon the olde rents in respect of the dearnesse of all things which hath increased since the first foundation: so as diverse colledges at this present are growne to bee verie poore and indebted. In consideration whereof, the Parliament of late made an act,' etc. *Ibid.*

[2] *Hist. of England*, I 151. The scheme for buying in impropriations seems, from this time, to have been left to the Puritan party. Bishop Andrewes, in his will (1626) revoked the sum of £2000 which he had originally designed to bequeath for the purpose. 'It was soon discovered,' says one of his biographers, 'that the real object was to apply the impropriations to the establishment of lectureships in aid of puritanism.' Teale, *Lives of English Divines*, p. 96.

[3] 'Eant nunc mille isti, et libris nostris millibus in hunc finem editis et conscriptis, cum erit otium et facultas, respondeant priusquam cramben toties decoctam, regi, tam prudenti, tam literato, tam imprudenter obtrudant. Aut si numerari malint quam ponderari suffragia, cogitent homunciones miseri, ab academiis musisque relicti, quam nullius numeri sint, quam plane nihil!' Strype, *Annals*, IV 523: Append. no. ccxxvii. Mr Gardiner says, and I think justly,

Relevancy of these and preceding events at Cambridge to the proceedings at the Hampton Court Conference: Jan. 160¾.

The foregoing facts enable us better to understand the circumstances under which the Hampton Court Conference took place, and the feelings and sentiments which found expression at a synod largely composed of Cambridge divines, and where the proceedings were materially influenced by preceding events in the university. Without here attempting to recall the various incidents of this familiar episode in our ecclesiastical history, we may yet pause to note the change in the monarch's tone, as he exulted to find himself at last 'in the promised land, where religion is purely professed, where I sit amongst grave, learned, and reverend men; not as before, *elsewhere*, a King without state, without honour, without order, where beardless boys would brave us to the face[1].' We may note the plea of Reynolds, that 'the nine orthodoxal assertions concluded at Lambeth' might be generally received[2]; and listen to Bancroft,—as the King intimated his ignorance of what those propositions might be,—breaking impetuously in, to explain that they were the result 'of some controversies arising in Cambridge about certain points of divinity' and of Whitgift's measures for composing the same[2]. We may the more intelligently weigh, in the light of our past researches, the comment of James, that 'when such questions arise among scholars, the quietest proceedings were to determine them in the university, and not to stuff the Book of Articles with all conclusions theological[3].' We may listen to the voice of Overall as he claims to speak 'as nearly concerned' in one 'matter,'—he was now dean of St Paul's, and though he still held his professorship and the mastership of St Catherine's, his learning and distinguished abilities were finding wider scope than the academic community could offer,—yet it is interesting to note that he grounds his claim to be heard on 'a controversy betwixt me and some other in Cambridge, upon a proposition

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that the demands of the petitioners 'were treated with that cool insolence which scarcely deigns to argue with an opponent, and which never attempts to understand his case.' *Hist. of England*, I 151.

[1] Barlow (W.). *The Summe and Substance of the Conference*: printed in *The Churchman's Remembrancer*, no IV (1805) p. 2.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 18 and 29; cf. *supra*, pp. 338–9 and 327–338.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 31.

which I there delivered[1].' And finally, we may mark Knewstub objecting to the surplice, 'a kind of garment used by the priests of Isis[2],' and Laurence Chaderton, hitherto almost silent, pleading that 'the cross in baptism and the surplice be not urged[3],' and Bancroft's tart rejoinder (as he forgot for the moment the friendship of his youth[4]) as to what he could tell about 'sitting communions in Emmanuel College[5].'

Gradual change in James' views and sympathies.

It is a noteworthy proof how imperfect was the intercourse between England and Scotland in those days, that James, when he presided at the Conference, had heard nothing about the Lambeth Articles. It is evident that what he learned on that occasion, either from his own observation or from what others told him, resulted in a decisive change in his subsequent policy. To this change, the accession of Bancroft to the primacy materially contributed. A few days after the Conference, Whitgift, full of fears and misgivings for the future, repaired in his barge to Fulham,—there to consult with his brother bishops and certain of the judges respecting the policy to be adopted by the leaders of the Church in connexion with the coming session of Parliament. It was a raw morning in February; and the chill, damp air proved the blast of death to his aged frame. But although manifestly unwell, he ventured forth on the following Sunday to Whitehall. A council was to be held; important questions were to be considered; the worker himself, perhaps, was not without misgiving that his time was short and the term of all his labours at hand. As he left the council-chamber, after a protracted sitting, he was smitten down with paralysis; he was borne home to Lambeth and there laid on the couch from which he never rose again. *Pro ecclesia Dei*,—such were the last connected words audible on his lips; and few who have been at the pains to study the history of his life will be disposed to doubt

Illness and death of Whitgift: 29 Feb. 160$\frac{3}{4}$.

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 31; cf. *supra*, p. 349.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 56; cf. *supra*, p. 195 and n. 2.

[3] 'The cap and the surplice not urged' had been one of the clauses of the petition of the Millenarians. Fuller-Brewer, v 306.

[4] See *infra*, p. 476.

[5] Barlow, pp. 75 and 78; cf. *supra*, p. 314 n. 1.

that he had laboured strenuously and sincerely for what he held to be the true and rightful cause[1].

Death of Cartwright: 27 Dec. 1603.

Scarcely three months before, Thomas Cartwright had also been borne to his grave. His last endeavours had been directed towards bringing under the notice of the new monarch the necessity for measures of Church reform almost identical with those which were subsequently urged at the Conference. But long before his death he had retired from the arduous arena where he had once so prominently engaged the notice of his contemporaries, and had been living at Warwick, in affluent circumstances, in a sphere of honorable usefulness, and on terms of peace, and even amity, with those whom he had formerly uncompromisingly opposed[2]. Between him and Whitgift, it is related, a reconciliation had taken place some time before their deaths. The primate had seen cause to extend his protection to his former antagonist, and to renew his friendship with the man whom he had once ejected from his professorship and his fellowship; while Cartwright had responded to this changed bearing by demonstrations of gratitude and respect[3]. There were some, indeed, Fuller tells us, who held that Cartwright had really neither modified his views nor abandoned his designs, and was only waiting 'when the wind should soon turn about to the north, and blow him and his a prosperous gale, according to their desires'[4]. Let us rather hope that as these two eminent men drew near the end of life's voyage, each had learned to estimate more charitably and more justly

Reconciliation in their latter years between himself and Whitgift.

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[1] The widely different estimate formed of Whitgift by his contemporaries from that of some later writers, is certainly remarkable. See Lively (E.) Epist. Dedicat. to his *True Chronologie of the Persian Monarchie* (1597). The author of The *Triumph of Learning* (1653), himself a fellow of Trinity College,—when arguing in opposition to the Puritanical doubts then raised, 'Whether there can be any need of Universities?'—characterises him as 'the most patient Whitgife,' who by 'his discreet meeknesse and gentle exhortations to peace'...'restored the Church to unity and concord both in doctrine and discipline,' p. 10. In such a description there is doubtless something of exaggeration, but it is difficult to understand how it could have been seriously applied to a prelate in whom intolerant bigotry and an arbitrary spirit were the main characteristics.

[2] Fuller-Brewer, v 252.

[3] *Ibid.* v 253; Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, II 459.

[4] Fuller-Brewer, v 254; for directly counter testimony, see Strype, *Whitgift*, II 460.

the aims and character of the other, and that to them, as to many others whose lives have been passed in stern antagonism, the poetic conception may yet be not inapplicable, which foretells the reunion, at the distant haven, of vessels parted in the darkness and the storm.

Sympathy between James and Bancroft resulting from similar experiences.

In reviewing the careers of the new monarch and the new archbishop, it is easy to discern certain common experiences which could scarcely fail to prove a bond of sympathy and accord between the two. It was hardly possible but that, as James began to understand more clearly the Puritan temper and aims in England, he should not recall the treatment he had received in former years from the Presbyterian party in Scotland. And when, a few years later, he heard how Andrew Melville, before the assembled privy council had plucked Bancroft by the sleeve and denounced both him and his writings[1], it must have been with no agreeable feelings that he remembered how, ten years before, the same bold hand had shaken him too by the sleeve, and the same imperious tones had accosted him as 'God's silly vassal[2]'. If James himself ever read the vigorous stanzas of the *Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria*[3], he might have admired the scholarship and the talent they displayed, but he could scarcely but regard with distrust their Puritanical spirit.

Results of the Hampton Court Conference.

The results of the Conference, under Bancroft's rule, now followed on apace. Notwithstanding the comparative cessation of open manifestations of Puritan feeling, it would seem that down to this time two at least of the colleges had continued successfully to resist the wearing of the surplice: but in the month of August, 1604, new canons ecclesiastical appeared, imposing uniform compliance on all colleges

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[1] *James Melville's Diary* (Wodrow Soc.), p. 679.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 370.

[3] *Supra*, p. 324, n. 3; the *Parasynagma Perthense*, at the end of which the *Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria* first appeared, was not printed before 1620; but on the occasion when Andrew Melville and his nephew were summoned before the Privy Council (30 Nov. 1606) the authority at Whitehall informed them that 'thair wes *certaine verses maid in Latine*, com in the Kingis hand, for the quhilk we were to be callit before the Counsel of England.' *Ibid.* pp. 678–9. What verses these were, if not the *Categoria*, it is not easy to conjecture.

The wearing of the surplice in college chapels more strenuously enforced.

and halls[1], and both Emmanuel and Sidney, sorely against the will alike of their heads and of the majority of their members, were constrained to give way. 'God grant,' wrote Samuel Ward in his Diary, 'that other worse things do not follow the so strict urging of this indifferent ceremony. Alas! we little expected that king James would have been the first permitter of it to be brought into our college, to make us a derision to so many that bear us no good will'.

Viscount Cranborne's letter to the university: 15 Dec. 1604.

In the following December, Cecil (now Viscount Cranborne) addressed a lengthy letter to the vice-chancellor and heads, calling attention to the necessity of securing strict conformity, not only to the university and college statutes but also to the constitutions of the Church, and enforcing in every respect a more stringent discipline. 'And in my opinion,' wrote the chancellor, in concluding, 'it should be a testimony of good conformitye in the universitye to putt that in practise with you which his Majestye hath commanded for his court, by determining it in a congregation, that noe man shall preach in St Maryes Church, except he first subscribe to the Three Articles[2]'. We meet with no indications of reluctance or demurring. The Heads of the different colleges sent in, as required, certificates of the conformity of their respective societies[3], and also furnished lists of all 'ministers' in each society who had received the university (or the episcopal) licence to preach. Shortly after,

He advises that no minister shall be permitted to preach before the university who refuses to subscribe to the Three Articles.

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[1] 'All masters and fellows of colleges and halls, and all the scholars and students in either of the universities, shall in their churches and chapels upon all Sundays, holydays, and their eves, at the time of divine service, *wear surplices*, according to the order of the Church of England.' Canon 17.

[2] Baker MSS. XXIX 382; Cooper, *Annals*, III 12; for the Three Articles, see Perry (G. G.) *Hist. of the English Church*, p. 318; Cooper, *Annals*, III 61; Lamb, *Documents*, pp. xlvi–xlvii. It is sufficient here to observe that they involved the recognition of the royal supremacy in matters both ecclesiastical and temporal, the use of the Book of Common Prayer, and unreserved acceptance of the Thirty-nine Articles.

[3] The certificate forwarded by the president of Queens' was as follows: 'According to Mr Vicechancellor's appointment, I do hereby certify that the fellows, scholars and students of our colledge as usually before time, so at this present, do continue y^{r} conformity *in divinis officiis*, both in surplisses and hoods, every one according as the university statutes do require, and also in due observation of the communion book. UMPHRY TYNDALL, President.' Searle, *Hist. of Queens' Coll.*, p. 393. See also Green, *Calendar of State Papers* (1603–10), pp. 177 and 186.

and again in the following year, came further requirements: it was enacted that *all students*, on proceeding to degrees, should be called upon to take the oath of supremacy, and to swear to the Book of Articles[1]; while a new form of the oath of conformity was sent down to each university wherein the declaration of adherence to the episcopal form of government and to the liturgies of the Church of England, was rendered more explicit and unreserved. 'The universities,' said the royal letter to the chancellor, 'are the nurseries of learning and should be free from all factions[2].'

8 Apr. 1605: the oath of conformity and declaration of adherence to episcopal government imposed on all admitted to a degree.

30 June 1613: subscription to the Three Articles imposed on all admitted B.D. and on all admitted to the doctorate in any faculty.

To these additional demands, Oxford yielded a ready obedience; but for a short time longer there was still an effort at evasion at Cambridge. It was finally quashed by another royal mandate which appeared in 1613. In this dictatorial manifesto, the monarch—after premising that his 'care and endeavour of preserving as well uniformity in order, as unity of truth in this our Church' will be attended with little effect, unless provision be also made for 'the deriving of both out of *the nurseries and fountains of our Church and Commonwealth* (our universities)',—goes on to enjoin that 'from henceforth no man shall have granted to him the degree either of bachelor in divinity, or of doctor in any faculty, divinity, law, or physick, unless he shall first and before the propounding of his said grace to the body of the university, in the presence of the vicechancellor or his deputy for the time being, *subscribe to the Three Articles.*' 'We understand,' the letter goes on to say, 'that our university of Oxford hath long since made a public ordinance and constitution in this behalf, in so much that *they grant not so much as the degree of a bachelor of arts without subscription first had:* whereas with you there hath not hitherto so much care been had in that our university of Cambridge

Cambridge less submissive than Oxford.

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[1] '—that neither you nor any of them do suffer hereafter any person to take *any degree of schooles whatsoever* except presently after he hath taken the oath of our supremacy as by the lawes of the Realm is else where prescribed, he shall likewise at the same tyme in the same place and in the same presence willingly take the oath following:' [here a form of oath in Latin is appended]. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Jas. I.*, vol x no. 68.

[2] *Ibid.* XIII no. 63.

so as to require this subscription of such as receive the degrees of bachelors or doctors in divinity with you[1]'.

Grace of the Senate: 7 July 1613.

3 Dec. 1616: subscription to the Three Articles imposed on all admitted to any degree whatsoever.

The above letter was dated the 30th of June, and on the seventh of July a grace passed the senate giving the desired effect to the royal wishes, by requiring that in future all bachelors in theology and doctors of all faculties, should prior to admission to their degrees, subscribe to the three Articles—James' 'three darling Articles' as he was wont to style them. Then three years later, in the year 1616, the royal pleasure was made known in a missive from Newmarket, that a like subscription should be demanded 'from all that take *any degree* in schools[2],' and the machinery for enforcing in the universities an external compliance with all the requirements of the state religion must now have appeared fairly complete. The expectations of the Catholic party had long before been extinguished. When the edict went forth for the banishment of their priests[3], small hope remained that the members of that persuasion would return to Oxford or Cambridge. And when, at the close of James' reign, Lewis Owen enumerated and sketched, in no friendly spirit, the colleges for English Catholics abroad, he was compelled to admit the existence of no less than ten, mostly in the hands of the Jesuits[4].

Edict for the banishment of the Catholic priests: 22 Feb. 1604.

Such was the process whereby the exclusive and intolerant provisions which so long impaired the usefulness and detracted from the reputation of our two great centres of learning, were successively enacted and enforced. Had the sagacity of Elizabeth and the wise moderation of Burghley continued to guide the nation, it seems reasonable to believe that these laws would never have been promulgated. It is equally difficult to suppose that James himself would spontaneously have initiated them[5]. But from that day in July,

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 59.

[2] *State Papers (Dom.) Jas. I*, vol. LXXXIX no. 60: Lamb, *Documents*, p. lii.

[3] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, I 144.

[4] See his *Running Register: recording a true Relation of the State of English Colledges, Seminaries and Cloysters in all forraine Parts.* London: 1626. The colleges which he describes are at St Omer, Watton (near St Omer), Rome, Valladolid, Seville, Madrid, Louvaine, Ghent, Liège, Douay.

[5] 'In wishing to grant toleration

1603, when he and his consort accepted Bancroft's hospitality at Fulham, a change came over the royal mood, and that policy was entered upon, the impress of which still remained on English institutions long after it had resulted in the ruin of the Stuart line.

Results of James' visit to Bancroft at Fulham: 22 July 1603.

Closer relations between the Crown and the universities.

Character of these relations.

The universities receive the privilege of returning each two members to Parliament.

Letter of Sir Edward Coke to the vice-chancellor, announcing the concession of this privilege: 12 Mar. 160$\frac{3}{4}$.

It must not however be supposed that compliance and concession were all on one side, and that Oxford and Cambridge, alike, crouched before James I as they had once done before Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell. It was their aim not merely to conciliate the king, but each act of compliance was generally dictated by the desire to gain some substantial favour, and although the price exacted for these favours was (as every dispassionate observer of the conditions under which alone learning and science can truly flourish must hold) exorbitant, it cannot be denied that as exclusive and powerful communities, endowed with special privileges, and capable of largely influencing the opinion of the nation, both Oxford and Cambridge made material advance in James' reign[1]. The Cambridge grace of 1603 was almost immediately followed by the bestowal of an important privilege for which both universities, as we have already seen, had long vainly pleaded, the right of returning members to Parliament[2]. It was on Sir Edward Coke that it devolved, in his capacity of attorney-general, to communicate to the vice-chancellor the bestowal of this important privilege. In his letter, while he professes to attribute their success mainly to Cecil's advocacy, he does not fail to let it appear how instrumental he had himself been in the matter, and proceeds to set forth, at some length, the arguments which he had em-

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to those from whom he differed, James was in advance of his age, and it is no matter of astonishment that he did not see his way more clearly.' Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, I 145.

[1] The total number of students at Cambridge in 1575 was 1783; in 1617, 2270; in 1622, 3050.

[2] 'Quodque praedicti *cancellarius, magistri et scholares* universitatis Cantebrigiae, et successores sui, virtute praecepti, mandati, seu processus super breve nostri, haeredum, et successorum nostrorum in ea parte debite directi, habeant et habebunt potestatem, authoritatem, et facultatem eligendi et nominandi duos de discretioribus et magis sufficientibus viris de praedicta universitate pro tempore existentibus fore burgenses parliamenti.' Dyer, *Privileges*, I 136: Hare Collections, III f. 170.

Reasons which had led him to move for the concession of this privilege.

He advises that members of Convocation should not be returned.

ployed in order to gain the royal assent. His own experience in parliament, he says, 'and especially when I was Speaker,' had made him aware how necessary it was for the university to have burgesses of parliament. The several colleges, for example, had each received from their respective founders private statutes and ordinances which often differed considerably, but to the observance of which each society was bound by oath. Legislation, in relation to the two universities, had recently been somewhat active; and, says the writer, 'I thought good, out of the great duety and service I owe to our university (being one of the famous eyes of the Commonwealth), to confer with Mr Dr Nevill, dean of Canterbury, and Sir Edward Stanhope (two worthie members thereof), that a sute were made at this time, when his Majestie, exceeding all his progenitors in learning and knowledge, so favoureth and respecteth the universities; when our most worthie and affectionate chancellor, my lord Cecill, his Majesties principall Secretary, is so propense to further anything that may honour or profit our university: for the obteyning of two Burgesses of Parliament, that may inform (as occasion shall be offered) that High Court of the true state of the university, and of every particular colledge:—which, with all alacrity, the good Deane and Sir Edward Stanhope apprehended. Our chancellor was moved, who instantly and effectually moved his Majestie, who most princely and graciously granted and signed yt, the book being ready drawne and provided.' After thus communicating the gratifying intelligence, Sir Edward appends certain advice upon one or two points, of which the most noteworthy is to the effect that 'now at this first eleccion, you make choise of some that are not of the Convocacion House, *for I have knowne the like to have bredd a question*. And yt is good that the begynning and first season be cleere and without scruple. In respect whereof, if you elect for this time some Professor of the Civill Lawe, or any other that is not of the Convocacion House, yt is thei surest way[1].' As an indication of the great struggle which Coke himself, as the leader of the common lawyers, was shortly to wage with Bancroft and the ecclesiastical courts, this item of advice assumes a special interest.

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[1] Seward's *Anecdotes*, I^{4} 258. Coke's advice was not disregarded; and the first members elected were Henry Mowtlow, LL.D., of Kings,

The Church patronage in the hands of 'popish recusants' placed at the disposal of the universities: A.D. 1606.

Two years later both universities received an additional boon by being made the distributors of the Church livings in the gift of those Roman Catholic patrons who had been, or might be, convicted as popish recusants. To Oxford was assigned the patronage that thus lapsed in the southern and western counties; to Cambridge, that which lay in the northern and the eastern divisions. 'In this division,' says Fuller, 'the greater half of the land fell to the share of Cambridge, whether we reckon the number of shires, being more; or measure the extent of ground, being greater; or consider (the main matter herein) that recusant patrons were most numerous in the northern parts of the kingdom. However, I have often heard it complained of, that this statute took not effect according to the true intent thereof: either because many bishops were very backward in giving institutions on the presentations of the university, wherein we are very willing to believe the fault not in them, but their officers; or because it is so hard a thing to prove or convict the legal conviction of a papist; or recusant patrons, before their conviction, had such sleights, by pre-conveyances to make over their advowsons to others. Hence it was, that many clerks, presented by the university, were wearied out with vexatious suits (overpoised with the weight of popish patrons' purses) and forced at last, either totally to relinquish their title, or to make a hard (not to say sometimes an unworthy) composition[1].'

Fuller's observations on the results of this measure.

Exemption of the universities

In the same year the universities and the colleges were alike exempted from the subsidies granted by the clergy and

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Public Orator, 1589, and Nicholas Steward or Styward, LL.D., of Trinity. *Graduati Cantabrigienses* (ed. Luard), p. 467. They were allowed 5*s*. a day for their expenses. Ward, *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 237.

[1] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, pp. 298-9. Anthony Wood, in recording the details of this measure (Wood-Gutch, II 288), is silent respecting its operation. Huber (III 3) seems rather to exaggerate its advantages.

from subsidies: A.D. 1606.

the temporality,—a favour again conceded on two subsequent occasions in the same reign[1].

Sir William Hamilton's observations on the relations existing between the Heads and the professors at both universities at this period.

It has been observed by an eminent critic that, at this period and for long afterwards, the interests of the Heads were 'directly opposed to the celebrity of the professorial body, both in itself, and in its consequences[2]'; and after the evidence which has already come before us, it will hardly have escaped the notice of the reader, that the elaborate development of the collegiate system which had been going on since the accession of Elizabeth was singularly unfavourable to, if not incompatible with, the *prestige* and efficiency of the academic professoriate. To a scholar acquainted only with universities like Paris, Louvain, Padua, or Leyden, it would have appeared somewhat surprising that James, when addressing the Heads of the two universities,—a body of men whom Sir William Hamilton not unfairly describes as 'in general, of merely ordinary acquirements,—holding in their collegial capacity only an accidental character in the university—and elevated, simply in quality of that character, by an act of arbitrary power to an unconstitutional pre-eminence[3],'—should have elected to speak of them as 'the lights of the land,' while he passed by and ignored the university professors, the men whose careers and labours chiefly served to make the names of Oxford and Cambridge respected throughout Europe. But in thus acting, the new king must be held to have simply accepted the state of affairs as he found it, and in professing to look upon each college head as not merely influential in the disposal of Church revenues but also as, by virtue of his position, of distinguished intellectual eminence, he was simply paying a dexterous compliment to the several members of the two narrow oligarchies by whom at the time the two universities were really ruled. Of the almost despotic power which, ever since the enactment of the Elizabethan statutes, the Heads had been, step by step, acquiring, we have a notable proof in the fact that, a few years later, we find them endeavouring practically to monopolise the new privilege of returning members to parliament,—a design which very nearly succeeded, and was eventually defeated only by the intervention of the chancellor himself. There were, at this time, two modes of election in the university: first, elections *more burgensium*,—the mode according to which the chancellor was elected, and members of parliament were returned by other constituencies throughout the realm; secondly, the mode according to which the vice-chancellor was elected, a method which, as we have already seen[1], virtually deprived the general academic body of any free choice in the matter. According to the terms in which the privilege had been accorded to the university[2], it was beyond question that it was designed that the election of the university representatives should be *more burgensium*; but in the year 1614, the privileges of the general body were audaciously challenged, and it was determined by the vice-chancellor, Dr Corbet, master of Trinity Hall, in conjunction with nine other Heads, that 'every election and nomination of burgesses of the parliament then and thereafter, *should be made according to the form of election of vice-chancellor*, after the delivery of the king's writ by the sheriff to the vice-chancellor[2].' There were those, however, in the university who were unwilling to see so distinguished a constituency reduced to the level of a pocket-borough, and when in the following year the time for the election came on,

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[1] In the years 1609 and 1624: see Cooper, *Annals*, III 22.

[2] 'The Heads were, not unnaturally, jealous of the contrast exhibited to themselves by a body like the professors, who, as the principal organs, deserved to constitute in Oxford, what in other universities they actually did, its representatives and governors. Their only hope was in the weakness of their rivals. It was easily perceived, that in proportion as the professional system of instruction was improved, the influence of the professorial body would be increased; and the Heads were conscious, that if that system were ever organized as it ought to be, it would no longer be possible for them to maintain their own factitious and absurd omnipotence in the academical polity.' *Discussions*, p. 421. Sir William is here speaking only of Oxford, but reference to the essay on 'The English Universities' (from which the foregoing extract is taken) will shew that his remarks are designed to apply equally to Cambridge, although he seems scarcely aware that here the function of a Head and that of a professor were often combined.

[3] *Discussions*, p. 421.

The Heads attempt to monopolise the privilege of returning members to Parliament:

by determining that the elections shall be conducted in the same manner as those for the vice-chancellorship and not *more burgensium*.

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[1] *Supra*, pp. 224–5.

[2] The Heads put forward, as a sanction of their assumption, the 40th statute of the second Elizabethan Code (*Stat. Univ. Ant.* p. 334). 'As if,' says Walsh sarcastically, 'the good old queen, who was then in her grave, could be supposed to have given directions about the mode of electing officers who in her days were nonentities!' *Historical Account*, p. 55.

The chancellor compels them to recognise the conditions subject to which the privilege was accorded: A.D. 1614.

Election of 1614.

Return of Sir Miles Sandys and FRANCIS BACON.

three successive communications from the chancellor, the earl of Northampton, at length compelled the *caput* to recognise the undeniable fact that the original conditions of the privilege were incompatible with their design[1]. At the election, the prevailing sentiments of the constituency found free expression, and as the consequent result, Sir Francis Bacon, the attorney-general, and Sir Miles Sandys, were returned by a large majority, while the two Heads who ventured to appear as candidates,—Dr Barnaby Gooch, master of Magdalene, and Dr Corbet (who had been especially active in the attempt to deprive the majority of the voters of their rights),—obtained only seventy-four and sixty-four votes respectively. A formal objection was, however, taken to the return of Sir Miles, on the ground that he was not, as the terms of the charter might be held to require, really resident in the university; and Dr Gooch, amid loud outcries of 'a Sandys', 'a Sandys,' was declared elected in his stead[2]. But this objection would appear to have been subsequently overruled, for while Sir Miles took his seat in the house and served on no less than seven committees[3], we find no mention whatever of Dr Gooch in the journals of this parliament[4]. It would seem that there was some reason to apprehend that a like objection might possibly be taken to the return of Bacon, for the vice-chancellor, in declaring his election, described him as 'master of arts and of councel of and to the Universitie of Cambridge,—*whereby he may seeme after a sort to live and breath among us*[5].' The great philosopher, indeed, had never ceased to look back with affection, and something even of regret, to the scenes of his studious youth. He had noted the influences there in course of developement

Francis Bacon and Cambridge.

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[1] 'The 3 letters from our honorable chancellor unto the said Dr Duport......wherein his lordship advized us 1° principaly by all meanes to follow the expresse words of our charter [see *supra*, p. 459 n. 2] and of the writt as having noe power of ourselves otherwise either to choose or to make burgesses, and that being chosen any otherwise, our burgesses were no burgesses.' See 'Relation of Dr Duport' (deputy V.C.) a MS. in Jesus Coll. Lib., Cooper, *A. and C.*, pp. 323–4.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 326.

[3] *Commons Journals*, I 456 b, 457, 464 a, 481 a, 496 a, 502 b.

[4] Cooper, *Annals*, *A. and C.*, p. 326. Dr Gooch sat, however, in the Parliament of 1621: see *infra*, p. 495.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 325. Bacon was returned at the same election for St Alban's, Ipswich, and Cambridge University. *Letters and Life* (ed. Spedding), v 31.

with unflagging interest, and had criticised the prevailing defects with the freedom of a faithful friend. And years before the election of 1614,—when political opponents and jealous rivals were seeking to obstruct his rise, and he was calmly weighing the possibility of a complete and decisive repulse in the arena of active life,—it was to Cambridge that he contemplated retiring, there to pass the remainder of his days, devoted solely to scientific studies and forgetful of the world[1]. But now all apprehensions of defeat and humiliation were over, and Francis Bacon, when visiting Cambridge, represented, not the humble, pensive man of letters, but the influential and still aspiring politician. He was distinguished in the university by the sumptuousness of his entertainments and by his splendid style of living; to the different colleges he periodically forwarded presents of venison; while so anxious was he to impress upon the community the disinterestedness of his motives and his zeal for their interests, that he even disclaimed all notion of receiving any fees for the services rendered in his official capacity[2].

He at one time contemplated retiring permanently to Cambridge.

When compared with the benefits which he conferred on mankind, Bacon's services to his university dwindle, indeed, into insignificance; but it is gratifying to recall that the reminiscences thus connected with his memory are of such a character, and that the name of Francis Bacon stands associated with the maintenance of the academic privileges as opposed to the encroachments of a narrow oligarchy.

His name associated with the maintenance of the independence of the university.

But though defeated in their endeavour practically to monopolise the privileges of the new constituency, it is a sufficiently significant fact that the Heads should ever have contemplated such a design; and the failure, it is to be noted, represents the only appreciable check on their self-aggrandising policy within the limits of our present period. In his own college, the powers of each head had become almost despotic; and his sense of irresponsibility was indi-

Unfavorable results of the autocratic powers of Heads in their respective colleges.

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[1] 'I will, with God's assistance... ...retire myself with a couple of men to Cambridge, and there spend my life in my studies and contemplations, without looking back.' Letter to the Earl of Essex: *Ibid.* I 291.

[2] Letter from Chamberlain to Carleton: 23 Dec. 1613. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *Jas. I.* vol. LXXV, no. 52; see also *Letters and Life*, v 31.

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cated, according to his disposition, either by supine neglect of the interests of the society or by the inquisitorial severity with which he sought to impress his own views on all beneath him. According as he was a north or south countryman, a Calvinist or an Arminian, a supporter of the Court and the royal prerogative or of the growing Puritan party, his predilections would be manifested with but little reserve. It was thus that each college too often became a narrow exclusive community, where local antipathies and religious or political animosities were fostered and developed, and that catholic interchange of thought and feeling which it is the first function of a university to promote was effectually checked. The history of the university, in fact, now began to resemble that of a number of powerful and uncontrolled feudatories in a great empire,—each rendering little more than a formal allegiance to their common lord, and with but small concern for the general weal;—intent, for the most part, only on particular aims and dissociated interests,—and rarely combining for concerted action. Such a history, it is obvious, involves much more frequent reference than heretofore to that of the different colleges, and before further seeking to investigate its more general features, we shall find it of considerable service to pay some attention to the condition and tendencies predominant in each society, together with the characters of their more distinguished heads, as they come before us in the first quarter of the seventeenth century.

Increasing importance of college history.

THE COLLEGES AND THEIR HEADS: A.D. 1600-25. ROGER GOAD, Provost of King's, 1570—1610.

Among the sixteen divines who exercised at this time such potent influence over the fortunes of Cambridge, Roger Goad, the provost of King's, must have appeared the Nestor of their number. Nearly half a century before king James ascended the throne, he had come up from Eton, a mere stripling of 17, to be admitted to his scholarship in that illustrious society. His life since then had not, however, been spent entirely in the university. For some years he had been absent from Cambridge, employed in gaining experience of that kind which all who are looking forward to becoming engaged in university instruction itself do well to acquire, by acting as a master in the grammar school at

Guildford, where among his pupils was George Abbot, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury[1]. Although, on the occasion of Goad's election to the provostship, in 1570, his special fitness for the post was attested by the joint recommendation of bishop Grindal, Walter Haddon, and Henry Knollys, his first experiences were of no good augury. He was unscrupulously assailed by some of the younger fellows who represented the extreme Puritan faction, and the struggle in which he thus became involved was long afterwards known as the 'Goad riot.' Goad fought the battle with an admirable combination of courage and discretion, triumphantly refuted the accusations brought against him[2], and brought his more reckless accusers to bitter humiliation and shame. His subsequent rule was attended with the utmost advantage and credit to his college and to the university. He was three times elected to the office of vice-chancellor; he re-established the college library and was a benefactor to the society in his will; and his six sons, educated like himself at Eton, were elected from thence to scholarships at King's[3]. Of these, Thomas, the second son, acquired considerable reputation as a scholar, and was one of the divines deputed to attend the Synod of Dort[4]. Dr Goad's theological tendencies are to be inferred from the facts that he was elected to preach Whitaker's funeral sermon and was an active participant in the proceedings against Peter Baro[5]. At King's, however, perhaps more than in any other society in the university, theology was a comparatively subordinate element, and the designs of its pious founder were to a great extent ignored. The fellows cultivated music with much assiduity and success[6], but evinced little inclination either for polemics or for active work in the ministry. The historian of the college notes, as a somewhat remarkable fact, that at one time

The 'Goad riot.'

Dr Goad's rule at King's.

His second son, Thomas.

His character as a theologian.

Character of the society at this period.

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, III 21.

[2] See 'An Answere to Articles exhibited,' &c. 1576. Baker MSS., IV 9.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, III 22.

[4] Allen, *Lives of the Masters, Fellows, and Scholars of King's College*, II 1028.

[5] *Supra*, p. 347.

[6] Ball, in his *Life of Preston*, says that when Preston entered at King's in 1584 he 'applied himself to that which was the genius of the colledge, and that was *musick*.' Clarke, *Lives* (ed. 1659), p. 76.

during Dr Goad's rule, only one of their number had undertaken clerical work[1]. No fellowships in the university were, however, more prized, whether for their value or their social advantages[2], and the society was at this period especially prosperous. When John Scot, in 1617, drew up his account of the university[3], the total number of residents was 2270, the number at King's being 120; fifty-five years later, when John Ivory compiled a similar account, these numbers were 2522 and 113 respectively[4]. The heads of the two other societies, which, in conjunction with King's, must be regarded as the leading communities in the university at this time, were both men whose names are alike associated in a very marked degree with the history of their colleges. Thomas Neville had succeeded in 1593 to the mastership of Trinity,—Richard Clayton (as already noted[5]), succeeded two years later, to that of St John's. Thomas Neville (or Nevin, as his name was more usually pronounced by his contemporaries),—'the magnificent Neville,' as Fuller terms him,—was a member of that ancient house whose history, commencing with the time when its representatives ruled under the Plantagenets in Aquitaine, stands so long and intimately associated with the many vicissitudes of the great families of York and Lancaster. He had at one time been a fellow of Pembroke College, where, it will be remembered, his name has already come before us[6] as that of one of those who combined to non-placet

Trinity and St John's.

THOMAS NEVILLE, master of Trinity, 1593—1615.

His early university career.

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[1] 'It so fell out, tho' this our foundation was established more especially for the breeding up of clergymen...Mr Turner [adm. 1571] was one while the only preacher in college.' Allen, *u. s.* II 900.

[2] 'I could not haue wantid a fellowship in ani place, *no not in King's College*, if need had bene': such was the vaunt attributed to Gabriel Harvey, in 1573, by his enemies, although disclaimed by himself. Note Book, MS. in Pembroke College.

[3] *The Foundation of the Universitie of Cambridge. With a Catalogue of the principall Founders and speciall Benefactours of the Colledges, Publique Schooles, and Librarie, nowe in the same. And the names of all the present Maisters and Fellowes of euerie perticular Coll: Together with the number of Magistrats, Gouernours, and Officers, thereunto belonging and the totall number of Students nowe therein resyding.* Collected A.D. 1617. Scot's account, a beautiful MS. in the British Museum (*MS. Harl.* 4017), is dedicated to the chancellor of the university, the Earl of Suffolk. It has furnished me with the statistics of the different colleges which I give in the following pages. Ivory's account is printed in Cooper, *Annals*, III 553–4.

[4] The total number at Oxford in 1611 was 2420.

[5] *Supra*, pp. 345–6.

[6] *Supra*, p. 428.

the degree of that ungenial being, Gabriel Harvey, for his mastership of arts. From Pembroke, Neville was promoted to the mastership of Magdalene College, a post for which his ancient descent, in harmony with the traditions of the house, probably constituted an additional recommendation. From Magdalene he passed on to be the head of Trinity, where he at once reaped the fruits of the judicious administration of Whitgift and Still. The society was free from domestic dissension. The finances were in a satisfactory condition. Theological contention was discouraged and kept in check. It was altogether a post of much dignity as well as one of high influence and importance. When king James was proclaimed King of England, Whitgift, in his capacity of primate, could think of no divine better fitted to bear to Scotland the united felicitations of the clergy of the realm than the master of Trinity College[1]. On succeeding to his new post, Neville very soon conceived, and lived to see carried to successful completion, the grand design[2], on which he himself expended no less than £3000, whereby, for a mass of irregular and unsightly buildings, was substituted an erection which an Oxford contemporary somewhat hyperbolically describes as,

Condition of Trinity College at this period.

Neville's designs for its improvement.

—the wonderment
Of Christendom and eke of Kent[3].

'I think,' wrote Giles Fletcher, in dedicating one of his poems to Neville, '(King Henrie the 8 being the uniter, Edward 3 the founder, and yourself the repairer of this college wherein I live) none will blame me, if I esteem the same, since your polishing of it, the fairest sight in Cambridge[4].'

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[1] Neal, *History of the Puritans*, II 4.

[2] 'Cum structurae deformitatem insignem et cubiculorum seriem male cohaerentem animadvertisset, huic (in primo fere suo introitu) collegii hujus amplitudinem ardenti desiderio concupiscenti, subiit animum tanto consilio haud indigna cogitatio,' etc. *Liber Memorialis* in Trinity College Library. The compiler of the text in this splendid volume tells us that on Neville's entering upon the office his arms were forthwith emblazoned in its pages,—'qui honos ante Nevillum habitus est nemini.' The same honour was however paid to his successor Richardson.

[3] Verses by Corbet, afterwards bishop Corbet, on the royal visit in 1615. Cooper, *Annals*, III 77.

[4] Dedication prefixed to *Christ's Victorie* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: printed for Francis Green. 1632.

Effects of his administration.

The more general effects of Neville's administration are to be recognised in the great increase which took place in the numbers of the college. In 1617 they had risen to 340, while those of St John's were only 205, a disparity much beyond that which obtained towards the close of the century[1]. From this time, however, Trinity may be looked upon as taking up that leading position among the Cambridge societies which only one other college had ever been able even to contest. Neville, says one who was an undergraduate of the college during his mastership, 'never had his like in that orb for a splendid, courteous, and bountiful gentleman[2].'

RICHARD CLAYTON, master of St John's, 1595—1612.

His successor at Magdalene was Richard Clayton, and in 1595 Clayton was transferred from Magdalene to the mastership of St John's. Of the general character of his administration there, we have already noted some indications. Baker's sketch gives us the impression of one whose rather superficial qualifications gained for him an amount of popularity considerably in excess of his real merits. When it has been conceded that he was a man of energetic temperament, with considerable aptitude for business, and well fitted to shine in fashionable society, we shall probably have recognised not inadequately his best qualities. On the other hand, while he himself died wealthy, the college declined alike in learning and in numbers under his rule. Nor did matters improve under Owen Gwynne, who succeeded him in 1612[3]; an easy indolent man, whose election has drawn from Baker his frank declaration in favour of crown nominations as pre-

OWEN GWYNNE, master of St John's, 1612–33.

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[1] In 1672 the numbers were 400 and 372 respectively: see the useful conspectus given in Mr Wordsworth's *University Life*, pp. 641–3. In considering these earlier statistics it is to be borne in mind that *college servants* were then included in the enumeration.

[2] Hacket, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, I 24.

[3] 'The three great men most in view (for he that was chosen was not great) were Dr Morton, dean of Winchester, Dr Carey, master of Christ's, and Dr Meriton, then or lately fellow of Queens'. They were all of them originally of St John's (Dr Carey had been twice chosen fellow in an unusual manner) but being then no gremials, nor very solicitous for a preferment they did not want, they were easily supplanted by a man of less worth, but of more intrigue and greater ambition.' Baker-Mayor, p. 198. As Cary had been presented by Gwynne in March, 1610, to the rectory of Toft, in Cambridgeshire, the two were probably on friendly terms; and we may infer that the former, as Baker implies, did not exert himself to be elected in his benefactor's place.

Remissness of both as administrators.

Improvements in the college notwithstanding.

Distinguished members of the society.

ferable to the free choice of the fellows, and who, according to Hacket, was little more than a *roi fainéant*[1]. Something however must be placed to the credit of Clayton and Gwynne, when we recall that under the former St John's built its second court; while under the latter, its noble library was constructed and its excellent system of registration of admissions first commenced[2]. If again its own Head seemed hardly worthy to rule the society over which Metcalfe and Whitaker had once presided, St John's might find some cause for pride in the reflexion that its sons were ruling in other colleges, and that there were heads of Corpus, St Catherine's, Magdalene, Christ's, and Sidney, at this period, who had all been educated within its walls. A later generation, again, might scarcely fail to note how conspicuously in after years the names of some of the younger members became interwoven with the intense action of the time: the statesman, who typified all that was most heroic and disinterested in the devoted Royalist,—the general, who personified the dauntless resolve and the military genius of the Parliament,—the intrepid primate, who struggled on until all seemed lost, and at last succumbed only to old age and grief combined,—Thomas Wentworth, Fairfax, and archbishop Williams—such are the names to which St John's can point at this period as among those of its most illustrious and loyal sons[3].

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[1] '— there was another in that college, whose name is best concealed, that was a robustious driver of canvasses, who took the whole rule from Mr Gwin (a soft man and given altogether to ease) into his own hand, and was like the Major Domo, by whom all suits passed and every student stooped to him for his preferment.' *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 23; see also Baker-Mayor, p. 199.

[2] On the 21st of January 1629–30, the master and senior fellows of St John's College made the following order: 'That the register of the college should have a booke provided him, wherein he should from time to time write and register the names, parents, country, school, age and tutor of every one to be admitted into the college before their enrolling into the buttery tables; and shall receive of each of them for his pains as the head lecturers and deans do, for their admission.' See *Admissions to the College of St John the Evangelist in the University of Cambridge* [edited by Prof. John E. B. Mayor] 1882– .

[3] For Wentworth see Mozley (J. B.) *Essays*, I 5; for Williams, Baker-Mayor, pp. 208–9. Lucius Cary, lord Falkland, appears to have been entered on the books of the college so early as 1621 when only 11 years of age, but the period when he actually resided is uncertain. See Baker-Mayor, pp. 531–2; Tulloch, *Rational Theology in England*, I 83–84.

EMMANUEL AND CHRIST'S COLLEGES.

The college which came next to St John's in point of numbers was Emmanuel. If indeed we allow for the great difference in the number of fellowships on the two foundations,—fifty-four on the former, and only twelve on the latter,—Emmanuel appears, for a brief period, to have been able to reckon the larger number of undergraduates,—the total numbers being 205 and 200 respectively[1]. In order fully to understand the position of the chief centre of the Puritan party in the university, it will however be necessary first to pay some attention to the course of events at the neighbouring foundation of Christ's College, which together with Caius and Queens' stands next in numerical strength, each of these three societies appearing in John Scot's pages as possessing a total of 160. We have already seen in what energetic terms the fellows of Christ's, when anticipating in 1582 the intrusion of an uncongenial Head, appealed to Sir Walter Mildmay for protection[2]. In obtaining the appointment of Edmund Barwell, they probably held that their agitation had proved successful, but the sequel can hardly have failed to suggest to their recollection the pregnant line which enforces the trite experience, that the too indulgent Gods have sometimes overthrown houses at the prayer of the possessors themselves. Barwell was sufficiently indifferent to discipline and ceremonial not to offend the prejudices of the most Puritanical member of the society, but his defects as an administrator were such as none could overlook. The *morale* and the financial condition of the college became alike deplorable. He himself set the example of neglect of the scholastic dress. The 'commonplaces' in chapel,—discourses originally designed pithily to suggest some topic for profitable reflexion and of which brevity was regarded as an essential feature,—were lengthened out, so as resemble sermons, and filled with personalities[3], while the

Condition of the latter society under Barwell, 1582—1609.

Charges brought against Dr Barwell in 1582.

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[1] In 1672 the total at St John's was 372, at Emmanuel, 170.

[2] *Supra*, p. 310, n. 4.

[3] This probably partly gave rise to the following clause in certain decrees issued by the Vice-chancellor and Heads in Jan. 1587, forbidding anyone 'in the pulpit or other common place' to 'note or describe any person.' See Cooper, *Annals*, II 429. A recent specimen of the 'commonplace' may be seen in a little volume entitled '*Loci Communes. Commonplaces, delivered in the Chapel of*

college exercises and acts in the schools were neglected or performed in the most perfunctory manner. The fines and leases were appropriated by the fellows and their commons raised from 12*d.* to three shillings per week, while the scholars were defrauded of their rightful allowance. Barwell's special deficiencies may be inferred from the fact that although he held the mastership for twenty-seven years he was never elected to the office of vice-chancellor[1].

William Perkins of Christ's: *b.* 1558. *d.* 1602.

If indeed the fortunes of Christ's College had depended upon the master, it can hardly be doubted that the fate of the society would have been very much of the kind which the fellows so strongly deprecated on the eve of Barwell's election. They had prayed to be delivered from a king Stork and they received a king Log. From the year 1584 to 1602, the reputation of the house was however largely upheld by the name and teaching of one of its fellows, the celebrated William Perkins. Originally noted as a student for recklessness and profanity and his addiction to the prevalent vice of drunkenness, he had been driven by a trivial incident to reflexion and ultimately to the adoption of a better life[2]. He gained a fellowship; and having taken orders received the appointment of lecturer at the church of Great St Andrew's, where his singular abilities as a preacher soon attracted large audiences and permanently established his fame.

His Puritan tendencies.

At first, he seemed likely to identify himself with the extreme Puritan party, and in 1587 he had actually been summoned before Dr Copcot, the vice-chancellor, to answer interrogatories respecting sentiments to which he had given expression in a college 'commonplace.' But eventually wiser counsels prevailed. He consented to take the oath *ex officio;* and he also made full disclosure of all that he knew respecting the Puritan assemblies which about that time were being held at St John's[3]; while he subsequently systematically abstained from the expression of any opinion on disputed

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Christ's College, Cambridge, by C. A. Swainson, M.A. and A. H. Wratislaw, M.A. London, 1848.' Of the sixteen discourses which it contains, few would occupy more than ten minutes in delivery.

[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 522-3.

[2] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 335.

[3] *Supra*, pp. 323, 339.

His success as a tutor and a preacher.

points of discipline, confining his discourses, whether in the pulpit or the chair, to the enforcement of Scriptural truth[1]. He did this, as a preacher, by a homely, effective line of argument which, while essentially popular, seems to have also interested and attracted the scholar. 'His sermons,' says Fuller, 'were not so plain but that the piously learned did admire them, nor so learned but that the plain did understand them. What was said of Socrates, that he first humbled the towering speculations of philosophers into practice and morality; so our Perkins first brought the schools into the pulpit, and, unshelling their controversies out of their hard school terms, made thereof plain and wholesome meat for his people[2].'

His collected writings.

Leggatt's testimony to their wide popularity.

Perkins' numerous writings have been frequently collected, and in his own age were especially valued as a complete repertory of practical teaching on all points of Christian ethics. As a teacher of systematic morality, he must be looked upon indeed as the founder of a school which will shortly claim some notice. 'I doubt not,' says Legatt, the Cambridge printer, in his 'Address to the Reader' prefixed to the handsome edition of the collected works in three volumes folio, printed in 1612, 'I doubt not but in your exactest censure, you will conspire with those learned men who, for the profitable instruction they containe in all, or the most points of Christianitie, for the more common good of the Church of God, have deemed them worthy their godly labours, by translating them into divers languages, as into Latine, Dutch, Spanish, etc.,—*a thing not ordinarily observed in other writings of these our times*[3].'

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[1] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 335–6. 'Being pressed by others about the lawfulness of subscription, he declined to manifest his opinion therein, glad to enjoy his own quiet, and to leave others to the liberty of their own consciences.' Fuller-Brewer, V 170. It is evident however that Perkins disapproved of Separatism: on one occasion he writes, 'Those therefore that make a separation from our Church, because of corruptions in it, are far from the spirit of Christ and his Apostles.' *Works*, III 389. [This passage is applied by the index-maker to the Brownists]. Heylin says that the publication of his *Armilla Aurea* was the occasion of Baro's demonstration of opposed tenets. *Aerius Redivivus*, p. 341; for Baro see *supra*, pp. 326–7.

[2] Quoted in Cooper, *Athenae*, II 336.

[3] *The Works of that famous and worthy Minister of Christ in the Universitie of Cambridge, Mr William Perkins. Printed at London by John*

Perkins' *Reformed Catholike.*

Among his various treatises, the list of which in Cooper's *Athenae* reaches to forty in number, his *Reformed Catholicke* ranks as his masterpiece, and was regarded by his Ultramontane opponents themselves as the ablest exposition of the Protestant standpoint[1]. At the time of his death in 1602, his reputation was scarcely inferior to that which Whitaker enjoyed when carried off seven years before. While in after years, Phineas Fletcher, no contemptible judge, apostrophized him as 'our wonder,—living, though long dead[2].'

VALENTINE CARY, master of Christ's, 1609—20.

Under Valentine Cary, who succeeded Barwell in 1609, there ensued not only a great reform in the college administration, but also a marked departure from those Calvinistic doctrines which Perkins had uniformly defended. Cary, who was a native of Northumberland, had twice been elected to a fellowship at St John's[3], and had been a candidate for the mastership after Clayton's death. In Baker's opinion, indeed, he would certainly have been elected, if merit alone had been permitted to decide the choice between him and Owen Gwynne. He was however unpopular both at St John's and at Christ's on account of his anti-Calvinistic tenets; and Williams, who had gained his fellowship in 1603, seems to have rather plumed himself on the reflexion that his opposition had been fatal to Cary's election by the former society[4]. It can scarcely surprise us to find that Cary retaliated in some measure on his opponents, and that it soon became known that Christ's College was no longer a society where the profession of Puritanical principles was likely to prove the

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Legatt, Printer to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1616–18. [See 'The Printer to the Reader, 15 Dec. 1612'].

[1] 'I have not seene any book of like quantity, published by a Protestant, to containe either more matter, or delivered in better method.' See Abbot (R.), *A Defence of the Reformed Catholike of M. W. Perkins*, etc. 2 pts. 1606. This is written in answer to Bishop, bishop of Chalcedon, by Robt. Abbot, afterwards bishop of Salisbury, who in the 2nd part cites the above admission (made by Bishop in his *Counter-Catholike*) against Bishop himself.

[2] Fletcher (P.), *Poeticall Miscellanies* (ed. Grosart), III 263.

[3] He was admitted 26 Mar. 1591 and again 14 Mar. $\frac{1599}{1600}$. Baker-Mayor, pp. 291 & 292.

[4] *Ibid.* p. 292; Hacket, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, I 22; *supra*, p. 470, n. 3. 'Dr Carye, ...who, as they thinke, hadd it not been for me, hadd gott the maistershippe of St John's.' Williams to Sir John Wynne, 13 Sept. 1612: see *Letters of Archbishop Williams* (ed. John E. B. Mayor), p. 16.

road to advancement. To this circumstance we may partly attribute the overflowing numbers at Emmanuel. Laurence Chaderton, the brother-in-law of Whitaker, of whom, in a preceding page[1], we caught a glimpse, urging on the great divine to stand firm against 'the Lutherans' at Lambeth, had ruled the society from its first commencement, and had done so with credit to himself and to the no small advantage of the college. His whole career, indeed, had been eminently distinguished. When at Christ's College in his younger days, he had achieved a marked success as a tutor, and could afterwards reckon the great Perkins himself among the number of his pupils[2]. Although a decided Calvinist in his views, he was sufficiently free from prejudice to espouse the cause of Ramus, and his biographer asserts that it was owing to Chaderton's influence that Downham was induced to commence his lectures on the new logic[3]. In the year in which Valentine Cary entered upon his mastership at Christ's, forty-seven years had elapsed since Laurence Chaderton, already twenty-five years of age, had entered at the same college. In 1609, he was accordingly in his seventy-second year. But his physical powers showed little diminution. Emmanuel was increasing not only in numbers but in revenues, and its prosperous condition was largely attributable to his able rule[4]. So long as Bancroft lived, moreover, Chaderton's presence was in itself a shield stretched over the society. The archbishop and the master of Emmanuel had been fellow-students at Christ's; and, on one occasion, when in each other's company, had become involved in one of the customary fierce frays with the townsmen. Bancroft was in

LAURENCE CHADERTON, master of Emmanuel, 1584—1622.

His previous career at Christ's college.

His able administration.

His intimacy with Bancroft and its origin.

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[1] *Supra*, p. 338.

[2] 'Quorum ut unum saltem memorem ex illius schola prodiit immortale illud Ecclesiae nostrae decus (Perkinsium volo) qui, pro illo vitae suae brevi curriculo, tot scripta reliquit, tam docte, pie, et nervose scripta, quot alii certe pauci, quantumvis longiore temporis intervallo.' Dillingham, *Vita Laurentii Chadertoni*, p. 14; see also translation of same by E. S. Shuckburgh, M.A. (1884), p. 8.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 15.

[4] 'Hoc suae curae ac tutelae concreditum collegium Chadertonus tanta cum fide, prudentia ac industria administrabat, et res ejus, qua amicorum beneficentia, qua sua imprimis frugalitate, in tantum auxit, ut e parvis initiis in justam tandem collegii staturam adoleverit; plurimosque deinde viros ediderit doctrina simul ac pietate conspicuos, eosdemque magna Ecclesiae nostrae ornamenta.' *Ibid.* pp. 19–20.

imminent peril, when Chaderton came to his rescue, and, not without injury to himself, rescued his fellow collegian from danger[1]. The incident proved the foundation of a friendship which lasted as long as their joint lives, and Bancroft, severe and inquisitorial as was his administration of the primacy, could never bring himself to deal harshly with Puritan Emmanuel.

THOMAS LEGGE, master of Caius, 1573–1607.

At Caius College, Dr Legge had long outlived the odium attaching to his supposed sympathy with popery[2], and his career, until his death in 1607, had been eminently successful. His genial character and real worth had won for him the good-will of fellows and scholars alike, while his efforts on behalf of learning had materially contributed to the advancement of the society. His generous benefaction at his death enabled the college to follow the example of Trinity and St John's by erecting new buildings,—the same which, before the recent improvements, formed the exterior of the college as seen from Trinity Street. His successor, William Branthwaite, who possessed like virtues and like tastes, was largely occupied during his mastership (1607—1618) in collecting the valuable library which he subsequently bequeathed to the college[3].

William Branthwaite, master from 1607—1618.

HUMPHREY TYNDALL, president of Queens', 1579–1614.

At Queens' College, Humphrey Tyndall, whose name has already on several occasions come before us, had filled the office of president since 1579. He was a man of good descent, his father and mother being both the offspring of knightly families[4]; while his somewhat varied experience of college life connected him with no less than three other foundations, he having been successively a pensioner of Gonville Hall, a scholar of Christ's, and a fellow of Pembroke. He had from the first evinced his preference for the doctrines of the Puritan party, being among those who petitioned against the

His sympathies with Puritanism.

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[1] '— solebat quandoque se turbis illis immiscere, quae temporibus iis inter academicos et oppidanos non infrequenter intercedebant. Contigit autem aliquando ut Bancroftus (ejusdem collegii tunc temporis alumnus)......simili negotio, forte ut fit, una cum illo implicatus, in vitae suae periculo versaretur. Quod cum sentiret Chadertonus, opem amico ferendam ratus, eum a summo discrimine, licet abscissa propemodum dextra propria, tempore opportuno vindicavit.' *Ibid.* p. 7.

[2] See *supra*, pp. 251–2.

[3] 'Annals of Gonville and Caius College': *Documents*, II 389; there is an excellent portrait of Legge in the possession of Caius College.

[4] He was a younger son of Sir Thomas Tyndall of Hockwold, Norfolk, Kt. by his second wife, Amye, daughter of Sir Henry Fermor of East Barsham, Norfolk, Kt. Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 350.

CHAP. VI.

Elizabethan statutes, and having filled the post of chaplain to the earl of Leicester[1]. To Leicester's influence, indeed, combined with that of Burghley, he was indebted for his promotion to the presidentship of Queens',—his appointment having been protested against by the fellows on the ground that he was 'juvenis et alienigena[2].' The active part which he had taken in the drawing up of the Lambeth Articles marked him out for the dislike of the party headed by Bancroft; while as a married man he could hardly have been regarded with favour by a monarch who thought fit to enact that masters of colleges should be celibate[3]. To many, indeed, Tyndall must have seemed to afford only too striking an illustration of the wisdom of James' injunction, for, uxoriously devoted to a young wife and somewhat disregardful of the college statute relating to his office[4], he resided mainly at his deanery at Ely and the management of the society devolved altogether on the fellows. Among their number was Oliver Bowles[5], whose reputation as an able and conscientious tutor was second to that of none in the university; and among Bowles' pupils at the commencement of the century was a young Lancashire man, John Preston by name, who had migrated from King's College[6]. In 1609, Preston, then in his twenty-third year, was elected to a fellowship at Queens', and already the general impression of his singular ability was such that in the almost universal opinion he seemed marked out for brilliant success, whatever might be the particular career that he should adopt in life. Nature had bestowed upon him a fine person, comely features, a commanding glance, and a graceful bearing; while a certain subdued melancholy, perceptible alike in his countenance and in his tones, rather added to the fascination which this re-

His defects as an administrator.

JOHN PRESTON: *b.* 1587. *d.* 1628.

His physical and intellectual endowments.

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[1] Searle, *History of Queens' College*, p. 351.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 355–6.

[3] *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *James I*, LXXXVI 61.

[4] See the college statute *de Residentia Praesidentis*: 'Cum certissima rerum omnium experientia edocti sumus, rempublicam omnem brevi casuram, quae suo rectore destituitur;' etc. *Documents*, III 21.

[5] On Bowles see *Matthew Robinson* (ed. J. E. B. Mayor), p. 128 n.

[6] 'Coming not from Eaton school, but from another, he could not be of the foundation, and was therefore uncapable of those preferments in the College that were of most worth.' Ball, *Life of Preston* (Clarke's *Lives*, ed. 1659), p. 76.

markable man appears to have exercised over all who came within the range of his influence. His mental endowments and acquirements were not less striking, though not apparently associated with precocity[1], for it was not until his removal to Queens' that he began to exhibit that capacity for rapidly mastering a subject and that versatility of powers which excited the astonishment of his former teachers. Not less remarkable was the skill with which he brought his knowledge to bear upon his dialectical encounters in the schools. His 'problems' were noted for the depth and subtlety of thought which they exhibited. When disputing in Aristotle, he loved to essay difficulties from which others turned despondingly aside, and to exhibit his skill over some thorny *quaestio* taken from the more obscure portions of the *Physics* or *Metaphysics*. When he had traversed the comparatively narrow field then known under the name of 'philosophy,' he turned his attention to medicine, and in this study had been at the pains to acquire such an amount of knowledge, practical as well as theoretical, that his advice was often preferred to that of the ordinary physicians. From medicine, again, he turned aside to the mystic regions of astrology, and, by the dubious light admitted by the current pseudo-science of the age, sought to read the heavens and to interpret the secrets of those occult agencies 'whose power has a true consent with planet or with element.'

His remarkable powers of acquisition.

It is not surprising that, thus gifted by nature, thus successful in all past endeavour, and with life still before him, John Preston's ambition should have glanced beyond the arena of a university, and that he should have regarded his fellowship as a mere stepping-stone to further advancement. But the Church was not the field wherein he looked forward to finding scope for his maturer energies; for amid all his

He aims at a political career, and looks with contempt on theology.

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[1] According to Fuller, Preston's remarkable powers did not display themselves 'before he commenced M.A.', [in 1611], up to which time 'he was so far from eminency as but a little above contempt; thus the most generous wines are the most muddy before they are fine. Soon after, his skill in philosophy rendered him to the most general respect of the university.' Fuller-Nuttall, II 516. This does not altogether agree with Ball's account; but Ball, as Mr Searle points out, is not to be entirely depended upon. *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 397.

varied researches he had shewn himself careless of divinity,—thinking it, to quote the language of his biographer, 'below him to be a minister' and such studies at the best only 'a kind of honest silliness[1]'. So far as we can discern his aims, he was seeking to rise, much as Robert Carr had risen and as George Villiers rose, by attaching himself to some great man at court and thus gradually acquiring a position in which his talents might have full play. How his purpose was diverted from such designs we have now to see.

JOHN COTTON of Emmanuel: *b.* 1585. *d.* 1652.

Among the fellows of Emmanuel at this time was John Cotton[2], the famous preacher, who in New England in the days of the Commonwealth corresponded on equal terms with Cromwell, and in whose honour, on account of his work at Boston in Lincolnshire, was afterwards named that great city across the Atlantic which so conspicuously reflects the strength and permanence of Cambridge traditions. In his younger days, Cotton had been one of those whose hearts the oratory of the great preacher of Christ's College had momentarily touched and melted. But for a moment only: he soon resumed his former indifference, and even began to regard with feelings akin to dislike the orator whose eloquence had moved him from his wonted self-complacency,—so that, his biographer tells us, 'when he heard the bell toll for the funeral of Mr Perkins, his mind secretly rejoiced in his deliverance from that powerful ministry by which his conscience had been so often beleaguered[3].' There was, however, another preacher in Cambridge who was privileged to succeed in the work which Perkins was not destined to achieve. This was the scarcely less eminent Richard Sibbes, a fellow of St John's College, and afterwards master of St Catherine's Hall, and long remembered by posterity as the author of *The*

A hearer of Perkins but not converted by his ministry.

Converted by the preaching of Ri. Sibbes.

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[1] Ball, *Life of Preston* (in Clarke's *Lives*, ed. 1659), pp. 76–78.

[2] Cotton was originally of Trinity College and his election to a fellowship there, Cotton Mather tells us, 'was diverted by nothing but this, that the extraordinary charges for their great hall then in building did put by their election.' He accordingly migrated to Emmanuel at the invitation of that society, but 'according to the critical and laudable statutes of the house, did go through a very severe examen of his fitness for such a station.' *Lives* by Cotton Mather (ed. 1695), pp. 6–7.

[3] Cotton Mather, *History of New England*, II 5.

Bruised Reed,—himself a convert, moreover, to another's eloquence, namely that of Paul Baines, when the latter filled the post of lecturer at St Andrew's Church[1]. For three years from the day when John Cotton listened to Sibbes' sermon, he remained in a disconsolate, conscience-smitten state; but at last the clouds which hung over his soul began to disperse; 'a sacred joy' took possession of his whole mind, and he again essayed to discourse from that pulpit where he had often before charmed with his eloquence an academic audience[2]. His position at Emmanuel seems to have been to a great extent a counterpart to that of John Preston at Queens'. In his own college he held the offices of head-lecturer, dean, and catechist, and was eminently successful as a tutor; while in the schools his reputation as a disputant rivalled his fame as an orator. One of his efforts,—a funeral oration which he delivered on the death of Dr Some, master of Peterhouse,—long lingered in the memories of those who heard it, on account of the ingenious conceits, the culture, and the elegance by which it was characterised. When, therefore, it was known that he was again to preach at St Mary's, the interest excited was great, and the ancient church was as densely thronged as ever St Andrew's had been in the days of Perkins. 'Many difficulties,' says the biographer, 'had Mr Cotton in his own mind now, what course to steer. On the one side he considered that if he should preach with a Scriptural and Christian plainness, he should not only wound his own fame exceedingly, but also tempt carnal men to revive an old cavil, that "religion made scholars turn dunces," whereby the name of God might suffer not a little. On the other side, he considered that it was his duty to preach with such a plainness, as became the oracles of God, which are intended for the conduct of men in the paths of

His long dejection subsequent to his conversion.

His position at Emmanuel.

His oratorical fame.

His sermon at St Mary's, on repentance.

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[1] Clarke's *Lives* (ed. 1659), p. 143.

[2] Cotton's writings scarcely sustain his contemporary fame: 'One wanders,' says a modern critic, 'through these vast jungles of Puritanic discourse—exposition, exhortation, logic-chopping, theological hair-splitting,—and is unrewarded by a single passage of eminent force or beauty, uncheered even by the felicity of a new epithet in the objurgation of sinners, or a new tint in the landscape-painting of hell.' Tyler (Prof.), *Hist. of American Literature*, I 215.

life, and not for theatrical ostentations and entertainments.... Hereupon Mr Cotton resolved that he would preach a plain sermon,...and he discoursed practically and powerfully, but very solidly, upon the plain doctrine of *repentance*. The vain wits of the university, disappointed thus with a more excellent sermon, that shot some troublesome admonitions into their consciences, discovered their vexation at this disappointment by their not *humming,* as according to their sinful and absurd customs, they had formerly done; and the vice-chancellor for the very same reason graced him not, as he did others, that pleased him[1].'

The wits of the university refuse to 'hum.'

Preston among his auditors and converted by his discourse.

Not such however was the effect on John Preston, who, led chiefly by curiosity, was among Cotton's auditors, and upon whom the impression produced was deep and permanent. He hastened to seek the preacher's acquaintance and under his influence became a changed character; while Cotton, as his biographer observes, 'became a spiritual father unto one of the greatest men in his age.'

Evidence presented at this period of the influence of the pulpit in the university.

It is impossible to peruse this eminently characteristic narrative and to note the foregoing remarkable tradition of religious influences,—the conversion of Perkins, with its widely extended results,—the preaching of Paul Baines resulting in the conversion of Richard Sibbes,—and that again in the conversion of John Cotton,—and Cotton's conversion resulting in turn in that of John Preston,—without becoming aware how important a factor, even in that licentious age, was the pulpit in the university. With the arguments and the nature of the oratory which brought about such appreciable results we are not called upon here to deal. But whatever may be our estimate of *these*, no thoughtful observer of the forces by which human motives are awakened and directed, as he considers the long series of such experiences which history records—from that of the persecutor journeying to Damascus to that of the reckless tinker-lad on the village green,—as he marks, we say, a human heart thus suddenly withdrawn from its customary range of vulgar aims and selfish desires, can justly feel disdain. Still less so, can the historian, as he ponders on the incalculable effects, and recalls how such influences have permeated whole masses of society and given a new direction to the thoughts and feelings of generations,—have banished abuses which before seemed unassailable, and reared up institutions for which philosophers had sighed in vain,—have subverted thrones and empires, and modified the destinies of mankind.

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[1] Cotton Mather, *u.s.* pt. ii, pp. 15—16.

To return to Preston and Queens' College. Within two years after the delivery of John Cotton's sermon, Humphrey Tyndall died, and it became necessary to choose his successor,—a matter in which Preston, from his recognised talents and position, was entitled to exercise no little influence. Notwithstanding the change that had come over his character and views of life, he still retained, as his after-intercourse with Buckingham clearly proves, much of the address that characterises the man of the world in his conduct of affairs. The presidency of Queens' was a much-coveted office, but among the candidates Dr Davenant and Dr Montaigne were most conspicuous for their merits, and of both it may fairly be said that their previous and subsequent careers alike amply justified the good opinion of their respective supporters.

Contest for the presidency of Queens' on the death of Tyndall.

John Davenant, who at this time was in his forty-third year, was descended from an ancient family, his father being an opulent merchant of London. Of the scrupulous and honorable character of the latter, we have somewhat rare proof in the fact that, when his son was first elected to a fellowship at Queens', he would not allow him to accept the appointment, 'as conceiving it,' says Fuller, 'a bending of these places from the direct intent of the founders, when they are bestowed on such as have plenty[1].' After his father's death, however, Davenant, in the year 1597, was again elected to a fellowship, and subsequently discharged the duties of examiner, reader in Greek, and dean, in the college. In 1609 he was elected to the lady Margaret professorship as successor to Thomas Playfere. On the occasion of the visit of the prince and the Elector Palatine to the university in 1612-3,

JOHN DAVENANT, (bp. of Salisbury) president of Queens', 1614-22.

Elected fellow, 2 Sept. 1597.

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[1] See Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 408.

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His ability as a moderator.

he acted as moderator in the theological disputation between Samuel Collins and John Williams, and the tact and discretion which he exhibited in the exercise of this often difficult function excited general admiration; 'He was,' says Hacket, 'the best divine, in my judgement, that ever was in that place[1].' As a man of good descent and connexions, of recognised sense and sound judgement, a divine of great attainments and ability[2], and one well conversant with the life and work of the college, it is evident that Davenant combined in a remarkable degree the qualifications most desirable in the president of the society. We can accordingly feel no surprise that Preston was a cordial supporter of his claims. Dr Montaigne, on the other hand, who was three years Davenant's senior, who had succeeded to a fellowship in 1592 and in 1610 to the deanery of Westminster, had claims which were scarcely less weighty. The society itself had on one occasion borne testimony to his signal desert[3], and it was a recommendation which could not prudently be disregarded that he was high in favour with the all-potent royal favorite, now Earl of Somerset.

His eminent qualities for the Headship.

George Montaigne, archbishop of York, d. 1628.

Death of Humphrey Tyndall, 12 Oct. 1614.

Dr Tyndall had died at his deanery on the twelfth of October. Dr Montaigne must have been kept well-informed of the progress of events, for on the following day he addressed from his deanery at Westminster, a letter of condolence to the fellows, expressing his desire that due honour should be paid to the memory of their departed president and intimating at the same time his wish to share in the expense, and 'to bring one stone myself to his monument.' 'If I were worthy to advise you,' continued the writer, 'the first thing I would have done should be an humble supplication to his Ma$^{\text{tie}}$ for *a free election*, which who desires not loves not the colledg[4].' Prompt, however, as was Dr Montaigne, Preston, working in the interest of Davenant, was before him. He

Preston's dexterity and promptitude gain a free election of a successor.

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[1] *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 26.

[2] Davenant was not an Arminian: he wrote against one Samuel Hoard who had published an Arminian treatise. See the outline of his argument in Hunt, *History of Religious Thought*, I 150.

[3] Ward, *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, pp. 48–50; Searle, *u.s.* pp. 405–6.

[4] Searle, *u.s.* pp. 411–2.

had caused horses to be kept in readiness in anticipation of the event, and no sooner had the news of Tyndall's death reached the college than he was to be seen urging his steed along the road, by Hockerill and Broxbourne, for Whitehall. He had friends at court, and through their interest he obtained the royal permission for the college to exercise a free election,—a permission which he well knew would be equivalent to a royal nomination of Davenant. With his habitual tact, he would not however quit London until he had gained the concurrence of the royal favorite. If, as Preston's biographer asserts, Dr Montaigne had so completely set his heart on succeeding Tyndall that he had been heard to declare that he would sooner be president of Queens' than dean of Westminster[1], he had been singularly reticent on the subject with his noble patron, for Somerset, uninformed of his wishes, readily assented to Preston's representations. The latter then hastened back to Cambridge. The 'free election,' which both Montaigne and Davenant professed to desire, was forthwith held,—without however the former being able to bring his patron's influence to bear upon the electors,—and Davenant was chosen. 'Never,' says the narrator, 'did Aetna or Vesuvius more fume' than did 'the Mountain,' when he learned the result. 'This Doctor had made great promises; gave a very goodly piece of plate into the college with this inscription, *Sic incipio*, but now he vowed it should be *Sic desino*[2].' It is due to Montaigne, who had, says another and less partial writer, 'the happiness of a generous mind and a forgiving temper[3],' to state that he was not long in laying aside his anger, for four years later he founded two scholarships in the college. Nor did his disappointment in any way mar his success. In 1617 he was promoted to the bishopric of Lincoln; and in 1621 was made bishop of London, in which capacity it devolved upon him to admit his former rival to

The society elects Dr Davenant.

Montaigne's chagrin.

His resentment but of short duration.

His successful subsequent career.

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[1] 'That appointment of the mastership of Queens' was more accounted of than now it is. There were very many that had their eyes upon it, but Dr Mountain in a special manner, who was often heard for to professe, he would rather be master of that college than dean of Westminster.' Ball, *Life of Preston*, p. 83.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 84.

[3] Ward, *Lives of the Gresham Professors*, p. 51.

the see of Salisbury; and in 1628 he was promoted to the archbishopric of York, dying in the same year. Queens' college, on the other hand, had little cause to regret the result of the election. Dr Davenant's short eight years' rule, concurrent as it was with Preston's activity as tutor, was eminently successful; and the student of our ecclesiastical and university history alike must ever regard with grateful interest the memory of the relative and patron of THOMAS FULLER[1].

LANCELOT ANDREWES: master of Pembroke College, 1589-1605.

When we turn to Pembroke, which with its total of 120 comes next in John Scot's list, we seem, in the society ruled by Lancelot Andrewes and his successor, Harsnet, to breathe another atmosphere. The career of Andrewes at his college was exemplary and brilliant throughout. He had been sent to Pembroke in 1572 at the expense of Dr Watts, a prebendary of St Paul's and archdeacon of Middlesex, who, about the same time, materially benefited the society by founding eight Greek scholarships[2]. Among the first of those elected to fill these scholarships, was Andrewes himself[3]. His election to a fellowship, which took place in 1576, presents us with another instance of what appears now to have been becoming more frequent, the practice of *examining* candidates. There was but one fellowship vacant, and the claims of another member of the college, Dove, afterwards bishop of Peterborough, appeared to some not less strong than those of Andrewes. The two were accordingly subjected to a competitive examination which resulted in the election of the latter[4]. The whole spirit and temper of Andrewes were in singular contrast to those which belonged to Puritanism. His genius has been happily described as one which 'saw mysteries in common things,' 'felt itself still living amid visible traces of a Divine dispensation,' and 'gave the beauty of natural

Scholarships founded by Dr Watts.

Character and genius of Andrewes.

His love of nature and delight in observing natural objects.

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[1] For a few months in 1612, Davenant held the college living of Oakington (more properly Hockington) in Cambridgeshire. To the present incumbent, the Rev. W. G. Searle, we are indebted for the valuable *History of Queens' College*. On page 410 Mr Searle quotes an amusing anecdote told by Fuller respecting his uncle during the latter's tenure of the living, when he was 'troubled with a peremptory Anabaptist.'

[2] Fuller, *Abel Redevivus*, II 157.

[3] Andrewes was also a pensioner of Robert Nowell: see Grosart, *The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell*, index.

[4] Fuller, *Abel Redevivus*, II 158.

objects a place in religion[1].' 'He would profess,' says his biographer, 'that to observe the grass, herbs, corn, trees, cattle, earth, waters, heavens, any of the creatures, and to contemplate their natures, orders, qualities, virtues, uses, etc., was ever to him the greatest mirth, content, and recreation that could be; and this he held to his dying day[2].' To this gladsome genuine delight in the contemplation of nature, we may perhaps partly attribute the fact that the young fellow of Pembroke, when travelling between Cambridge and London, generally preferred to make his journey on foot. As a divine, his efforts while at college were singularly effective. Ably as he afterwards acquitted himself in the arena of controversy, it is certain that he disliked disputation; but he found a special pleasure in teaching, and he appears to have possessed the faculty of investing didactic instruction with peculiar force and charm. Like all those who have achieved a reputation as teachers, he loved the labour; and long after, when residing at his deanery in Westminster, he found his greatest delight in occasionally appearing in the school and instructing a class of the Westminster lads[3]. The custom of catechizing in church (a practice still observed in the afternoon services in some rural districts), was in those days systematic and general, and,—in the absence of any printed manuals of elementary instruc-

His love of teaching.

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[1] The late J. B. Mozley, in *British Critic* (Jan. 1845), pp. 189–192.

[2] Isaacson, *Exact Narration*, p. vi; 'Andrewes', says dean Church, 'was one of the few to whose sympathetic interest, as an observer of Nature, Bacon felt he could confidently appeal in his physical investigations, and in his daring attempt to put the knowledge of Nature on a new and sound basis.' See his careful study of Andrewes in *Masters of English Theology*, pp. 61–112; see also Spedding, *Letters and Life of Bacon*, VII 371–375.

[3] Andrewes, says Hacket (himself a Westminster boy), 'was strict to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the most classical authors; he did often supply the place both of head schoolmaster and usher for the space of an whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering time from morning to night. He caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him, to examine our style and proficiency...Sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftner, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night and kept them with him from eight till eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue, and the elements of the Hebrew grammar; and all this he did to boys without any compulsion of correction, nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us.' *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 45.

tion, and in dealing with an uneducated laity,—was obviously a matter of the highest importance. While not one minister in ten was permitted to preach, all were expected to catechize. With the view therefore of rendering those in the university who were destined for the clerical profession more competent to the discharge of this primary duty, Andrewes initiated at Pembroke a series of Saturday and Sunday afternoon catechetical lectures, designed to serve to some extent as illustrations of the best method of teaching the elements of Christian belief. In the hands of such a master of exposition, the subject acquired almost a novel charm. The most distinguished members of the university and young curates from the country alike flocked to listen; 'so that,' says the narrator, 'he was scarce reputed a pretender to learning and piety in Cambridge (during Andrewes' residence), who had not made himself a disciple of Andrewes by diligent resorting to his lectures; nor he a pretender to the study of divinity who did not transcribe his notes, which ever after passed from hand to hand in many hundred copies[1].'

His success as a catechetical lecturer.

Andrewes succeeded to the mastership of Pembroke in 1589, and continued to hold the office until the year 1605. As an administrator he was no less successful than as a teacher. He found the society in debt, and left it not only with the debts paid off but with a reserve fund of a thousand pounds at its command[2]. His successor, Dr Harsnet, was a man of like temper and similar views, and, without possessing the same original ability as an instructor and as a thinker, was distinguished alike by his attainments, sound judgement, and courageous spirit[3]. He had boldly defended the principles of Arminianism at a time when they were still disavowed by nearly all who aimed at popularity and preferment, and had thus drawn upon himself the dis-

His ability as an administrator.

SAMUEL HARSNET, master of Pembroke, 1605-1616.

His Arminian views.

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[1] Teale, *Lives of English Divines*, p. 6.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 77. This however was largely owing to Andrewes' unselfish nature; Fuller, speaking of the mastership, says it was 'a place of credit, but of little benefit; for he ever spent more upon it than he received by it.' *Abel Redevivus*, II 160.

[3] Harsnet is described by Warburton as 'a man of the greatest learning and parts of his time.' He seems, however, to have been eminently unpopular with the Puritans. See Neal, *History of the Puritans* (ed. 1822), II 126.

pleasure of Whitgift. But in no way were his courage and superior discernment more clearly shewn than by the resolute opposition which he offered to the then prevailing and increasing belief in witchcraft,—that cruel superstition which constitutes so gloomy a feature in the history of the contemporary and later Puritanism, and to which James himself, with all his shrewdness, gave such unequivocal sanction. Towards the close of the century, a bachelor of arts named John Darrel, created considerable excitement among the population of Nottinghamshire by professing to have successfully performed the part of an exorcist. His reiterated assertions and perseverance gained over not a few reputable persons to give credence to his professed powers, among whom were such men as Hildersham. Harsnet, however, was at the pains and expense of subjecting Darrel's more glaring impostures to a lengthy analysis which filled a small quarto volume of 300 pages, and the imposition altogether collapsed[1].

Discouragement which he offers to the belief in witchcraft.

His detection of Darrel.

Respecting John Duport, who presided at Jesus College from 1590 to 1618 and was distinguished as one of the translators of the Bible, there is little known that here calls for

JOHN DUPORT, master of Jesus College, 1590-1618.

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[1] See *A Discovery of the fraudulent Practises of John Darrel, Bacheler of Artes, in his Proceedings concerning the pretended Possession and Dispossession of William Somers at Nottingham:* etc., etc., London: imprinted by John Wolfe [n. d.]. Harsnet's name does not appear on the title-page, but the Preface is signed S. H. which, says a manuscript note to the copy in the University Library [*Tracts*, Dd. 3. 46], 'is Sam^l. Harsnet as appears by Darrels Answer.' Harsnet takes up the position that the power of 'casting out devils, together with that of working miracles, was restricted to the Apostles' time and some fewe ages after the Apostles' (*To the Reader*, A. 4), thus implicitly rejecting the long array of mediaeval legends. The same volume contains another tractate by the same author entitled *A Declaration of Popish Impostures in casting out of Devils, practised by Edmunds, alias Weston, a Jesuit, etc.* London, 1604, which is designed to expose similar impostures at that time practised by the Catholic party. Mr Lecky, in referring to this latter pamphlet (he does not appear to have seen *either*), speaks of 'the expression of so bold an opinion' as 'well worthy of notice;' 'it was,' he adds, 'I believe, at the time it was written, a unique phenomenon among the English clergy.' [*Hist. of Rationalism* (ed. 1882), I 125.] But from the ridicule cast upon the profession of the exorcist in Ruggle's *Ignoramus* (see *infra*, p. 537), it would seem to be a legitimate inference that the majority in the university in 1615 were superior to this degrading superstition. 'In reviewing the history of witchcraft in England,' says the same writer, 'it is impossible to avoid observing the singularly favourable contrast which the Anglican Church presents both to Continental Catholicism and to Puritanism.' *Ibid.* I 124.

record. The general efficiency of the administration during his mastership may be inferred from the fact that in 1617 the numbers were larger than in 1672, being 118 and 112 respectively. A certain share of this prosperity may probably be attributed to the patronage of Bancroft, who always regarded with special favour the society where he had studied and taught with like success[1]. Duport's successor, Roger Andrewes, the brother of the bishop, was notorious for his misrule[2]; but the historian of the society notes, however, that he was the first master who caused a regular journal of the proceedings of the college to be kept[3].

ROGER ANDREWES, master 1618-1632.

SAMUEL WARD, master of Sidney College, 1609-1643.

When we turn to the college which comes next in numbers, that of Sidney Sussex, with a total of 117, the contrast presented in the character of Samuel Ward to the enlightened faith of an Andrewes and the robust intellect of a Harsnet, is such that it seems difficult to understand how they could have been, not merely contemporaries in the same university, but probably well known to each other and occasionally holding intercourse. That, in one sense, Ward was a man of considerable mental power is proved by his remarkable attainments. The son of an able and popular minister in Suffolk, his great capacity for acquiring knowledge brought him very early into notice, and when, in 1619, he was elected one of the delegates to the Synod of Dort, his reputation for learning was probably unequalled in the university. His subsequent election to the lady Margaret chair and lengthened tenure of the office served only still further to enhance that reputation. But although his receptivity was altogether abnormal, it must be admitted that his judgement was singularly feeble; and while his disposition was forgiving and his heart kindly, his estimate of those who differed from him in matters of religious belief was morose and intolerant in the extreme. His Diary, his *Ad-*

His remarkable powers of acquisition.

His general character.

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[1] '—nunquam socius, verum tutor nominatissimus et potestate plane magistrali pollens, pupillos bene multos in sociorum numerum promovebat.' *Shermanni Hist.* (original MS.), p. 64.

[2] He was notwithstanding appointed to valuable preferments by his brother: see Russell (A. T.) *Memoirs of Bishop Andrewes*, p. 396.

[3] —'omnium primus a collegio primitus fundato ephemeridem sive registrum conscribi curavit.' *Shermanni Hist.*, p. 38.

versaria, and his admirable portrait—all still preserved in the college,—seem, in a manner, to supplement each other, and combine to indicate a character that cannot be mistaken. The amiable but irresolute face looking dubiously, half timidly forth upon us from the canvas, is in perfect keeping with the man who, in pages meant for no eye save his own, appears self-depicted, at once morbidly introspective and morbidly distrustful of the world. Neither Augustine nor Rousseau ever subjected himself to a more pitiless self-dissection, or estimated with sterner impartiality the main-springs of his own action; but while the African father and the French sceptic often excite our wonder, they seldom suggest the ludicrous. To Samuel Ward, as he summed up each day's experience nothing appeared too trivial to form an indictment against himself, nothing in the course of events so ordinary as not to furnish a theme for wonder, or to constitute a mystery. If an Arminian had succeeded to the headship of a neighbouring college[1], if a 'problem' in chapel indicated 'a carnal curiosity' on the part of the propounder, or a 'commonplace' savoured of views which Ward himself held heterodox, such occurrences to him were 'judgements.' The category of his own shortcomings is such as to suggest that something of spiritual pride must have entered into their record, for when it became necessary to recall such trifles in order to formulate his own self-condemnation, it is evident that his life must have been really singularly blameless. If he had incautiously eaten too freely at supper[2], if he had been conscious of feeling but inadequate compassion for some culprit flogged in the college hall[3], if he had felt some natural elation at being appointed to lecture in Greek[4], if his thoughts had wandered at

His Diary, *Adversaria,* and portrait.

His *Diary* more especially.

His habit of self-inculpation.

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[1] 'Wo is me for Christ's College, now is one imposed upon, who will be the utter ruin and destruction of that college. O! Lord, thou hast some judgements in store for this land, of which this is no doubt a forerunner.' *Adversaria,* Baker MSS. xi 344.

[2] '11 May, 1595. Also thy gluttony the night before.' *Diary.* 24 Dec. 1597. 'My gluttony in eating to much, notwithstanding that I have often before fallen into the same sin.' *Ib.*

[3] '11 May 1595. My little pity of the boy which was whipt in the hall.' '5 June 1598. My little compassion of the walsh boy.' *Ib.*

[4] '15 June 1595. My thought of prid att reading of Greek, commenc-

prayers[1], if he had been guilty of ostentation in the presence of strangers[2],—had listened with too little interest to the catechist[3],—or had misinterpreted and suspected another's remarks[4],—these and such like peccadillos were regularly noted down at the end of the day to be a theme of sad and humiliating reflexion ere he sought the night's repose. It seems difficult to believe that such minute and incessant self-introspection can have conduced either to a healthy tone of mind or to a sound judgement. Better, surely, the moral strength and the joy which comes with the genuinely progressive life, which, conscious of honorable aims and integrity of purpose, 'forgets, as nature forgets,' and each morning rises to its task as 'a babe new-born'! It is almost a relief to turn from the perusal of entries like the foregoing, to those which relate to the illness of a favorite pupil, and if here, again, we recognise something of the same morbidness of sentiment, to note at the same time the feelings which do honour to our common human nature: as we mark the poor college tutor full of self-reproach at imaginary neglect of those committed to his charge,—watching, in alternate hope and fear, by the couch where youth lies struggling in the grasp of death,—and then, when at last the end comes, in the early hours of a dark November morn, recording, in a few simple sorrowful words, the happy departure, and the bright promise of a life well taken from the sin and suffering here[5].

His grief at the loss of one of his pupils.

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ing the teaching of my auditors the Greek accents.' *Ib.*

[1] '17 May 1595. Thy wandering mind on herbals att prayer tyme and att common place.' *Ib.*

[2] '21 July 1597....Also my pride in walking in the middest of the orchard when St John's men were there.' *Ib.*

[3] '2 June 1595. My careless hearing at Mr. Wm. Gouge catechising.' *Ib.*

[4] '19 May 1595. And of thy surmisings of M. N. that day, when he were speaking against them that saught prayse, as we were comming downe Gogmagog.' *Ib.*

[5] '10 and 11 Nov. 1599. Remember the great agony thou wast in for Luck......thy greef thou hadst, in part for that thou hadst bene so negligent in looking to thy puples...' '14 being tuesday, att night, 1599, about 4 o'clock, before day, it pleased God to take away my puple Luck. God make me thankful for his happy departure! Remember how willing he was to dye from the beginning. Remember God's providence in bringing his brother out of Sussex to Cambridge the Satturday before his death. He confessed his sin before his death, prayed heartily, was very desirous to be informed in his duty towards God, desired that he might leave behind him a good example of his death unto others.' *Ib.*

John Richardson, master of Peterhouse, 1609-1615.

Casaubon's visit to Cambridge in 1611.

At Peterhouse, where the total was 110, the puritanical rule of Robert Some was exchanged in 1609 for that of one of wider views and more liberal culture. John Richardson's tenure of the post, which lasted to 1615, is associated with a reminiscence which stands in pleasant contrast to the prevailing academic activity,—the visit of Isaac Casaubon to Cambridge. During the months of August and September in 1611, the great scholar was the guest of bishop Andrewes at Downham near Ely. He seems to have greatly enjoyed the quiet and repose of his summer sojourn in the fen country, the aspects of which he describes in terms of admiration which almost excite our surprise[1]. But to Casaubon, even during this brief interval of rest, not to study would have been to seem not to live, and access to a good library was indispensable to his happiness. Andrewes, it is hardly necessary to say, had an excellent library, but it was far away in London; and in his perplexity, Casaubon had recourse to the master of Peterhouse. Dr Richardson was a genuine student, and he had at one time taken to a line of reading of which traces are singularly rare in the Cambridge of those days,—the pages of the imperialist chroniclers. Casaubon, who happened to be then engaged in examining for himself the details of the great struggle between the Empire and the Papacy in the days of Hildebrand, was not a little aided by Richardson's library[2].

His obligations to Richardson's library.

Richardson's rule at Trinity College.

Prior to his election to the mastership of Peterhouse, Richardson had been a member of Clare College and then a fellow of Emmanuel, and from Peterhouse he was promoted in 1615 to the mastership of Trinity. From the year 1607 to 1617 he was also Regius professor of divinity. The compiler of the *Memoriale*, the splendid volume which adorns the library of the last-named society, notes it as a very exceptional mark of respect that, on Richardson's first entrance upon his new office, his arms were emblazoned on the pages of that record,—an honour that had been paid only to one master before, namely to Dr Neville[3]. The new master's rule during the decennium that marks his presence at Trinity, in every way justified his election. The foregoing writer, in a comparison which he institutes between Richardson and each of his illustrious predecessors in succession, asserts, that he seemed to unite in his administration the cardinal excellencies of each one and all,—the munificence of a Neville, the watchfulness over the financial condition of the college shewn by Dr Still, the care for its studies and for the studious which distinguished Whitgift, the fidelity to principles that belonged to Dr Bill, the prudent forethought of a Christopherson, and the conciliatory genius of a Redman[1].

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[1] Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 391.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 390.

[3] 'Sic ad nos accedit Richardsonus summa cum exspectatione, et

State of Clare College.

Little, especially here calling for note, presents itself at this period in connexion with the two societies of Clare and Magdalene, which numbered 110 and 85 respectively, or with the lives of their respective heads. At the former society, William Smyth was master from 1598 to 1612, and Robert Scot from 1612 to 1620. The epitaph on the tomb of the latter attests his fidelity to his trust[2],—evidence which is supported by the testimony implied in the flourishing condition of the college, which in 1617 numbered ten more than in 1672, the total at the latter date being only 100. The names of George Ruggle, Nicholas Farrar, Abraham Whelock, and Augustine Lindsell, among the fellows, are also suggestive of an atmosphere of genuine culture.

William Smyth and Robert Scot, masters.

BARNABY GOOCH, master of Magdalene, 1604-26.

At Magdalene, during the mastership of Barnaby Gooch, the society began to reap the full fruits of Dr Kelke's maladministration[3]. An attempt on the part of the master to assert the college rights to extensive property in Aldgate, was not only unsuccessful but resulted in the committal of both master and fellow to prison for contumacy; and during a

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omnium judicio dignum praefecturae. Quocirca quum primum ad collegium accederet, illius insignia in ipsa paginae facie exprimi curaverunt, qui honos ante Nevillum habitus est nemini; pro certo habentes scilicet, quamquam cum Nevillo majorum imaginibus contendere non posset, fore tamen ut virtute et rebus pro bono publico gestis eundem superaret.' *Memoriale.*

[1] *Memoriale*, in Trinity College Library.

[2] Baker MSS. XXXII 512.

[3] See *supra*, p. 286.

considerable part of the years 1615 and 1616, the society, so far from being served by its Head as representative of the university in parliament[1], could communicate with him only in the Fleet[2]. In the parliament of 1621, however, Dr Gooch not only took his seat, but presented a petition on behalf of his college to the House[3]. He was a doctor of the civil law, and from his technical knowledge had formed a sanguine view of the prospects of the college in the important proceedings at issue. Could he, indeed, have manifested a spirit of moderation in the hour of apparent victory, there is little doubt that he would have materially retrieved the fortunes of the society, for a sum of no less than ten thousand pounds was offered in composition. But he 'had not learned,' says Fuller, 'the maxim *dimidium plus toto* in this sense, "half with quiet may be more than all with hazard and trouble[4]," and the cause of Magdalene College, though protracted for some time longer, was eventually lost.

His efforts to recover the college property.

At Corpus Christi College, Dr John Jegon,—infelicitous as were his relations with the town during the years of his vice-chancellorship—is stated by Masters to have been a successful and judicious administrator[5]. But in vacating the office, on his election to the bishopric of Norwich, he appears to have resorted to something like stratagem in order to carry the election of his brother Thomas. The latter, indeed, was acceptable to the society, but his appointment gave considerable displeasure to Whitgift, who supported, along with no less than eleven heads of houses, the claims of his own chaplain, Dr Carrier. It is evident that, as at Queens' College, a certain amount of deception was practised in order to forestall the action of the Crown, and the arch-

JOHN JEGON, master of Corpus Christi College, 1590-1602.

His evasion of crown interference in order to secure the election of his brother as his successor.

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[1] See *supra*, p. 464.

[2] Baker MSS. XXXII 467; Coke's *Reports* (ed. 1777), VI 67.

[3] *Commons' Journals*, I 607, 612, 655; Cooper, *Annals*, III 91–92, n. 5.

[4] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 233. The late Sir Samuel Romilly whose opinion was taken in the case did not consider the cause of the college hopeless.

[5] 'By the prudent management of the society the whole of their debt was not only cleared off, but some stock was found to remain in hand at the audit for the year 1600; whereupon they augmented the master's salary, as well as fee for preaching, to double that of a fellow.' Masters-Lamb, p. 148.

bishop, in a letter to Cecil, roundly asserted that John Jegon, by the part he had taken in the matter had 'greatly abused both the chancellor and himself[1].'

THOMAS JEGON, master 1602-17.

His nepotism.

Consequent dissensions in the college.

It cannot be said that the choice of the society was justified by their subsequent experiences. Thomas Jegon, taking example by his brother's partiality, managed to carry the pre-election of his own son (although not full bachelor of arts) to a fellowship. His conduct was warmly opposed by some of the fellows, and disagreements rose up in the society. 'Sir Jegon' was refused admission to the fellows' table, and his father was treated with open disrespect. The expulsion of Osborne, one of the foremost in this opposition, did not greatly mend matters; and the master, during the remainder of his life-time, rarely resided in college, but kept away at his rectory of Sible Hedingham[2]. At his death, in 1617, the total number of the society was only fourscore[3]. Thomas Jegon was succeeded by Samuel Walsall, a man of little mark, and Walsall in 1626 was succeeded by Dr Butts; under the latter, the numbers, in 1628, had already risen to 156[4].

SAMUEL WALSALL, master 1617-26.

DR BUTTS.

JOHN COWELL, master of Trinity Hall, 1598-1611.

If ever the members of Clare Hall compared their general fortunes with those of Trinity Hall, they must have often felt cause for congratulation that the scheme of amalgamation which had been frustrated by 'Ridley's barking[5]' had never been carried into effect. The latter foundation, with twelve fellowships and fourteen scholarships, reached a total of only sixty,—a state of affairs of which the slender endowments of the society, and the cloud that rested on those legal studies which it was especially designed to promote, afford perhaps an adequate explanation. To roll away that cloud, and to restore the profession of the civilian to something of the importance that it had possessed in the days of imperial Rome and in the mediaeval universities, was the great aim of John Cowell, who filled the office of master from 1598 to 1611. Originally of King's College, where he had been admitted a scholar in 1570, he had from the first been noted as an indefatigable student, and his abilities and industry very early brought him under the notice of Bancroft. That crafty prelate, long before his promotion to the primacy, was already laying his schemes for the revival of the ecclesiastical courts, and it appears to have been owing to his urgent persuasion that Cowell decided upon following the career of a civilian[1]. In the year 1594, the latter was appointed Regius professor of civil law; in 1598 he succeeded, as above noted, to the mastership of Trinity Hall; and, after proceeding LL.D. in his own university, he was incorporated in the degree of D.C.L. at Oxford in 1600. He was now well known as a rising scholar, and among his most intimate friends were Camden, and Daniell, the historian[2]. He appears however to have incurred the bitter dislike of Coke, who evinced his feelings rather than his good taste, by generally speaking of him as 'Dr. Cow-heel[3].' In the year 1605, Cowell published a volume entitled *Institutiones Juris Anglicani*[4], designed as an application of the method and principles of the Roman law to the statutory code of England, and dedicated the work to lord Henry Howard, earl of Northampton,—'bred up with him,' says Allen, 'at King's College in Cambridge and an eminent patron as well of King's College as of Trinity Hall[5].'

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[1] Masters-Lamb, p. 158.

[2] *Ibid.* pp. 156–8.

[3] Scot's *Account of the University.*

[4] Masters-Lamb, p. 168.

[5] See *supra*, p. 136.

He is patronised and advised by Bancroft.

His relations with Camden, Daniell, and Coke.

His *Institutiones Juris Anglicani.*

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[1] Allen, *Lives of the Masters, Fellows, &c. of King's College*, II 886.—'at my comming to your Grace from the universitie, you first put me upon these studies, at the last by a kind of necessitie inforced me to this attempt: because I could not see well how to avoide it, but by adventuring the hatefull note of unthankefulnesse.' Epist. Ded. to *the Interpreter.*

[2] *Ibid.* Williams (afterwards the archbishop) speaks of 'Dr Cowel and Dr Clayton' as 'the two greateste maisters in towne' (i.e. in Cambridge). *Letters of Archbp. Williams* (ed. Mayor), p. 15.

[3] Allen, *u. s.* II 887.

[4] *Institutiones Juris Anglicani, ad Methodum et Seriem Institutionum Imperialium Justiniani compositae et digestae. Opus non solum Juris Anglicani Romanique in hoc regno studioso, sed omnibus qui πολιτείαν et consuetudines nostri Imperii penitus scire cupiunt, utile et accommodatum.* Cantabrigiae: ex officina Johannis Legat. 1605.

[5] Cowell, in his dedicatory Epistle, pays a high compliment to his former fellow-student: 'Olim adolescentia tua in Collegio illo vere Regali et seminario bonarum litterarum foecundissimo sic transacta est, ut gravitatis multa urbanitate conditae, innocentiae, temperantiae summam laudem (nobilibus in illa aetate non raro denegatam) omnes uno consensu tibi ascriberent; industriam etiam et diligentiam solertissimi omnium sibi imitandam proponerent. In disputationibus, praelectionibus, perorationibus, cum jam ex ephebis vix excessisses, frequens fuisti; in quibus tamen tanta assiduitas longissime a fastidio abfuit, existimationemque tuam (quod plerumque fit in aliis) non modo non minuit, sed

His *Interpreter.*

Consequences of its publication.

In the year 1607, at the desire of Bancroft, he published his best-known work, the *Interpreter*[1], designed as a kind of glossary of the technical words occurring not only in civil, but also in ecclesiastical and common law. There seems to be no doubt that Cowell's design in preparing the work, was partly to mediate between the two parties of the civilians and the common lawyers[2] by exhibiting the common elements in the two studies. He seems moreover to have seen very clearly the utility of the study of the Roman law as an introduction to that of English[3]. The results by which his efforts were attended were however singularly disappointing. At first, indeed, his promotion by Bancroft in 1609 to the office of Vicar-general, in the place of Sir Edward Stanhope, seemed to augur well for his advancement; but unfortunately, the *Interpreter* came under the notice of Coke, who at once discovered in its pages sufficient material for making it a matter of indictment against the author, and thus inflicting a blow upon the party hostile to himself. 'The opinions which were contained in the book,' says Mr Gardiner, 'were

Mr Gardiner's account of the doctrines which it enforces.

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sic auxit quotidie, ut ad omnes omnium ordinum convocandos satis esset dixisse: *Howardus hodie prodit in arenam.*' *Epist. Dedicat.* p. A 3.

[1] *The Interpreter: or Booke containing the Signification of Words: wherein is set forth the true meaning of all, or the most part of such Words and Termes, as are mentioned in the Law Writers, or Statutes of this victorious and renowned Kingdome, requiring any Exposition or Interpretation* [2nd ed.] London: 1637.

[2] 'Dr Cowell's aim in his published writings was manifestly to reconcile the two professions...he was partly induced to these writings on account of that inveterate dispute which in his time broke out between the civilians and common lawyers about jurisdictions, and as he had stood stiffly against lord chief Justice Coke in the matter of prohibitions.' Allen, II 886. In the dedication of the *Institutiones* Cowell had already expressed his regret at those 'inveteratae simultates, quas jam diu legum Anglicarum professores et juris imperatorii in hoc regno invicem exercuerunt,' p. A 2.

[3] 'Neque certe leve esset hoc beneficium, quod juris consulti nostrates, ipso progressu atque methodo sui studii, ad universalis ejus juris cognitionem tamquam recto tramite facile producerentur, quod eorum scientiam atque usum non privatis clientulorum suorum causis, aut hujus insulae cancellis, sed publicis maximisque regni negotiis, et ultimis orbis Christiani adeoque omnium gentium terminis definiret. Ii etiam qui juri ciuili Romanorum operam dant, patriae suae longe accommodatiores hoc modo redderentur, quod eam scientiam, quam nunc privatam et abstrusam generalis prudentiae θεωρίᾳ implicatam et quasi sepultam retinent, in usum popularem regnique utilitatem erogarent.' *Ibid.* p. A 4. So, in Preface to the *Interpreter:* 'I cannot without dissimulation but confesse myselfe persuaded, that this poore pamphlet *may proue profitable to the young students of both lawes.*'

such as no House of Commons could fail in pronouncing unconstitutional. If in some places the author took pains to state that he did not put forth these opinions as unquestionable truths, he left no doubt in the minds of his readers to which side his own ideas inclined. Thus, after declaring that he left it for wiser men to decide whether it was binding upon the King to require the consent of Parliament to the enactment of laws, he asserted that the King of England was undoubtedly an absolute King, and proceeded to quote authorities in support of the doctrine that to make laws was part of the prerogative of such a King. In another place he stated this opinion still more forcibly. "Of these two," he wrote, "one must needs be true, that either the King is above the Parliament, that is, the positive laws of his kingdom, or else that he is not an absolute King......And, therefore, though it be a merciful policy, and also a politic mercy (not alterable without great peril), to make laws by consent of the whole realm, because so no one part shall have cause to complain of a partiality, yet simply to bind a prince to or by those laws were repugnant to the nature and constitution of an absolute monarchy." In a similar spirit, he put it forth as an opinion held by some, "that subsidies were granted by Parliament in consideration of the King's goodness in waiving his absolute power to make laws without their consent."

King James expresses his disapprobation.

'The Commons requested the Lords to join them in calling the King's attention to the Book. Before, however, the Lords had time to take any steps in the matter, they were told by Salisbury that the King had summoned Cowell before him, and that he wished him' [Salisbury] 'to inform the Commons that he was much displeased with the book;—he considered that it impugned the Common Law of England and the fundamental grounds of the constitution of Parliament, and that in opposing the prerogative to the law the author had attacked both King and Parliament together[1].'

The volume suppressed by royal proclamation.

As the final result, Cowell's volume, to the great satisfaction of the Commons, was suppressed by royal proclamation on the 25 March 1610. Neither the author nor his patron long survived this mortification and the blow thus inflicted on the cause they had so much at heart. Bancroft died in the following November, and Cowell on the 11 October 1611[1]. The latter was succeeded in the mastership of Trinity Hall by Clement Corbet who continued to hold the office until 1626, but in that year, having been appointed chancellor of Norwich, resigned in favour of his friend Dr Eden. Dr Eden, who was Gresham professor and also represented the university in parliament, did his best to restore the discipline of the society and instituted an annual Commemoration of Benefactors[2]. But the college shared in the general depression of the study which it was designed to foster, and the comparative absence of eminent names on its rolls throughout the century is remarkable. In 1672, with a total of only 68, it stood lowest of the sixteen foundations.

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[1] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, II 66–68.

CLEMENT CORBET, master 1611-26.

THOMAS EDEN, master 1626-45.

The society which, in 1617, held that lowly place[3], was graced for a time by the presence of one who in respect of character and abilities was not inferior to any Head in Cambridge. John Overall had originally been a member of St John's College, but when his patron, Dr Still, was appointed to preside over the society at Trinity, he followed him thither[4]. In the year 1596, he succeeded to the chair of the Regius professorship of divinity, and two years later was elected to the mastership of St Catherine's. He resigned both appointments in 1607; and in his latter days, amid his duties as bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and afterwards of Norwich, took but a small share in university movements. None of his contemporaries, however, left behind them in academic circles a deeper impression of varied capacity and luminous intelligence. Williams, no contemptible judge, considered it to have been his greatest advantage at Cambridge that he learned from Overall the true method of

JOHN OVERALL, master of St Catherine's Hall, 1598-1607.

Testimony of Williams to his skill as a theologian in conducting disputations conducting theological controversies. 'I asked him on a time,' says his biographer, 'what it was that pleased him in Dr Overal above all others whom he heard to handle determinations of divine points in a scholastical form? He gave me this answer: because, first, Dr Overal was used to prove his conclusion out of two or three texts of Scripture at the most, and no more, being such places upon whose right interpretation the judgement of the cause did chiefly depend: secondly, that above all men that ever he heard, he did most pertinently quote the Fathers, both to the right sense of their phrase, which few did understand, and out of those their treatises wherein especially they handled the cause for which he appealed unto them[1].' Overall, says another critic, not wont to praise lightly, 'was great in every way, being a man of brilliant talents, tenacious memory, and sound judgement, combined with surprising originality and power of expression; while whatever he had conceived and designed he carried into execution with remarkable dexterity and promptitude[2].' Perhaps however there is no stronger proof of the estimation in which Overall was held at Cambridge than the fact of his election to the Regius chair, notwithstanding the manner in which he had so recently opposed the prevailing religious intolerance, in defence of Peter Baro[3]. When Casaubon visited England, he was for a short time Overall's guest, and of no one does he appear to have formed a more favorable impression[4]. If we add that Overall was the tutor of Essex, the friend of lord Brooke, and the discerning patron of John Cosin[5]; that he wrote against Nicholas Sander on the one hand, and carried on a controversy with De Dominis on the other[6], and that he compiled a treatise on ecclesiastical law and the privileges and rights of Convocation, which, after

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[1] Allen, *Lives*, etc. II 386.

[2] *Liber Actorum et Rerum Memorabilium Aulae Trin. Cant.* [MS. (S. 48) in the library of St John's College].

[3] In the year 1672, St Catherine's numbered 156, or more than double the total at Trinity Hall; this prosperity however was especially due to the reputation and efforts of the eminent Lightfoot, master from 1650 to 1675.

[4] Baker-Mayor, p. 259.

and of Baker to his general ability.

Other evidence of his contemporary reputation.

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[1] Hackett, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, i 10–11.

[2] Baker-Mayor, p. 259.

[3] *Supra*, p. 349. Baker says: 'Juvenis admodum venit in amicitiam Petri Baronis, indeque didicit de decretis divinis modeste sentire et caute loqui; mediam iniit viam, progressurus forte ulterius, nisi Baronis vestigia deterruissent.' *Catalogus Episcoporum*, in Baker-Mayor, p. 260.

[4] *Casauboni Epist.*, pp. 365, 366.

[5] Goodman, *Court of James the First*, I 145; Fuller-Nuttall, III 285; Pattison, *Isaac Casaubon*, p. 331.

[6] See Smith (T.) *Vitae*, praef. p. viii.

long slumbering in manuscript, was deemed by archbishop Sancroft deserving of publication[1], we shall have said sufficient to shew that the master of St Catherine's, though last in our present enumeration of the Heads, must have held a foremost place in the estimation of his contemporaries.

Distinguished Heads who were also professors in the university.

The decisive influence exercised at this period by those who presided over the sixteen Cambridge colleges, is indicated by the general fact that scarcely any movement of importance is unassociated with the names of one or more of their number. It is also deserving of note that six of the most distinguished members of the body,—Overall, Cowell, Davenant, Richardson, Samuel Ward, and Samuel Collins[2],—also held chairs in the university, a consideration which undoubtedly tends to diminish the force of Sir William Hamilton's theory of a direct antagonism between the Heads and the professoriate.

Distinguished professors who were not Heads.

If indeed we except the names of Edward Lively, who was Regius professor of Hebrew from 1580 to 1605,—of Thomas Playfere, who filled the lady Margaret chair, as successor to Peter Baro, from 1596 to 1609,—and of Andrew Downes, who was professor of Greek from 1585 to 1625,—there are no names of professors of distinguished eminence in the first quarter of the seventeenth century who were not also college heads.

EDWARD LIVELY, professor of Hebrew, 1575-1605.

Of the three just named, Edward Lively, the professor of Hebrew, formerly a disciple of the famous Drusius, was brought into special notice, a few months before his death, by the prominent part which it was proposed to assign him in connexion with the new translation of the Bible. His previous career had been one of a kind with which the history of learning makes us only too familiar, but it would be difficult to point to any Cambridge scholar at once so meritorious and yet receiving such niggardly reward from fortune. Edward Lively was a man of unimpeachable morality and of exemplary prudence. But he was married and was the father of a large family, for whose maintenance his stipend as professor of Hebrew was barely adequate. For some years he had held a fellowship at Trinity, but his fellowship was of course vacated by his marriage; and a recommendation in his behalf for the deanery of Peterborough, made by Whitgift in 1584, had not been successful. The difficulties of his position were still further enhanced by a harassing law-suit in which he had become involved; so that, to quote the quaintly pathetic language of his brother professor, 'he led a life which in a manner was nothing els but a continuall flood of waters. Never out of suits of law, never ceasing disquieters of his studie. His goods distrained, and his cattele driven off his ground, as Job's was. His deere, being not so well able to beare so great a flood as he, even for verie sorrow presently died. A lamentable and ruefull case[1]'. There was at this time, at St John's, a Welsh lad, whose comely features, high-spirited, generous nature, and diligence as a student were already winning him the good will of all whose favorable opinion was worth having. The wits of the college quizzed him, indeed, for his strong Celtic accent,—but this defect John Williams soon managed to overcome, and was afterwards even noted for the purity of his pronunciation. One day it became known in St John's that the poor professor of Hebrew was in sore straits, and had even been compelled to part with a portion of his library. This was more than the warm-hearted young Welshman, who reverenced learning and was a diligent attendant at Lively's lectures, could hear of unmoved. He forthwith collected the sum of three pounds, and carried it to his teacher. Lively's poverty rather than his will consented, but his gratitude overflowed. For some time, he could talk only of his young benefactor's generosity; so that, to quote the language of the narrator, 'it was much noised that so little a hand did

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[1] Hunt, *Hist. of Religious Thought*, I 121; the best account of Overall is contained in the Rev. H. Pigot's *History of Hadleigh*, 1860.

[2] Provost of King's from 1615 to 1644, Regius professor of divinity, 1617 to 1651. Collins' career belongs mainly to a later period than that treated in the present chapter.

Fellow of Trinity 1570-1578.

Playfere's description of his necessitous condition.

Generous conduct towards Lively on the part of John Williams.

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[1] *The Felicitie of the Faithful: a funerall Sermon preached in S. Maries*, 10 *May*, 1605: see pp. 195–237 *of Nine Sermons preached by that eloquent Divine of famous Memorie, Tho: Playfere, Doctor in Divinitie. Printed by Cantrell Legge, printer to the Universitie of Cambridge.* 1621.

Bancroft's recognition of his desert.

open itself, when large ones were shut[1].' It is to Bancroft's credit, that the last days of the great scholar were at least free from pecuniary embarrassment[2]. But Lively was now sixty years of age; and debt, domestic affliction, and unremitting literary labour had sadly impaired his physical power to resist the sudden illness by which, in 1605, he was attacked and carried off. 'Yet how,' said Playfere, in a discourse of singular pathos, 'could any death be sodaine to him, whose whole life was nothing else but a meditation of death, and whom the Lord, whensoever he came, might find doing his dutie? Wherefore no reason we should lament his departure out of this world....Rather, you reverend and learned university men, lament for this, that you have lost so famous a professor[3] and so worthie a writer. Lament, you translators, being now deprived of him, *who no lesse by his merit and desert, than by the privilege of his place*, was to order and oversee all your travailes[4].... Lament, lament all of you, of the towne as well as of the universitie, because our school hath lost such a singular ornament of this age, because our churches have lost such a faithfulle and syncere servant of Christ[5].'

Playfere's testimony to his varied merit.

Attempt to obtain an augmentation in the endowment of two of the professorships.

Within a few months after Lively's death, an endeavour was made to obtain an increase in the endowment of two of the professorships. It came under the notice of Coke, in the discharge of his functions as attorney-general, that at Oxford application had been made for such assistance, and that it had been granted. The great lawyer was never wanting in the will to aid his own university, in his ready practical fashion, when opportunity might offer, and at his suggestion a similar application was sent in from Cambridge, —'so that *alma academia Cantabrigiensis* might not want that which Oxford, with greater vigilancy but not for greater meritt, had obteyned[1].' The appeal met with a favorable response from James, and the rectory of Somersham in Huntingdonshire was granted for presentation to the Regius professor of divinity, and that of Terrington in Norfolk to be annexed to the lady Margaret professorship. The Lords, however, refused to confirm the royal grant, which consequently remained inoperative for more than a century[2].

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[1] Hacket, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, i 9.

[2] 'He was appointed to be one of the chiefest translators' [i.e. of the new version]. 'And as soon as it was knowne how farre in this travaile *hee did more then any of the rest*, hee was verie well prouided for in respect of liuing. For which my Lord his Grace of Canterburie now liuing, is much to bee reuerenced and honoured.' Playfere, *Nine Sermons*, etc. p. 218. On 20 Sept. 1604, Lively was presented by king James to the rectory of Purleigh in Essex. Cooper, *Athenae*, II 407.

[3] Compare Ri. Mountagu's language in his *Acts and Monuments*, p. 137,—'a man *ultra fidem ad miraculum eruditus*.'

[4] 'Wherein how excellently he was imployed, all they can witnes who were joyned with him in labour. For though they be the verie flower of the universitie for knowledge of the tongues, yet they will not be ashamed to confess that no one man of their companie, if not by other respects, yet at leastwise for long experience and exercise in this kinde, was to be compared with him.' *Nine Sermons*, etc. p. 221.

[5] *Ibid.* p. 223.

THOMAS PLAYFERE, lady Margaret professor, 1596-1609.

It is possible that this disappointment may have contributed to the melancholy which about this time began to overcloud the intellect of Playfere, who held the lady Margaret professorship, and who, in the interval between the death of Perkins and the pulpit fame of John Cotton, was the foremost preacher in the university. It is interesting to note that he well repaid the kindness which young Williams had shewn to his brother professor, for it was mainly through the exertion of his good offices at St John's that the young Welshman was elected a fellow of that society[3]. The lady Margaret professorship was at that time a biennial appointment, and when, in 1608, Playfere was again a candidate for the post, his mind became further affected by the prospect of a contest, and by the knowledge that the chancellor's influence was exerted to bring about the election of Davenant in his place[4]. Immediately after the issue had been decided in his favour, his mind gave way[5], and he died in the following year.

His insanity and death, 2 Feb. $160\frac{8}{9}$.

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[1] Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge University Transactions*, II 206–7.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 18.

[3] 'Playfere is described by Hacket as 'then the pinacle of the college, far higher then the low-rooft building of the rest.' According to the same authority, Williams' election was opposed by 'a few with a wrong zeal to depress such whose learning and prudent behaviour did promise that they would be champions for conformity.' *Life of Archbishop Williams*, i 10.

[4] Fuller-Nuttall, II 155.

[5] This circumstance is not noted by Cooper (*Athenae*, II 513–5) but

ANDREW DOWNES, professor of Greek, 1585 1625.

Shrewsbury and St John's.

Account of Downes given by Simonds D'Ewes.

In Andrew Downes, whose lengthened tenure of the Greek professorship lasted from 1585 to 1625, we recognise a prominent figure in university life at Cambridge throughout the reign of king James. Downes may be regarded as standing at the head of that long succession of able scholars whose reputation links together, to their mutual adornment, the annals of Shrewsbury and St John's. A native of Shropshire, he received his earlier education at the famous grammar school of the county town, and passing on from thence to Cambridge, was elected a fellow of St John's in the year 1571, and from that time his energies were mainly bestowed on those studies whereby he acquired the reputation of being the foremost Grecian of his age. Like some others whose professorial fame has stood not less high, his character was slightly tinctured with eccentricity. D'Ewes, who attended his lectures on Demosthenes, has left us a somewhat droll acount of a visit which he paid the great scholar at his own house, when he was ushered into the presence of a tall, elderly personage, with ruddy complexion and bright eyes, who received him with his legs on the table, and delivered himself of a long and learned monologue to his patient and awe-struck auditor. 'His pains,' says Fuller, referring to Downes' editorial labours, 'are so inlaid with Sir Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom, that both will be preserved together[1].' In a like, though less special manner, they are associated with a yet more memorable achievement,—the new translation of the Bible, known as the 'Authorised Version.'

The AUTHORISED VERSION OF THE BIBLE.

The successful completion of that great undertaking, which had been delayed by Lively's death[2], was accompanied by circumstances (now almost forgotten), which clearly in-

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see Baker-Mayor, p. 290; Fuller-Nuttall, *u. s.*; Hacket, *u. s.* i 18. Playfere's portrait, to be seen at the Master's Lodge, St John's College, is certainly far from suggestive of an equable or genial temperament.

[1] Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 310. Fuller's encomium however is somewhat exaggerated. Baker (in a note to Lewis's *History of the Translations of the Bible*, p. 322) states that while the notes of Bois, the pupil of Downes, on Chrysostom, were incorporated in the Benedictine edition of that author, those of Downes himself were omitted. Downes seems to have been jealous of his pupil's reputation: see Baker-Mayor, p. 598, l. 18.

[2] Fuller-Brewer, v 376.

dicate the atmosphere of jealousy and mistrust amid which the translators carried on their labours. Otherwise, it is evident that far greater pains were taken to avert the presence of such feelings than had been the case in the preparation of the *Institution of a Christian Man*[1]. Scrupulous care was shewn in selecting the forty-seven translators that they should be drawn in equal proportions from the two universities. Among the Cambridge divines whose names have already come before us, we find Andrewes of Pembroke and his brother of Jesus College, Overall, Richardson, Chatterton of Emmanuel, Duport, Branthwaite, Samuel Ward, Downes, and Bois, all engaged. To this list are to be added Richard Clark and Dillingham, fellows of Christ's College,—Spalding, a fellow of St John's, who succeeded Lively as professor of Hebrew,—Layfield, Harrison, Radcliffe, and Dakins, fellows of Trinity,—Robert Ward[2] and Geoffrey King, fellows of King's,—Byng of Peterhouse, and Richard Thomson of Clare Hall[3]. Hugh Broughton, who had attacked the 'Bishops' Bible' with extreme acrimony, had, years before, proffered his assistance; but his overbearing temper and boldness as an emendator excluded him from participation in labours where it cannot be doubted that his Hebrew scholarship would have proved of high service[4].

The Cambridge translators.

Hugh Broughton excluded.

In the original preface, which has long ceased to appear in later editions, we can discern the apprehensions and misgivings with which the translators sent forth the results of their long labours into the world. 'Whosoever,' they observe, 'attempteth anything for the publick, especially if it pertaineth to religion, and to the opening and clearing of the Word of God, the same setteth himself upon a stage to be glouted upon by every evil eye,—yea, he casteth himself headlong upon pikes, to be gored by every sharp tongue[5].' That Bancroft imposed his will upon the trans-

Misgivings of the translators as to the reception likely to be accorded to their labours.

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[1] See *supra*, p. 18.

[2] Allen, *Lives*, etc. vol. II; in Fuller-Brewer (v 373) erroneously described as of Queens' College.

[3] Respecting Thomson and other of the translators, see *Notes and Queries* (3rd ser.), IV 228, 379–80.

[4] Lewis, *Hist. of the Translations*, pp. 297 8; Westcott, *Hist. of the English Bible*, p. 160, n. 2.

[5] Lewis, p. 325.

Current assertions respecting the bias given to the new version.

lators so as to make the new version 'speak prelatical language[1],'—and that certain passages were rendered with servile deference to the royal views respecting not merely the doctrines of predestination and election but also witchcraft and the existence of evil spirits[2],—are assertions which it is impossible now either to disprove or verify. But in contrast alike to the misgivings of the translators and the imputations cast upon their labours, it may suffice here to cite the contemporary verdict of Selden, that 'the English translation is the best translation of the Bible in the world[3],' and to recall the reluctance with which, after the lapse of more than two centuries and a half, the religious public has contemplated the possibility of that venerable monument of the national faith and the English language being to any extent set aside by new canons of verbal criticism and a more profound exegesis.

Selden's verdict.

Demonstrations of Puritan dissatisfaction still sometimes to be heard in the Cambridge pulpits.

Notwithstanding the repeated and increasingly rigorous tests by which compliance with a prescribed standard of belief was enforced, utterances were still sometimes to be heard from the pulpits of the university which proved that speculation, dissatisfaction, and dissent were still fermenting beneath the rigid surface. At Christ's College, more especially, where Valentine Cary was endeavouring either to reduce the Puritan faction to subjection or to expel it altogether, we meet with three notable instances within a comparatively short period. Of these, the earliest appears to have been a sermon preached in 1608 by Thomas Taylor, a fellow of Christ's, at Great St Mary's. Taylor was the son of a Yorkshire gentleman well known as a zealous patron of the Puritan ministers in and about Richmond in his native county. That the son's attainments as a scholar were above mediocrity is shewn by the fact that he possessed sufficient knowledge of Hebrew to qualify him for a lectureship in that branch of learning in the college; while his abilities as a preacher must have attracted attention unusually early, if we

THOMAS TAYLOR, *b.* 1576. *d.* 1632.

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[1] Anderson, *Annals of the English Bible*, II 378; Westcott, *u. s.*, p. 146, n. 2.

[2] Lewis, *u. s.*, p. 330.

[3] *Table-Talk* (ed. Arber), p. 20.

may rely on the statement of his biographer[1],—that in the reign of Elizabeth he was appointed to preach at Paul's Cross, when he could have been little more than five-and-twenty years of age. On the occasion above referred to, having selected a text specially suited to his purpose[2], he inveighed in a manner that could not be mistaken against Bancroft's dealings with the Puritans: it had ever, he observed, been the case in the history of the Church, that there were those who, although designed to be the Church's guardians, approved themselves its actual persecutors. The preacher was silenced by Harsnet, the vice-chancellor, and even menaced with degradation. We hear of him afterwards as a popular preacher at Reading and in London; raising a loud outcry, on one occasion, when the great cross in Cheapside was regilded; but, in the estimation of his admirers, standing as 'a brazen wall against popery and Arminianism.'

He denounces Bancroft's severities against the Puritans, and is silenced by the Vice-chancellor.

In the following year, another fellow of the same society, named Nicholas Rush, occasioned the vice-chancellor and Heads considerable trouble: first, by a somewhat heterodox discourse delivered at St Mary's, and next by a funeral oration pronounced in the college chapel on the death of the master, Dr Barwell. In this latter composition, Rush had the singularly bad taste to descant on the notorious defects and general incapacity of their departed Head. Of his sermon in the university pulpit the authorities subsequently called upon him to produce the original manuscript, a demand with which he did not comply until after much evasion. At last, but not until his disingenuousness had become so manifest that we find the authorities sternly admonishing him 'not to say blacke was whyte or whyte blacke,'—the necessary damning evidence was completed, and a retractation was tendered to him to be read in St Mary's 'imme-

Case of Nicholas Rush, a second fellow of Christ's.

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[1] —'he was called in queen Elizabeth's time to preach at Paul's Crosse; as also he preached the sermon there in king James his time, with much honour and applause.' See *Life* (probably by Jo. Caryl) prefixed to *The Works of that faithful Servant of Jesus Christ Dr. Thom. Taylor, sometimes Minister of the Gospel in Aldermanbury, London*, 1653.

[2] '—his text was in the fifth of Canticles the seventh verse: *The watchmen that went about the city found me, they smote me; the keepers of the walls took away my vaile from me.*' *Ibid.*

diately after sermon[1].' In this document he was called upon to confess that he 'had greatly erred in his said opinions publickly delivered,' that his speeches had been 'erroneous, rash, presumptuous, impious and profane,' and were calculated to give 'just scandal both to such as then heard me, and also further to whome the fame and report hath come,' and finally he was required to promise to be more 'vigilant and circumspect hereafter.' On declining to descend to these depths of humiliation, the imprudent Rush was expelled both from his fellowship and from the university[2].

Case of WILLIAM AMES, a third fellow of Christ's, *b.* 1576. *d.* 1633.

The next proceedings were directed against William Ames, another fellow of the same society, but a thinker of a different calibre from either of the foregoing. He had been one of Perkins' most assiduous pupils, and after Perkins' death succeeded to much of his influence in the college. His biographer, Nethenus (who must have had the statement from Ames himself), asserts that he would certainly have been elected master of Christ's, in succession to Barwell, had he only consented to shew himself more conformable in matters of faith and discipline[3],—a want of compliance which, according to the same authority, was specially lamented by the authorities in one of such distinguished promise[4]. Cary vainly endeavoured to persuade him to wear the surplice. 'The surplice,' said the master to the recusant fellow, 'is that very "armour of light" which the Apostle enjoins us to put on.' But his persuasions were in vain; and he accordingly determined that Ames must be ejected from the society. The immediate occasion of the latter's departure was, however, a sermon which he delivered

His relations with the master, Valentine Cary.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 32–33.

[2] Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge Transactions*, II 233–5.

[3] —'eligendus et in defuncti praefecti successorem, si hierarchicis se voluisset conformare. Quorum consilio et molitionibus Cario quidam, indignus homo et Amesio plane non conferendus (qui et postea ad episcopatum evectus est, ut Puritani vapularent), intrusus est.' *Praef.* [(*a*) 2] to the collected edition of Ames' Latin Works published at Amsterdam, in 5 vols., in 1658. The Preface is from the pen of his friend and editor Nethenus, professor of theology at Utrecht, and supplies several important facts in the life of Ames which appear to have escaped the notice of English writers. See article 'Ames' in *Dict. of National Biography*.

[4] 'Quantus vir esset Amesius, si Ecclesiae esset filius!' *Praef. u. s.*, (*a*) 3.

His intolerant sermon at St Mary's, A.D. 1609.

in St Mary's on St Thomas's Day (21 Dec.) 1609. In this discourse, he inveighed, after puritanical fashion, against the customary licence that characterised the approaching season in the university,—the wanton lords of misrule, and the playing at cards and dice,—practices which he reprobated as tantamount to actual profanity[1]. This intolerance of language proved fatal to Ames' career at Cambridge; for he was not only suspended by the vice-chancellor from his ecclesiastical function, and 'from all degrees taken or to be taken,' but soon after found himself compelled to resign his fellowship at Christ's College, though not actually expelled[2]. At first, he sought to find a new sphere of action at Colchester, as pastor of the congregation in that town, but in the end he was driven by Bancroft's vigilant severity, not only from the diocese of London, but from England. We hear of him next as professor of theology at Franeker, a post which he continued to hold for a space of twelve years, teaching with so much success that students were attracted to that remote university not only from all Flanders, but also from Poland, Hungary, and Russia[3].

It is followed by results fatal to his Cambridge career.

He takes refuge in the United Provinces, and becomes a professor at Franeker.

His *Medulla Theologorum.*

The work by which Ames was best known to his contemporaries was probably his *Medulla Theologorum*, the design of which was to systematise, after the example set by his master Perkins, the whole body of Christian doctrine in conformity with Calvinistic theories; but a yet more notable production, considered in relation to its influence on later theology, was his treatise on casuistical divinity,—the *de Conscientia*[4]. In the preface to this latter treatise, Ames pays a very emphatic tribute to the memory of his revered teacher, on whose *Anatomia sacra humanae Conscientiae*, the *de Conscientia* would appear to have been to a great extent

His treatise *de Conscientia.*

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[1] —'paganos studiosorum totos duodecim dies in collegiis debacchantium mores acri sed salutari reprehensionis aceto perfricuit.' *Praef. u. s.* (*a*) 3. See, on the same subject, Prynne, *Histriomastix*, pp. 743–768.

[2] Cary, according to Nethenus, 'placidis modis cum eo egit, ut *sponte* discederet; quod et impetravit.' *Ibid.* Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 301; Neal, *Hist. of the Puritans*, II 230.

[3] *Praef. u. s.* See also Vrimoet, *Athenae Frisiacae*, 212–221.

[4] *De Conscientia et ejus Jure vel Casibus*, 1630: translated into German under the title of *Vom Rechte des Gewissens.* Nuremberg, 1654.

modelled. Ames recalls the time when he listened in his youth, amid a throng of distinguished students, to Perkins' famous discourses. He bears emphatic testimony to the widespread influence which those discourses, by virtue of the permanent impression which they produced on those audiences, afterwards exerted throughout England. He then proceeds to relate how, after he had quitted England for the Continent, he could not fail to notice in the Protestant Churches abroad,—albeit pure in faith and discipline,—a notable want of like systematic doctrinal teaching, and how he resolved accordingly to attempt to introduce some elements of such teaching, at least among those who were studying for the ministry[1]. When, in the year 1622, he received his appointment to the professorial chair at Franeker, he had held it, again, to be his first duty to impart what he could of this same method of study to the theological students whom he instructed. There were those, he goes on to observe, who professed to look upon such refinements as superfluous, but he holds such cavillers not much wiser than anatomists who might maintain that the subdivision of the hands into fingers or of the feet into toes was neither necessary nor advantageous; and he ventures to suggest that if this same casuistical divinity were systematically recognised and sanctioned by Protestant divines in their synods, there would be less need that, like the Israelites of old, they should betake themselves to the quarters of the Philistines to whet their ploughshares,—in other words, be fain to have recourse to the doctors of the Roman Church for examples of method and

His account of the manner in which he had been led to introduce the new Cambridge method of the study of divinity into the course of studies at Franeker.

He thinks that that method deserves to be more generally sanctioned by Protestant teachers.

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[1] 'Multos tamen reliquit illius doctrinae studio accensos, qui eandem etiam piis concionibus per Angliam nostram, Deo adspirante, currere, crescere, et glorificari fecerunt. Mihi etiam ab illo tempore idem studium ita fixum inhaesit, ut dignum illud semper censuerim quod omni cura ab omnibus excoleretur. Quum igitur (bona Dei providentia ita disponente) extra patriam agens, observabam in variis Ecclesiis, doctrina et ordine puris, desiderari admodum hanc practicam institutionem, eumque defectum inter praecipuas causas esse magni neglectus, aut non curantiae, in officiis nonnullis intime pertinentibus ad virtutem pietatis et vitae Christianae; incessit animum impetus quidam, privatim saltem tentandi an possem id efficere apud juvenes quosdam, ministerium sacrum cogitantes, ut magis applicarent animos ad istum modum theologiae tractandae, ex quo non exiguus fructus mihi videbatur sperandus.' *de Conscientia* (ed. 1634): 'Ad Lectorem.'

Corroboration of his observations afforded by those of Selden.

argumentation[1].' There can be no doubt that, in this concluding observation, Ames indicated a want that was sensibly felt in his day among Protestant theologians. 'Popish books,' observed Selden about the same time, 'teach and inform; what we know, we know much out of them. The Fathers, Church story, Schoolmen, all may pass for Popish books, and if you take away them, what learning do you leave?...These Puritan preachers if they have any things good, they have it out of Popish books, though they will not acknowledge it[2].'

Importance of this teaching both abroad and in England.

Such was the channel whereby, in that recently founded university in ancient Frisia[3],—which like Leyden (and only ten years later) had risen up amid the din of actual war,—the teaching of the new Cambridge school was reproduced, and that, too, with eminent success. Ames' treatise, like the writings of his master Perkins[4], would appear, indeed, to have been better known abroad than at home,—a fact sufficiently accounted for, if we consider the ban under which the author's doctrinal views lay in England. But the *de Conscientia* claims here this passing notice at our hands, even if we regard it merely as the forerunner of those more celebrated treatises (by bishops Hall, Sanderson, and Jeremy Taylor), by which it was superseded,—and, generally, as giving rise to that more systematic and philosophic method of doctrinal teaching which found expression, half a century later, in the foundation of the Knightbridge professorship.

Death of the earl of Salisbury, 24 May, 1612; election of the earl of Northampton to the chancellorship.

In the year 1612, the death of the earl of Salisbury rendered it necessary to elect another chancellor, and the choice of the regents fell upon the lord privy-seal, Henry, earl of Northampton[5], upon whom we have just noted

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Table-Talk* (ed. Arber), p. 30.

[3] The university of Franeker was founded in 1585 for the four faculties of theology, law, medicine, and arts. *Statuta et Leges* (1647), p. 1. In the *Statuta et Leges Bibliothecae* (a distinct publication, A.D. 1656) the compilers say that it was not least to the credit of the rulers of the Dutch Republic of that day, 'quod in ipso aestu atque incendio cruenti belli de Academia fundanda cogitarunt.' Compare the circumstances of the foundation of the University of Leyden, *supra*, p. 285.

[4] See Whewell's observations in his *Lectures on the History of Moral Philosophy* (ed. 1862), pp. 29–30.

[5] 'He was son to Henry, earl of Surrey (beheaded 1546), and succeeded, as to his name, to his excellent parts and industry, being bred in King's College, where he attained to a degree of eminency for learning.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 305.

Visit of prince Charles and the Elector Palatine: 1613.

Death of the earl of Northampton: election of earl of Suffolk.

Dr Cowell passing so high a eulogium. A later writer, in summing up the qualifications which seemed to recommend the new chancellor for the office, describes him as 'superlatively learned,' very rich, and also unmarried, and consequently one who, it was hoped, would be 'very beneficial to Cambridge his mother[1].' The expectations thus formed were not destined, however, to be realised. At one time, indeed, it seemed as though the propitious opportunity was at hand. In the month of March, 1613, prince Charles, and his brother-in-law, the Elector Palatine, honoured the university with a visit[2]. It was thought, Hacket tells us, that the chancellor would hardly fail himself to be present on so important an occasion, when 'tradition immemorial required him,' and that, if he came, he would certainly leave behind him some adequate memento of his coming; but much to the disappointment of the authorities, 'the frugal old man appeared not.' In the following year he died; and his nephew, Thomas Howard, earl of Suffolk, lord high-treasurer of England and high steward of the university, was elected in his place[3].

Deputation to the earl of Suffolk at Audley End: Aug. 1614.

The correspondent of a gentleman of rank who was at that time residing at Tours, gives us the following account of one of the incidents that followed upon Suffolk's election: 'Upon Tuesday last the body of the university went to Audley End to present him with his patent: twenty doctors in their formalities and upon their footcloths, and fourscore other of a second and inferior rank. They were very honorably entertained, and richly feasted: after dinner the vice-chancellor made a speech in Latin, which was seconded by another from the university orator. His lordship answered them in English: the effect of his speech being to assure them of his endeavour to maintain their privileges and dignity of the university, and that though he came short of his uncle, his predecessor, in learning, yet he would make good that want by his affection and good will. And when he mentioned his uncle, he added a speech to this purpose: "Who," said he, "though he was reputed over superstitious in some opinions, yet it was the more to be borne withal in a man of his learning." To shew how sensible he is of this honour, he hath already moved his majesty to grace the university with his royal presence, who hath yielded the suit, and promiseth to make it a winter journey, which he limits between Christmas next and Shrove-tide[1].'

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[1] Hacket, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 24.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 56–57.

[3] He was grandson of Sir Thomas Audley, the founder of Magdalene College (see *supra*, pp. 65–66), and son of Thomas, fourth duke of Norfolk (beheaded 1573) by his second wife, Margaret, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Thomas.

He prevails on the king to visit the university.

Anticipations of the royal visit.

The interest excited in the university when it was known that the King himself might be expected, was genuine and intense. 'There were few,' says Preston's biographer, 'but promised to themselves some good from this fair gale[2].' Nearly half a century had passed away since a like honour had been vouchsafed to Cambridge. During that long interval, Elizabeth had twice visited Oxford: once in the full bloom of her beauteous womanhood, and again, when a wrinkled old woman, whose proffered kisses the undergraduates could scarcely prevail upon themselves to accept. James also, had already twice visited the sister university, once in 1605 and again in 1614; while, though he was frequently at Newmarket, Cambridge had as yet been ungraced by his presence[3]. It was not surprising that some apprehension was beginning to be felt lest the leanings which the university still shewed to Puritanism should permanently prejudice her in the royal favour. It was well known that James had evinced considerable irritation on learning that, on the occasion of the visit of the two princes, the disputants in

Motives for wishing to conciliate the royal favour.

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[1] Letter from Tho. Larkin to Sir Tho. Puckering at Tours: 20 Aug. 1614. Baker MSS. XII 159.

[2] Clarke's *Lives* (1659), p. 79.

[3] Nichols (*Progresses of James I.* III 46 n.) thinks that James, who had a hunting seat at Newmarket, could hardly have left Cambridge so long unvisited. He grounds his conjecture on the fact that in the accounts of St John's College there is an entry of an item, under the year 1613, 'for wood at the King's coming.' Ball, also [Clarke, *Lives* (1659), p. 82], distinctly implies that *Ignoramus* (see *infra*, p. 529) was performed for the *first* time, at James' second coming. It is however, certain, that the contemporary documents all refer to the visit in March 1614–5, as James' first visit. Ball can hardly be looked upon as an authority on such a point; and the wood purchased by St John's College, may very possibly have been stored up in anticipation, in order that the seasoned timber might blaze well.

a logical contest had dared to discuss the comparative claims of hereditary right and the elective principle in monarchies[1]; it was also a current story how, when in the public library at Oxford, he had taken occasion to animadvert upon the doctrinal teaching of a former master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge[2]; his efforts to obtain the admission of his countrymen to fellowships and scholarships in the university had been met by civil evasion[3]; while the comparison which, in a recent mandate, he had instituted between the docility of the one university and the tardiness of the other in matters of subscription, was still fresh in the memories of all[4]. It was now therefore the general feeling, that an opportunity was about to be vouchsafed to the university of effacing these unfavorable impressions, by others of a different character, which all were bound to improve to the utmost in their power.

Preparations for the occasion.

Long before the day of James' arrival, the stir and bustle of active preparations were everywhere visible. The muddy roads were strewn with gravel; the exteriors of the colleges were brightened with fresh paint. Strict injunctions were issued by the authorities for the maintenance of discipline and decorum; the attire and demeanour of the students in the schools, the theatre, and even in the streets, were made the subject of special regulations. 'Huge cuffs, shoe-roses, tufts, locks, and topps of hare' were especially condemned as 'unbeseeminge the modesty and carridge of students in soe renowned an universitye;' while one special crotchet of the royal author of the *Counterblast* was skilfully humoured by the enactment of a prohibition against 'taking tobacco in

Instructions issued to the students.

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[1] A question which Elizabeth had heard argued at Oxford in 1566 with perfect equanimity. See Nichols, *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, I 213.

[2] 'He commanded that the Commentary of Dr William Fulke, of Cambridge, written on the New Testament, should be brought to him; which being so done, deprehendit (ex cap. X ad Romanos et sec. 15 annot.) calumnias et imposturas quorundam pontificiorum de ordine et vocatione ministrorum; et ita, censura lata de hoc tenebrione, ex hac bibliotheca recessit.' Nichols, *Progresses of James the First*, III 23. Fulke had been dead a quarter of a century before this happened. He was a divine of considerable ability but distinguished by his vehemence as a supporter of Puritan doctrine. See *Index*.

[3] See Appendix (E).

[4] *Supra*, pp. 457–8.

St Maries Church or in Trinity Colledge hall' under pain of final expulsion from the university[1].

The royal arrival: March 7, 1614-5.

It was on a wintry day in March, when 'all the world was nothing but air and snow[2],' that the king and the prince entered Cambridge, 'with as much solemnity and concourse of gallants and great men,' says the narrator, 'as the hard weather was to permit[3].' The season had been one of exceptional severity and the roads were unusually bad,—a circumstance to which we may probably attribute the absence of the queen and the fewness of the ladies in the royal train,—none of the fair sex indeed, except certain members of that proud house, upon whom, as 'his mother's martyrs,' James was wont to shower his favours, and upon whom as relatives alike of the late and of the new chancellor, the university seemed to have a special claim, were present on the occasion.

Attitude of the Puritan colleges.

Notwithstanding the stringent regulations issued by the authorities, an impression appears very generally to have prevailed, that Saturnalia of a somewhat coarse and uproarious character were at hand. Pious Emmanuel, not perhaps unmindful of recent acts of legislation, was conspicuous by her refusal to adorn herself for the occasion[4]. At Queens' College, Preston boldly exposed himself to the displeasure of that Court where it had once been his ambition to shine, by declining to allow one of his pupils, named Morgan, to play the heroine's part in the chief comedy. Morgan's guardians, however, on being appealed to, proved less scrupulous, and he subsequently appeared in the character. Another young Puritan in the same society, on being invited to undertake a second female part, shewed himself less complaisant. He had strong objections to appearing in a woman's apparel even in a comedy. Harsnet, who was vice-chancellor, endeavoured to laugh him out of his scruples, but in vain; and Samuel Fairclough took no share in the performance of *Ignoramus*[1].

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[1] Nichols, *u. s.*, III 43–44.

[2] Fuller-Brewer, V 439.

[3] Nichols, III 48.

[4] 'But the pure House of Emanuel | Would not be like proud Jesabel, | Nor show herself before the King | An hypocrite or painted thing | But that the ways might all prove fair | Conceived a tedious mile of prayer.' *Ibid.* III 67. It is not improbable that what the Puritan party had learned respecting the effects of the royal visits to Oxford, may have contributed to excite their apprehensions. Anthony Wood, speaking of James' visit in 1605, says: The Court...left such impressions of debauchery among the students, that by a little practice they improved themselves so much that they became more excellent than their masters, and that also without scandal, because it became a laudable fashion.' Wood-Gutch, II 290.

General features of the visit.

The numerous incidents of this notable visit, as described in Nichols, are for the most part of such a kind as scarcely to call for reproduction at our hands, and must be here very cursorily touched upon:—how, for example, the corporation, headed by its now full-blown recorder[2], Brackyn, awaited king and prince at the boundary of the town, bearing with them two golden cups as presents, and offering formal congratulations to the monarch on his '*first* coming hither' and to his son on his 'gratious second coming;' how king and prince took up their residence at Trinity, where the new and splendid hall, just fresh from the hands of the wainscoter, accommodated, as it was asserted, two thousand spectators at the play[3]; how the chancellor,—his lady and her retinue being entertained at Magdalene (the house which his grandsire had founded),—took up his quarters at St John's, and there kept open house at an outlay which rumour magnified to a thousand pounds *per diem*; how each evening witnessed the performance of a new play; how acts in divinity, law, physic, and philosophy were kept; how orations and *conciones ad clerum* were delivered; and how degrees were conferred with an indiscriminate lavishness which excited the astonishment of all and moved the sister university to sarcasm[4].

The Act and the Comedy.

But amid much of which the interest has vanished, or is at best but antiquarian, one Act and one Comedy stand out in strong relief and subsequently became invested with a celebrity which may be said to have become historical.

Harsnet, the vice-chancellor, notwithstanding that he was now not only master of Pembroke, but also bishop of Chichester, was especially active on the present occasion, and his energy and sound judgement appear to have proved invaluable and to have contributed in no slight degree to the success of the general arrangements. On the different Acts he bestowed especial attention, being well aware that in king James the disputants would find no undiscerning or careless critic. For the philosophy act, he was particularly anxious to secure the most promising talent in the university, and his success in this direction was considered beyond question when it became known that he had prevailed upon Matthew Wren (fellow of Pembroke and afterwards bishop of Ely) and John Preston, to appear as the two disputants. It was not without difficulty that the young fellow of Queens' was prevailed upon to take a part. John Cotton's sermon was still sounding in his ears, and kings and courts and occasions of mere vain display, now wore in his eyes a different, perhaps a truer, value. When again his reluctance in the abstract had been overcome, he still demurred when he found that the part assigned to him was the less honorable one, that namely of the opponent. Wren, however, was somewhat his senior in academic status, and was moreover at this time filling the office of chaplain to his own great friend and protector, Andrewes, now bishop of Ely and the favorite preacher at court. Andrewes had followed in the royal train, and on him,—the good, the wise, the munificent, and the eloquent,—there was not an eye but rested with reverent regard. Eventually therefore Preston gave way, and ceded to Andrewes' protégé the part which, to quote the expression of his biographer, constitutes the disputant 'the lord and ruler of the Act[1].'

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[1] *Ignoramus* (ed. Hawkins), pp. xxiii and xxiv; Ball, *Life of Preston*, p. 82.

[2] See *infra*, p. 526.

[3] —'at Trinitie College the hall so well ordered for roome that above 2000 persons were conveniently placed.' Chamberlain to Carleton: 16 Mar. 1615. *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *James I*, LXXX. no. 51. The statement is a gross exaggeration. Trinity College Hall, Mr J. Willis Clark informs me, is 100 feet long by 40 feet wide, and when we consider the amount of space that the stage must have occupied, it is evident that there could scarcely have been accommodation sufficient for an audience of 1000 persons.

[4] Nichols, *u. s.*, pp. 48–64.

The Act.

Disputants: Matthew Wren and John Preston.

In the preceding Acts, the disputants had achieved no marked success. Each, intent mainly on eluding the grasp of his antagonist, had wandered off from the point at issue into irrelevant refinements or excess of subtlety, amid which it was evident that James himself had become puzzled and fatigued. There was accordingly something like anxiety mingled with the expectation, when Wren and Preston stepped forward to exhibit their dialectical skill. The selection of their thesis was itself singularly happy, when we consider that their first object was to secure the attention of one who combined, somewhat oddly, an almost equal fondness for theological argument and for the hunting-field; and the royal Nimrod roused himself with revived interest when he learned that the *quaestio* of which the opponent had undertaken to maintain the affirmative, was, 'Whether dogs could make syllogisms[1]?' The major proposition, present in the mind of a harrier, said Preston, is this: 'The hare has gone either this way or that way.' With his nose he smells out the minor: 'She has not gone that way;' and he then arrives at the conclusion: '*Ergo*, this way, with open mouth.' 'The instance,' says the narrator, 'suited with the auditory and was applauded, and put the answerer to his distinctions, that dogs may have sagacity, but not sapience,—in things especially of prey and that did concern their belly, might be *nasutuli*, but not *logici*,' etc. Preston was hastening to reply by casting his defence into the form of a fresh syllogism, when the moderator, Dr Read,

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[1] Ball, *Life of Preston*, p. 80.

Can dogs syllogise?

—'no fool
Who far from Cambridge kept a school[2],'

interposed. He began to fear that the dispute might descend below the dignity proper to the occasion, and to bethink himself 'how troublesome a pack of hounds, well followed and applauded, at last might prove.' He accordingly called upon the opponent to proceed with some other argument; and when Preston, feeling that he had the better in the disputation, still urged his reply, he enjoined him to be silent. At this point, however, the king, who 'in his conceit was all the while upon Newmarket heath,' himself intervened and took up the defence of the canine intellect. 'I had myself,' he

Royalty to the rescue.

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[1] '—a question very well suited to the King's love for hunting, and perhaps suggested, either by a passage from Chrysippus, in Sir Walter Raleigh's *Sceptic* (in which the position is affirmed) or by Montaigne's *Apology for Raimond de Sebonde*, where he takes occasion to mention this passage in Chrysippus.' Nichols, *Progresses*, etc. III 58.

[2] Richard Corbet's verses: see Nichols, III 72.

A crucial instance from Newmarket Heath.

said, 'a dog, that straggling far from all his fellows, had light upon a very fresh scent, but considering that he was all alone, and had none to second and assist him in it, observes the place and goes away unto his fellows, and by such yelling arguments as they can best understand, prevailed with a party of them to go along with him, and bringing them unto the place, pursued it unto an open view.' Then turning to the moderator, he begged to know what *he* 'could have done in that case better, and desired him that he would either think better of his dogs, or not so highly of himself.'

'The opponent also desired leave to pursue the King's game, which he had started, unto an issue; but the answerer protested that his majesties dogs were always to be excepted, who hunted *not by common law*[1], but by prerogative. And the moderator, fearing that the King might let loose another of his hounds and make more work, applies himself with all submissive devotion to the King,—acknowledged his dogs were able to outdo him, besought his majesty for to believe they had the better; that he would consider how his illustrious influence had already ripened and concocted all their arguments and understandings; that whereas in the morning, the reverend and grave divines could not make syllogisms, the lawyers could not, nor the physitians[2], now every dog could, especially his majesties.' 'All men,' continues the narrator, 'acknowledged that it was a good bit to close with.... The other Acts were easily forgotten, but the discourse and logick of the dogs was fresh in mouth and memory, and the philosophy act applauded universally[3].'

Possible connexion between the disputation and a passage in the *Novum Organum.*

There does not appear to be any evidence to prove that Francis Bacon was one of those who followed in the royal retinue, but when we consider his intimate relations with Cambridge and that he was at this time attorney-general, it is difficult to suppose that he could have been absent. But whether or not among those who listened to Preston's memorable Act, we can scarcely doubt but that when, five years later, he forwarded to the university the presentation copy of his *Novum Organum*, along with the admirable letter in which he begged their acceptance of the volume, not a few readers, as they turned the pages of that epoch-making treatise, and marked the reference to the supposed *capacity of animals to syllogize*[1], must have been carried back in memory to the above disputation and the amusement which it created: a still more manifest reference is to be found in another contemporary production,—the treatise of Henry Peacham, already quoted. Peacham was a student at Trinity College at the time of James' visit; and when we find him sarcastically observing, in relation to the younger members of the undergraduate body, 'that dogges are able to make syllogismes in the fields, when their young masters can conclude nothing at home[2],' it is scarcely possible to doubt that we have here a direct allusion to the royal criticism at Preston's Act.

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[1] A dexterous appeal to the well-known royal prejudices.

[2] In allusion to the small success that had attended the disputations in theology, civil law, and medicine.

[3] Ball, *Life of Preston*, pp. 80–81.

Evident reference to the *quaestio* in Peacham's treatise.

But the Act was altogether eclipsed by the Comedy performed on the second night at Clare Hall, and it will be of service here to give some account of at least one more of these performances before proceeding to speak of the memorable production called forth by James' visit. It is evident that at this period the colleges generally were devoting considerable attention to these compositions, which perhaps afforded a certain outlet for talent which shunned the increasingly perilous arena of theological controversy, although themselves by no means without a certain element of danger[3]. *Club Law*, performed in 1597[4], had been succeeded in 1602 by a piece of equal merit and similarly satirical character; this was the well-known *Return from Parnassus*, performed as a Christmas piece at St John's College, a production which has been pronounced by one critic, 'perhaps, the most singular composition in our lan-

The *Return from Parnassus*: a connecting link between *Club Law* and *Ignoramus*.

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[1] *Novum Organum* (ed. Fowler), p. 456.

[2] *Compleat Gentleman*, p. 32; see *supra*, p. 394.

[3] Masters says that one of these plays at Corpus (circ. 1618) 'composed by Sir Hall gave offence to the Marquis of Buckingham and another by Sir Bradrib to the lord chancellor Bacon: but the society were of opinion that neither the one nor the other had any good reason to be offended therewith.' Masters-Lamb, p. 161.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 430–1.

guage[1].' In this, several students of differing capacities and dispositions are represented as quitting the university in order to push their fortunes in the metropolis. One endeavours to gain a name by writing books, another to obtain a benefice by paying court to a young gentleman named Amoretto, with whom he had been intimate at college; two others betake themselves in succession to the profession of physicians, actors, and musicians. But the man of genius meets only with neglect, until he has managed to get prosecuted for one of his productions; the young gentleman of fortune sells his benefice to an illiterate clown; three of the scholars retreat in melancholy dudgeon to the Isle of Dogs; another returns to Cambridge as poor as he left it; while the would-be physicians and musicians finding that neither medicine nor music will support them, resolve to turn shepherds, and to spend the rest of their days on the Kentish downs. Hawkins, in his criticism, praises the variety of the characters in the play, the admirable manner in which they are discriminated, and the sparkling dialogue. One of its most notable features, however, are the criticisms which the play itself contains on contemporary authors. The name of each living, or lately living, poet,—Spenser, Constable, Lodge, Daniel, Thomas Watson, Drayton, John Davies, Marston, Marlowe[2], Ben Jonson[3], Churchyard, Tom Nashe[4], and Shakespeare,—is successively pronounced, and evokes his award of praise or censure. And here, notwithstanding the discrimination evinced, it is impossible not to see that academic partialities played a very appreciable part, and poets who had never been within the walls of a university receive but qualified commendation. There was already growing up a spirit of literary as well as of professional rivalry, and to the influence of such feeling we may partly perhaps attribute the fact that Spenser seems, at this time,

Outline of the play.

Its special value as shewing the academic estimate of the contemporary poetry.

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[1] Dodsley, *Old English Plays* (ed. Hazlitt), IX 99.

[2] *Supra*, p. 432. 'Pity it is that wit so ill should dwell | Wit lent from heav'n, but vices sent from hell.' Dodsley-Hazlitt, IX 117.

[3] 'The wittiest fellow of a bricklayer in England.' *Ibid.* p. 118.

[4] *Supra*, p. 432, n. 3. 'His style was witty, though he had some gall, | Something he might have mended; so may all: | Yet this I say that, for a mother-wit, | Few men have ever seen the like of it.' *Ibid.* p. 119.

Spenser ranked above Shakespeare.

to have ranked far higher than Shakespeare[1] in the estimation of Cambridge. It is evident that his melancholy end had not been noted without sympathy in his university:

> And yet for all this unregarding soil
> Unlac'd the line of his desired life,
> Denying maintenance for his dear relief;
> Careless care to prevent his exequy,
> Scarce deigning to shut up his dying eye[2].

Discontent in the university which it attests as to the system of impropriations.

But it is the second and fourth acts which more especially illustrate Cambridge university life. In the former we find Academico, who represents the poor student, but one of the better class, endeavouring, either by patronage or merit, to obtain a benefice. He is however completely baffled by the prevailing simoniacal practices of the day, and sees Immerito, a dunce who has never been to the university, carrying off the living by paying Sir Raderic, who presents, a hundred pounds. When the bargain has been duly concluded, Recorder, a common lawyer, enters, congratulating Sir Raderic and commending his conduct:—

> 'You do well, Sir Raderic, to bestow your living upon such as will be content to share, and on Sunday say nothing; whereas your proud university princox thinks he is a man of such merit the world cannot sufficiently endow him with preferment[3].'

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[1] The criticism on Shakespeare presents us with but qualified praise. Judicio says: 'Who loves Adonis' love or Lucrece' rape, | His sweeter verse contains heart-robbing life, | Could but a graver subject him content, | Without love's foolish, lazy languishment!' *Ibid.* IX 118. This is not very emphatic laudation; and yet nearly all the great poet's masterpieces (excepting, perhaps, *Othello*, *Macbeth*, and *King Lear*) had appeared when the play was first written in 1602,—certainly before its performance in 1606. On the other hand, in another part of the play, Kemp, the actor, is represented as pronouncing the most emphatic eulogium on Shakespeare: 'Few of the university pen,' he says (in reply to Burbage), 'play well; they smell too much of that writer Ovid and *that writer Metamorphosis*, and talk too much of Proserpina and Jupiter. Why, here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down—ay, and Ben Jonson too.' Mr Arber, in his edition of the *Return from Parnassus* (p. xiii) takes this as serious commendation, and as testifying to Shakespeare's 'confessed supremacy at that date, not only over all University dramatists, but also over all the London professional playwrights.' I must confess that it seems difficult to me to understand how a scholar like the author of the *Return*, could have designed that this commendation, coupled as it is with such gross illiterateness, should be taken by the audience as expressing his own sentiments. He seems to me rather to wish to convey the notion that Shakespeare is the favorite of the rude half-educated strolling players, as distinguished from the refined geniuses of the university.

[2] Dodsley, p. 113.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 164.

Sir Raderic, a man of indifferent character who appears to have been the occasional butt of sundry university wits, frankly confesses that, so far as he is concerned,

'If it went by wishing, there should never an one of them all have above twenty a year—a good stipend, a good stipend, Mr Recorder. ...Do what I can in outward kindness to them, yet they do nothing but bewray my house.'

Recorder. This scorn of Knights is too egregious:
But how should these young colts prove amblers
When the old, heavy, galled jades do trot?
There shall you see a puny boy start up,
And make a theme against—common lawyers;
Then the old, unwieldy camels 'gin to dance,
This fiddling boy playing a fit of mirth;
Their grey beards scrub, and laugh, and cry, *Good, good,*
To them again, boy; scourge the barbarians[1]*!*

Jealousy it evinces of the common lawyers.

In the next act, Recorder himself comes in for his share of ridicule. The *Furor Poeticus* (a *dramatis persona*) assails him, as a common lawyer, with unqualified abuse:—

And now thy grinding jaws devour quite
The fodder due to us of heavenly right.

Ingenioso, another student, addresses him as 'you, that hate a scholar because he descries your ass's ears,' and styles him 'one of the devil's fellow-commoners.'

The melancholia and mental dissatisfaction which too often overtook the student of those days, to whom it was not given from the summit of succeeding heights to catch glimpses of *θάλαττα* or to inhale the energising breeze which greets the labourer in the field of progressive science, is admirably expressed in the following lines:—

Dissatisfaction it betrays with the results of academic life.

To think so many activable wits,
That might contend with proudest bards of Po,
Sit now immur'd within their private cells,
Drinking a long lank watching candle's smoke,
Spending the marrow of their flowering age
In fruitless poring on some worm-eat leaf!
When their deserts shall seem of due to claim
A cheerful crop of fruitful swelling sheaf,
Cockle their harvest is, and weeds their grain,

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[1] *Ibid.* p. 166. It will be noted that we have here evident confirmation of the story given, as a tradition, by Fuller: see *supra*, p. 442, n. 2.

Contempt their portion, their possession, pain.
Scholars must frame to live at a low sail[1].

Animosity exhibited towards the townsmen.

But the feature in the play which especially marks it out as a connecting link between the former *Club Law* and the later *Ignoramus,* is the fact that under the name of 'Recorder,' Francis Brackyn, at this time deputy-recorder of the town, was the person whom it was designed to satirise. And here, in order to render the satirical element in the play and that in the yet more famous *Ignoramus* intelligible to the reader, it will be necessary again to revert to the unedifying details of the feud that continued to embitter the relations of the university with the town.

The old contention.

Club Law still rankles in the minds of the burgesses.

Question of precedence between the vice-chancellor and the mayor revived.

Francis Brackyn, the Town Recorder.

The manner in which the burgesses had, from time to time, manifested their resentment at the treatment they had received in *Club Law* was by no means calculated to disarm the malice of their satirists. Among other modes of provocation, they had contrived again to raise the question of precedence between the vice-chancellor and the mayor,—the latter, on successive occasions, asserting his priority with provoking pertinacity. In the adoption of these tactics, Francis Brackyn, who from the office of deputy had been promoted to that of the recordership itself, appears to have played a leading part[2]. He was a barrister of Gray's Inn, and his knowledge of the common law, while it rendered him more serviceable to the burgesses of the town, rendered him, of course, only the more obnoxious to the civilians of the university. It was in the month of July, 1607, that Sir Edward Coke and justice Daniel, came, as the judges of assize, on the accustomed annual circuit to Cambridge. On their appearance in St Mary's Church, on Sunday morning, to be present at the occasional sermon, William Archer, the mayor, conducted them to seats below himself. Coke at first demurred; but eventually both took their assigned places; and Daniel, on leaving the church, even went so far as to commend the town dignitary for thus maintaining his own

Visit of the Judges, A.D. 1607.

Conduct of William Archer, the mayor.

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[1] Dodsley-Hazlitt, IX 200.

[2] Hawkins' Pref. to *Ignoramus*, p. xiii, n. b; Cooper, *Annals*, III 30 and 169.

official pre-eminence[1]. At the quarter-sessions of 1612, however, the vice-chancellor, Dr Goche, shewed himself less complaisant. His name had been placed on the Commission of the Peace before that of the mayor, and he accordingly claimed to sit where the mayor usually sat. The latter refused to give way; and at Brackyn's suggestion, the dispute was temporarily arranged by a compromise: 'it was agreed,' says the narrator, 'that for that day neither of them should sit in that place, but one on one side and one on the other, and at dinner neither of them sat at the table end, but the vice-chancellor on the bench and the mayor on the form[2].' It was the last time that the mayor contested the precedence on such an occasion[3]; but Brackyn, having warmly interested himself in vindicating the claims of the burgesses, incurred a large amount of unpopularity in the university, and the chief odium was now for some time diverted from successive mayors to the more permanent individuality of the recorder. Brackyn's unpopularity, it will be seen, was thus twofold in its character: he was not merely a prominent town official who distinguished himself by his repudiation of certain privileges of the university, but he was also a common lawyer, and thus a representative of the class whose increasing importance seemed, to the academic civilian, to forebode at no distant period the almost complete extinction of his own profession. Of the jealousy that had long been growing up between the two classes, we have already spoken; and Dr Cowell's well-meaning efforts to mediate between them had been singularly infelicitous[4].

Dr Barnaby Goche, master of Magdalene, proves less complaisant.

Special odium incurred by Brackyn, as the adviser of the town authorities.

During the years 1605–9, took place the notable struggle between the ecclesiastical courts and the common-law judges, —the former represented by Bancroft, the latter led by Coke; and it was still fresh in men's memories how, on one occasion,

Contemporaneous conflict between the ecclesiastical courts and the common law judges.

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[1] MS. Wickstede, pt. ii, 112 b; Cooper, *Annals*, III 29.

[2] Baker MSS. xxxvi 225.

[3] 'Hic in praetorio Guild-hall, locum supremum procancellario debitum praeoccupavit, a quo inde deturbatus fuit.' MS. List of the Mayors of Cambridge preserved in Jesus College library.

[4] *Supra*, p. 498. It will not escape the reader's notice how closely the publication of Cowell's *Interpreter*, and the dissatisfaction to which it gave rise, coincided with the above contests between the university and the town.

James had shaken his fist in the face of the lord chief justice, when the latter had ventured to assert that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was a foreign one[1]. Unpatriotic as such sentiments must now appear, it admits of no question that the universities and the great majority of the clergy were entirely with the king and the archbishop in their endeavour to sustain the authority of the ecclesiastical courts. And we have now to note how, in the characters and plot of *Ignoramus*, performed on the second night of James' visit, this sympathy was skilfully turned to account by the author; and how, apart from the genuine merits of the play, the manner in which it at once appealed to the royal predilections, to professional jealousies, to political rivalries, and to local animosities, might have sufficed to secure for a production of far less merit a certain measure of success. As a proof of the long popularity enjoyed by this memorable production of the academic muse, it may suffice here to note, that in the original Latin it passed through more than seven editions, that it was twice performed before royalty, twice translated into English, and that a scholar and divine who was afterwards archbishop of Canterbury did not disdain to bestow upon the text labours of collation which to many would have seemed more fitly given to some treatise of Chrysostom or Augustine[2].

Elements in *Ignoramus* which especially appealed to the prejudices of the audience.

Its long popularity.

It is easy to understand that it must have seemed in every way desirable that some brilliant dramatic success should, if possible, be achieved in connexion with the royal visit. When James had visited Oxford, ten years before, the plays had been generally pronounced a failure. On the more recent occasion of the visit of the two Princes to Cambridge, both the illustrious visitors had complained of the extreme dulness of the comedy at Trinity, and actors and audience had alike been disconcerted by seeing the Elector Palatine

A success in the dramatic entertainments especially desirable.

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[1] Gardiner, *Hist. of England*, II 35–42.

[2] See Hawkins' *Life of Ruggle* prefixed to his edition of *Ignoramus*, pp. lxxvii—lxxxvii. 'In the library of Emanuel College, Cambridge, is still existing a copy of the first edition of this comedy, which formerly belonged to archbishop Sancroft, and appears to have been by him collated with three manuscripts, as well as with the printed edition of 1658.' Hawkins' *Ignoramus*, p. 73, note to Act ii, sc. 3.

fast asleep during the greater part of the performance[1]. The piece acted on the night of James' arrival, in which the chief character was a half-crazed doctor of physic, although amusing in parts, had proved tedious as a whole. It was consequently with almost feverish expectation on the part of many, that, on the second night, the audience assembled at Clare Hall, to witness the production of a comedy from the pen of a fellow of that college, whose reputation in the university was unsurpassed for brilliant scholarship combined with original talent. George Ruggle, a native of Suffolk, but descended from an ancient Staffordshire family, had originally been a pensioner of St John's; from thence he had been elected to a scholarship at Trinity, and from Trinity had again migrated to become a fellow of Clare. His *Life*, together with the illustrative materials collected by his laborious editor, Hawkins, occupies a hundred pages; for our present purpose, it may however suffice to note that he appears to have been a man of high character, singularly successful as a tutor at Clare Hall, a well-read classical scholar, and possessed of a rare acquaintance with Italian literature. It was a then recent production of that literature,—the *Trappolaria* of Giambatista Porta, first published in 1596 at Bergamo (itself an adaptation of the *Pseudolus* of Plautus)[2],—that furnished Ruggle with the main plot and chief characters of *Ignoramus*[3].

GEORGE RUGGLE.
b. 1575,
d. 1622.

The commencement of the first act presents us with the familiar complication of affairs resulting from cross purposes on the part of a father and a son in relation to the latter's matrimonial projects. A wealthy alderman of London, named Manlius, long dead, had married a lady of Bordeaux, whose name was Dorothea. It was his second marriage; and at his death he left to her care two daughters, Catherine and Isabella, his children by his first wife. The widow marries again, to one Theodorus (a merchant of London), and becomes the mother of twin sons, Antonius and Antoninus, so closely resembling each other that they are distinguishable only by a mole on the cheek of the latter. It is the

Outline of the plot of IGNORAMUS.
ACT I.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 57.

[2] Hawkins, *u. s.*, pp. xv, xvii—xviii.

[3] *Ignoramus: Comoedia, scriptore Georgio Ruggle, A. M.; nunc denuo in lucem edita cum notis historicis et criticis: quibus insuper praeponitur Vita Auctoris, etc. Johanne Sidneio Hawkins, Arm.* London, 1787.

Outline of the plot of IGNORAMUS.

design of the father and mother that when the boys attain to manhood they shall marry their step-sisters,—Antonius, Isabella,—Antoninus, Catherine. Isabella, however, being sent when a child to be brought up at Deptford, is there, along with her nurse, enticed on board a ship lying in the Thames and carried off,—their ravisher being one Urtado, a Moor. Subsequently to this event, Theodorus, who has large mercantile interests in Bordeaux, leaves London for that city, intending that his wife and family shall before long follow him, and taking Antonius with him. When his arrangements are complete, he proposes that Antonius shall set out for London to bring over his mother, and brother and step-sister (now *married*); at the same time he takes occasion to relate to Antonius the main facts of the family history[a]. Antonius, however, unknown to his father, has become secretly attached to one Rosabella, whom he designs to marry; his courtship, moreover, is at a singularly critical stage, and the prospect of being compelled to set out on a long voyage and to undergo a protracted absence from the object of his affections drives him almost to distraction. He alleges reasons for delay; but his father is indignant and imperious, and it is with difficulty that the disconsolate lover obtains two hours' grace before he sets sail down the Garonne.

In the following scene Antonius appears on the stage, deploring in a soliloquy his hard lot and relating the details of his amour: the lady of whom he is thus violently enamoured is the daughter of a noble Portuguese, and he seeks her hand in honorable marriage. Her father, however, when dying, entrusted her to the care of his brother, Rodrigo Torcol. Torcol, who has been reduced by misfortune to poverty, has taken up with the ignoble trade of a common pimp, and is not above seeking to enrich himself by trafficking in the hand of his own niece. Here Ignoramus is first heard of; he is a successful advocate, but a man of coarse, brutal nature, and destitute of all real culture, and his ordinary conversation is of the choicest dog Latin interspersed with the technical phrases of the common law. While staying in Bordeaux for the purpose of conducting certain lawsuits, he too has fallen in love with Rosabella, and he offers Torcol 600 gold pieces as her price. Antonius is altogether unable to bid against his prosperous rival, but he consoles himself with the reflexion that Rosabella has pledged her word to marry none but himself. In the next scene, Ignoramus appears on the stage, along with his two clerks, Dulman, Pecus, and his pupil, Musaeus. Of these, the former two are contemptible drudges, altogether subservient to their employer's wishes, and without any more knowledge of law and letters than they may have been able to pick up when driving the

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[[a] Theodorus seems but imperfectly informed with respect to Isabella's fate:

'Ibi una cum nutrici jam quadrimula,
Seu subrepta, seu submersa, periit novemdecim
Abhinc annis.' p. 39.]

CHAP. VI.

Outline of the plot of IGNORAMUS.

quill in his office. Musaeus, however, is a scholar, who has taken his degree at Cambridge, and, being able to speak Latin correctly, utterly loathes the jargon of the common lawyers. He still retains the feelings of a gentleman, and is accordingly the constant butt of Ignoramus. The latter is now represented as telling his clerks the story of his love for Rosabella. Dulman and Pecus, after their usual fashion, cringe and applaud as their master proceeds, but Musaeus makes no such demonstrations. Whereupon Ignoramus, observing his silence, turns, as he concludes, to him and asks what he too thinks of the affair. Musaeus frankly confesses he has not been able to comprehend his employer's extraordinary discourse:—

Mus. Equidem ego parum intellexi.

Ignor. Tu es gallicrista, vocatus 'a coxcomb;' nunquam faciam te legistam.

Dul. Nunquam, nunquam; nam ille fuit *universitans.*

Ignor. Sunt magni idiotae et clerici nihilorum, isti universitantes: miror quomodo spendisti tuum tempus inter eos.

Mus. Ut plurimum versatus sum in logica.

Ignor. Logica? quae villa, quod burgum est Logica?

Mus. Est una artium liberalium.

Ignor. Liberalium? sic putabam. In nomine Dei, stude artes parcas et lucrosas, non est mundus pro artibus liberalibus jam.

Mus. Deditus etiam fui amori philosophiae.

Ignor. Amori? quid! es pro bagaschiis et strumpetis? Si custodis malam regulam, non es pro me; sursum reddam te in manus parentum iterum.

Mus. Dii faxint!

Ignor. Quota est clocka nunc?

Dulm. Est inter octo et nina.

Left to himself, Ignoramus soliloquises in turn, and describes how his passion for Rosabella has almost bereft him of his senses,—in fact, has made him, to quote his own elegant simile, like a fly that has lost its head:

Hi, ho! Rosabella, hi, ho! Ego nunc eo ad Veneris curiam laetam[a], tentam hic apud Torcol: vicecomes ejus Cupido nunquam cessavit, donec invenit me in baliva sua: primum cum amabam Rosabellam nisi parvum, misit parvum cape: tum magnum cape; et post alias capias et plures capias, et capias infinitas; et sic misit tot capias ut tandem capavit me utlegatum ex omni sensu et ratione mea. Ita sum sicut musca sine caput; buzzo et turno circum circa, et nescio quid facio. Cum scribo instrumentum, si femina nominatur, scribo *Rosabellam;* pro corpus cum causa, corpus cum cauda; pro noverint universi, amaverint universi; pro habere ad rectum, habere ad lectum; et sic vasto totum instrumentum. Hei, ho! ho, hei, ho!

[(a) The words printed in old English denote the technical phrases of the common law, explained in Cowell's *Interpreter*.]

CHAP. VI.

Outline of the plot of IGNORAMUS.

In the next scene, Torcol appears. He first, in a brief soliloquy, relates how owing to his complete ruin by shipwreck, he had been induced to take up with his infamous trade; and he rejoices that he is at least going to bring about Rosabella's marriage while her character is still stainless. In the conversation with Ignoramus in which he then engages, it is finally agreed that, on payment of six hundred crowns, Rosabella is to be handed over to him. In the next scene, Rosabella appears; she is overcome with grief as her uncle informs her that she is destined to be the bride of Ignoramus; the latter comes forward and pays his court to the blushing maiden, and by way of recommending himself to her affection, reads aloud the following elegant stanzas which he has composed in her honour:

Si possem, vellem pro te, Rosa, ponere pellem:
Quicquid tu vis, crava, et habebis singula brava;
Et dabo fee simple, si monstras love's pretty dimple,
Gownos, silk coatos, kirtellos, et petticoatos,
Farthingales biggos, stomacheros, et periwiggos,
Pantofflos, cuffos, garteros, Spanica ruffos,
Buskos et soccos, tiffanas, et Cambrica smockos,
Pimpillos, pursos; ad ludos ibis et ursos.

Eventually Rosabella feigns to reciprocate his passion and accepts him; and Ignoramus hurries off to complete the arrangements for their marriage, which, the audience learns from an 'aside,' is to be a sham one, as he intends to marry a rich widow when he gets back to England and to keep Rosabella as his mistress. In the meantime, she is placed under the surveillance of a dwarf female attendant, named Nana (who is also a mute), with a view to preventing her from taking any measures for her escape. In the next scene, Trico, the artful and knavish servant of Antonius, appears conversing with his master; he suggests a strategem whereby the latter is to manage to get a few words with Rosabella, viz. by feigning indignation and reproaches, so that Surda will be completely deceived as to the real nature of his utterances. Trico, on the other hand, is to make love to Surda, and to present her with a ring as a pledge of his honorable intentions. On their endeavouring to carry out the plan, it is frustrated by the sudden appearance of Torcol; Nana gets a beating, and Rosabella is conveyed to a more secure apartment.

ACT II.

The time for the sailing of the vessel has expired, and Theodorus summons his disconsolate son on board ship and sends Trico away into the town. When he has seen his son on board, he imagines all to be safe; he goes ashore and after some conversation with his confidential slave, Bannacar, whom he has converted from Mahometanism to Christianity, he returns to his house. But in the meantime, Trico has followed the vessel in a boat, into which Antonius manages to drop, and the two together make

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their way back to Bordeaux. They now discuss together the possibility of rescuing Rosabella, and Trico's ingenuity suggests a series of strategems, which he undertakes to carry out with the assistance of a crafty and experienced adventurer of the name of Cupes, an itinerant bookseller in the town. Money however is necessary; and Antonius hands over to him ten gold pieces which he has received from his father to defray the expenses of the voyage to London. Trico's scheme involving the assumption of disguise, he hastens off to a clothes-dealer in order to purchase the apparel necessary for the intended simulation. Trico and Cupes are seen arranging the respective parts: Cupes undertakes to represent, first of all, Torcol (who has a wry neck), and secondly, Dulman, the servant of Ignoramus; while his wife, Polla, a brawny virago, is to contrive to simulate Rosabella. Trico having paid him down eight gold pieces, both he and his wife are completely won over and commence to prepare for their parts. Antonius and Trico then proceed to hire the apparel at the clothes-dealer's and leave in pledge a sham gold ring with a false stone; Cupes hurries off to put on his attire. Here Musaeus comes in, bewailing the hardships of his lot, and describes the coarse insults to which he, as a university man, is exposed at the hands of the brutal Ignoramus:

............Ita quicquid vel dico, vel facio,
Inclamat semper, 'Foris, quam inconcinne geris te! scholasticos
Vide gestus: nec equitare, nec vel equum freno induere,
Neque ruptum scis sarcire cingulum. Ubi jam sunt syllogismi
Quos crepas, asine academice?'

It is especially worthy of note that he describes Ignoramus, 'illiusque similes,' as a class

Qui ecclesiam et academias pessundatas cupiunt.

Trico remains alone on the stage; Ignoramus enters, without perceiving him, and begins to explain that he has brought with him the 600 gold pieces which he is to pay to Torcol. Trico is at his wits' end how to detain him, as Cupes and his wife are not as yet attired for their parts. At last he steps forward and accosting Ignoramus advises him to take to flight instantly, as Antonius has vowed to inflict fearful injury upon him. Here Antonius and Cupes suddenly appear, having overheard what has passed, and pretend to be intent on executing the design which Trico has attributed to his master. They seize Ignoramus; but eventually release him, terrified almost out of his wits, on his undertaking not to proceed in his suit for the hand of Rosabella. The plan of deception now enters on a fresh stage; and Trico conducts his master to an artist who is to paint a mole on his cheek, so that he may pass for his twin-brother Antoninus. Dulman now appears in search of Torcol's house, and bearing the marriage agreement and the gold pieces which Ignoramus has sent,

ACT III.

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and with instructions to conduct Rosabella from her home to his master's quarters. Trico pretends that he is Torcol's servant and offers to conduct Dulman to the house. On their way, they are met by Cupes, carrying his neck awry and pretending to be Torcol. He imposes completely on Dulman by asking for the agreement and the gold pieces, and also for a certain seal whereby it has been agreed that Torcol shall be enabled to recognise Dulman as the messenger of Ignoramus. They conduct Dulman to a house and ply him with wine; when he is half fuddled, Polla is brought in, her face hidden (she pretends to be overcome with grief), and is handed over to him as Rosabella: Cupes now retires in order to disguise himself as Dulman, and his conversation during the next few scenes is interlarded with legal phrases which he had picked up when, in the course of his wanderings, he at one time officiated as under-butler at the Inns of Court in London,—a vocabulary which cannot but have brought Cowell's *Interpreter* ludicrously to the recollection of some of the audience. In order to detain Torcol and to render the deception more complete, Trico pretends to wish to bribe him, and so regain possession of Rosabella. Torcol however spurns his advances and tells him that Rosabella is now the property of Ignoramus. Trico with well-feigned rage and disappointment, begins to give vent to his vexation in highly opprobrious terms. At this juncture, Cupes, dressed like a copying-clerk in order to resemble Dulman, comes in, and his appearance and discourse alike suggest to Torcol that he is one of Ignoramus's servants; Trico, in order that the deception may be the less suspected, pretends to wish to get him out of the way. It had been agreed between Ignoramus and Torcol, as a further sign to prevent trickery, that the messenger of the former should pull the pimp by the nose. Cupes, accordingly, after having produced the agreement and the 600 gold pieces, gives the final assurance by pulling Torcol's nose, pulling it rather harder, moreover, than the unfortunate subject of the indignity finds pleasant. He however does not hesitate now to admit Cupes into the house in order that he may conduct Rosabella to her new home. Trico, in the mean time, hurries off in order to keep an eye on Ignoramus. Cupes conducts Rosabella to his own house and promises soon to place her under the protection of Antonius. Overjoyed at the success of his strategem, he fastens the doors and then retires to drink and make merry at a tavern. On the other side, all is uproar and confusion. Ignoramus on receiving Polla, instead of Rosabella, from Dulman, falls upon his clerk in a fury, and the latter takes to flight; he next vents his wrath on Polla herself, but the virago, incensed at being stigmatised as a witch ('sorciera,' 'saga,' 'maga,' 'malefica)', and finding moreover that all attempts at soothing the irate lawyer are thrown away, pulls off one of her slippers and inflicts a severe drubbing on the asperser of her character. Ignoramus's legal gibberish, as he alternately howls

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and threatens, under this chastisement, passes Polla's comprehension; on the principle of *omne ignotum pro horrifico*, she comes to the conclusion that he is possessed by a devil, and hastens off to warn her neighbours to that effect,—thus retorting upon him an accusation which, it is hardly necessary to say, no one in those days could affect to treat with contempt:

> Cornicaris, larvate? medius fidius opinor hunc hominem esse daemoniacum; verba certe magica loquitur. Nunc domum ibo, et vicinis haec narrabo, ut caveant ab illo daemoniaco.

Not having been made privy to the design of her husband of bringing Rosabella to their house, she is amazed to find the doors barred, and on peeping through the windows, to see an unknown female within. She immediately comes to the most sinister conclusions with respect to her husband's conduct, forces an entrance, and proceeds to expel the unfortunate Rosabella with expressions of the coarsest contumely. She then proceeds on a tour of the taverns in the town in order to find her husband, with whose convivial habits she is only too familiar. She arrives in time to overhear him and the landlord of the tavern whither he has taken refuge chanting the following stanzas in her honour,—the composition, it is to be noted, of her own husband:

Cupis uxor Polla
O si frangat colla!
Polla,
Colla,
Dispereat,
Intereat.
Uxores pari sorte
Pereant pari morte;
Sorte,
Morte,
Dispereant,
Intereant.

The incensed Amazon, armed with a cudgel, breaks in upon the circle and quickly disperses them. After upsetting the preparations for a banquet, she inflicts sore chastisement on her husband, and then herself goes home, enjoining him under the direst penalties to follow her. Antonius next enters; but, having learned from Cupes what has taken place, hurries away in order to find Rosabella: the two lovers now appear on different parts of the stage, in disconsolate quest of each other. Cupes, instead of returning home, stays lamenting the loss of his supper. Eventually Antonius discovers Rosabella; he now has the mole painted on his cheek, and it is arranged that he shall pretend to be his twin brother, while Rosabella shall pretend to be Catherine (to whom Antoninus was to be married)—both representing themselves as newly

ACT IV.

Outline of the plot of IGNORAMUS.

arrived from England and bringing letters from Dorothea. Just at this juncture, they fall in with Theodorus; he, at first, of course, takes Antonius to be Antonius, but the latter resorts to the device of speaking English, and finally presents the letters purporting to come from Dorothea; the father is consequently at last completely hoodwinked. Trico, who had really devised the whole strategem, now makes his appearance, and professes, at first, like Theodorus, to take Antonius for who he really is, and then, also like Theodorus, to be gradually convinced of his error. The strategem is however very nearly upset by the appearance of Pyropus, the clothes-dealer, with whom the false ring had been pledged, and who comes to complain of the imposition that had been practised on him. Here Cupes dexterously intervenes, attired as one of the sailors on board the ship in which 'Antoninus' had arrived from London; he first picks a quarrel with Pyropus and frightens him into a retreat, and then begins to dun Antonius for passage-money to the amount of six pounds, asserting that both he and his wife had been supplied with the best of 'bisket and salt beef' on the voyage:

Cupes. Your son, Sir, was never sick all the way: marry his man and his maid was fain to be set ashore.

Theod. Alios tibi (to Antonius) servos dedero.—En tibi (giving Cupes the money he demands).

Cupes. I marry, Sir, I understand this well. Here is a brave wind for us: if it will hold, this week I am for London again; will you anything to your mother?

Theod. Salutem meo nomine matri nunciet, jube.

Ant. Remember my father's love and my duty.

Theodorus and his son now take their departure and Trico and Cupes are left alone. Hereupon enters the wine-bibbing monk Cola, a boon companion of Cupes, carrying a cowl and certain books which he has just won at dice from a brother monk,—'is jurat quasi auriga nunc, et me diris devovet.'

Cupes. O mi confessor!
Col. O mi consessor!
Cup. Mi spiritualis pater!
Col. Mi carnalis frater!
Cup. Bibemus molle vinum.
Col. Sed cyathum ter trinum.

Cupes tells Cola that they want his ghostly assistance in order to exorcise one Ignoramus, a person evidently possessed.

Cola. Faciam libens, nam larvatus non sit licet, famam inde mihi, ut alii itidem, forsan excitavero: clarus frater Cola, sanctus Cola fugat daemones, ha, he!

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They come upon Ignoramus when he has just succeeded in catching Dulman:

> Ubi putatis quod ego inveni eum? per fidem meam erat ille in quodam communi loco jaciendi globos, vocato a 'bowling alley', ubi ille ludebat ad illicita luda contra statutum; ibi, scio, lusisti viam meas coronas.
>
> *Dul.* Videbam super tantum[a].
>
> *Ign.* O, tu es supervisor; fuisti meus clericus viginti annos jam, num me vidisti unquam ludere globis?

Trico hurries away to inform Antonius of Dulman's capture. The unhappy clerk continues to aver to his master that he had conducted to him the same Rosabella who had been handed over to himself by Torcol. Ignoramus, in the meantime, had despatched his second clerk, Pecus, to demand Rosabella from the pimp, but the latter, taking Pecus for Trico's follower, claps him into prison. He comes upon Ignoramus and Dulman, just as he is exulting over this achievement, and on comparing notes they now begin to perceive how completely they have both been taken in. Ignoramus proceeds to threaten Torcol for embezzling the gold pieces and also for imprisoning Pecus on a false charge. Eventually they agree to go together to Theodorus in order to see if they can light upon the authors of the strategem of which they have been the victims. Rosabella, sitting with Theodorus in front of his house, is terrified at seeing her uncle and Ignoramus approaching her together. They lay claim to her as Rosabella; but she protests that her name is Catherine and that she is English. They deny the truth of her statement and the dispute grows warm, when Antonius makes his appearance. He informs Theodorus that Ignoramus and Torcol are a couple of demoniacs whom everybody is talking about. Cupes and Cola now appear, led by Polla, who points out Ignoramus and Torcol to them as what Antonius has just described them to be. They seize Ignoramus, while Torcol takes to his heels. Ignoramus is bound to a chair; and next ensues one of the most ludicrous scenes in the whole play. His remonstrances and ejaculations, mostly expressed in his extraordinary dog Latin, are treated by the monk and his confederate as only conclusive evidence of his complete possession, and they proceed to exorcise the evil spirits[b]:

[(a) Evidently with allusion to the university statute forbidding not merely participation in certain games, but even standing to look on at them.]

[(b) The ensuing scene must have brought back, somewhat ludicrously, to the recollection of the audience, the vice-chancellor's exposure of the exorcists (see *supra*, p. 489). In the year 1605, James had especially interested himself in a charge of bewitching two young women brought against a man of the name of Knightley, at Cambridge, and some correspondence ensued between the Privy Council and the vice-chancellor and heads of colleges on the subject (See Cooper, *Annals*, III 13–14). Was it Ruggle's design in this scene to laugh royalty out of so dismal a superstition?]

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Ign. O Dulman, Dulman, dixisti hodie quod pugnares tanquam diabolus pro me; ubi es nunc, Dulman?

Cola. Exorcizo te 'Dulman;' fuge, maledicte Dulman, fuge.

Ign. Fugit semel hodie; sed si nunc venit Dulman—

Cola. Invocat Dulman; certe Dulman nomen est.

Ign. Cum peste vobis, nomen est Ignoramus.

Cupes. Discede, 'Ignoramus'!

Ign. Discedite vos, nebulones ut estis, cum vestra riota et routa.

Cola. Duplex Daemon cede, Riota et Routa!

Cupes. Prodi, nequissime spiritus 'Ignoramus'! conjuro te, 'Ignoramus,' justitiae declinator, seductor hominum, sator discordiae, veri transgressor, dissipator pacis, exorcizo te: quod est nomen magistri tui?

Ign. Ego sum magister.

Cola. Est ipse Beelzebub! fuge, ipse magister!! conjuro te, quam cito vis exire!!!

Ign. Tam cito quam possum ex vestris nebulonis digitis.

Cupes. Conjuro te, quapropter hoc tibi accidit?

Ign. Propter Rosabellam; ob eam ita torqueor.

Cupes. Abscede, 'Rosabella,' abscede!

Ign. Diabole, abscessit!

Cupes. Conjuro, unquamne dedisti illi animam antehac?

Ign. Quid ad vos? Imo, dedi animam, et corpus, et bona illi.

Polla. O sceleratum!

Ign. Et praeter juncturam, si maritasset me, habuisset post mortem francum bancum.

Cola. Profuge sis, Francum Bancum; separa te, Francum Bancum.

Ign. Imo jam non habebit, ne timete; sed si amasset me, habuisset multa bona privilegia, anfangthef, outfangthef, sac, soc, tol, et tem.

Col. Quam multi sunt! exite omnes, Ninantef, Nonantef, Sac, Soc, Tol, et Tem. Exorcizo omnes vos malignos spiritus, sive sitis in pileolo diurno aut nocturno, in duplici lingua, aut sub lingua, in barba vel in capite.

Ignoramus is carried off to be placed in safe custody; and Polla and Cupes, having made up their quarrel, repair together to the tavern. Pyropus now appears, accompanied by constables, in order to take Trico and Antonius prisoners. Antonius thinks it best, under the circumstances, to affect not to have any acquaintance with Trico; Trico, on the other hand, indignant at being, as he imagines, deserted, betrays his master; he is accordingly himself allowed to depart; while Antonius, as they are conveying him to prison, frees himself with his sword.

ACT V.

Dorothea, the wife, accompanied by Antoninus and Catherine, now actually arrives from London; but the younger lady being indisposed, owing to the effect of the voyage, Antoninus stays with her in the harbour, and Dorothea, accompanied by two attendants, a boy and a girl, seeks out her husband's house in Bordeaux. Ignoramus next re-appears, at another part of the stage, having made his escape from the monastery, and narrates how he accomplished

Outline of the plot of IGNORAMUS.

it. Trico overhears Dorothea talking with her husband in their garden, and begins to think that the whole plot is completely exploded, for Dorothea assures Theodorus that the true Antoninus and true Catherine are in the harbour. Theodorus sends for the pretended Catherine, and Trico hastens to conceal himself within earshot. Rosabella appears; at first she persists in asserting that she is the true Catherine, but, when flatly contradicted by Dorothea, finds herself reduced to a humiliating confession of the whole affair. Theodorus loads her with menaces; and the comedy now threatens to have a tragical termination. He is naturally a good and humane man, but he is so far carried away by his anger at the disreputable connexion his son has formed, and the slur thereby cast on the good name of the family, that he orders Bannacar, his Moorish servant, to put Rosabella to death. Bannacar hesitates; and when Rosabella recognises in him the former slave of her own father, who had given him his freedom, he steadily refuses. Theodorus insists; Rosabella, calling upon Antonius, faints away. Here Antonius, whom Trico has hurriedly summoned to the scene, comes in, and seeing his betrothed lying apparently lifeless, imagines that she has been put to death by his father, and in his distraction attempts to stab himself. His father restrains him, and in the meantime Rosabella recovers consciousness. Theodorus now begins to regret his former precipitancy and even consents to listen to his son's entreaty that he may be permitted to wed the object of his affection. He questions Rosabella respecting her parentage: she describes herself as the daughter of Alphonsus, a Portuguese noble, who, dying at Fessa, left her to the care of her uncle, Rodrigo Torcol. Her uncle, when on a voyage off the French coast, was driven ashore and shipwrecked, and subsequently, having lost all his property, settled at Bordeaux. Bannacar, at the request of Theodorus, listens to her simple statement, and asserts that, *as far as her own knowledge goes*, she speaks the truth, but he denies that she is really (as she supposes) the daughter of Alphonsus, and he then proceeds thus to narrate the true circumstances:

'Prius Alphonsi servus quam eram ego, Portugallo serviebam cuidam mercatori, qui tum agebat in nostra Mauritania, nomen ei Urtado. Navigabat is inde Londinum, mercaturae causa, quicum et ego una: sed cum merces illinc venirent male, Anglos quos potuit infantes clam surripuit, eos ut rediens in Mauritaniam venderet. Ut navis igitur nostra in statione ad Thamesin, prope Dettfordiam, erat, forte illius nutrix ulnis gestans eam venit per ripam ambulans. Casu tum etiam Urtado in scapha aderat ibi; nutricem is itaque, quod potuit, Anglice compellavit blande; atque ex uno in alium sermonem ut inciderunt, levis illa et inepta nutrix navem, nescio quid, cupit animi causa visere. Invitavit is libens, atque adeo ad navem vectam, in Mauritaniam cum aliis transfert, ac magna pecunia distrahit. Hanc autem Fessae neque etiam

Outline of the plot of IGNORAMUS.

tum una, Alphonso, quem dixi, vendidit; qui, quod careret liberis, illam non nisi quadrimulam pro filia sibi adoptavit sua; mihi vero, jam servus ejus, ne cuiquam vulgarem hoc, graviter interdixit. Celavi igitur; neque illam, post mortem Alphonsi heri, nisi jam primum video.'

The dénouement.

Such is the story which Bannacar now, for the first time, unfolds. The nurse, he further explains, had died on board the vessel; her name was—*Ursula!* The father's name was—*Manlius!!* The daughter's name was—*Isabella!!!* If any doubt still lingered in the mind of the listener, it was completely effaced when Bannacar produced an amber ornament bearing the initials A and I, in which Theodorus at once recognised a trinket that he had given to Isabella when a child, the letters being designed to symbolise her projected marriage with Antonius. This ornament Bannacar had himself removed from the person of the dying nurse.

The final scene.

All his doubts and scruples being now removed, Theodorus is as anxious to see the nuptials of the lovers celebrated as he had before been adverse to their union. Everything terminates in the happiest manner. Ignoramus, on hearing a full explanation of the details from Trico, and being paid back his gold pieces, withdraws from all pretence at further interference. Bannacar and Trico are both praised for their conduct and handsomely rewarded. The last act, does not however conclude until Ignoramus has once more been made the sport of the audience, being unmercifully chaffed for his bad Latin by Vince, Dorothea's roguish page, who pins a 'fox's tail' to his back and hoots him from the stage. Cupes and Trico now come forward, rehearsing in epigrammatic dialogue the parts they have borne throughout the drama. Radiant with exultation at his success, each fills a goblet and drains it,—first calling upon one and all of the audience to do the like,—to the health of our lord THE KING, 'pius, felix, et semper augustus'. And Clare Hall rings forth applause as the curtain finally descends.

James delighted with the performance.

There he sat, the pedant king, with his courtiers and the 'lights of the land' about him; and as the long drama unrolled, during a performance that extended over fully five hours[1], it was perceived with no little satisfaction both by the actors and the audience, that, so far at least as royalty was concerned, the piece had proved a decided success. We can picture to ourselves how he leered and laughed, until his fat sides shook and he was fain to lean on Somerset's[2] shoulder for support, as Ignoramus fled from his intending assailants or as Polla pursued her recalcitrant husband across the stage. In the selection of the performers, it is evident that not only the best talent but the most influential, that is to say, the aristocratic, element in the university, had been carefully incorporated. The part of Ignoramus was played by Parkinson, a fellow of Clare Hall; Theodorus, by Hutchinson, another member of the same society; Antonius, by Holles (afterwards lord Holles) of Christ's; Rosabella, by Preston's good-looking pupil, Morgan, whom he had vainly striven to deter from such a part[1] and from all share in such a performance; the part of Surda, which the decorous Fairclough had declined, was taken by Compton of Queens',—afterwards earl of Northampton[2]; that of Trico, by Lake of Clare Hall, afterwards secretary of state; Dulman was Towers, of Queens', afterwards bishop of Peterborough; Torcol was Bargrave of Clare Hall, afterwards dean of Canterbury; Bannacar was Love, afterwards master of Corpus.

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[1] Tabor states with respect to the *second* performance that it 'begun about 8 of the clock' and 'ended about one.' Cooper, *Annals*, III 85.

[2] Fulke Greville, lord Brook, in his *Five Years of King James* (ed. 1643), p. 60, attributes James' visit to Somerset's persuasions. This

The actors.

To say that the piece was coarse may seem superfluous, when we consider that it was modelled on Plautus and that it was a composition of the seventeenth century,—of a time when, according to the testimony of Ben Jonson (given only nine years before) 'in dramatic poetry, nothing but ribaldry, profanation, blasphemy, all license of offence to God and man' was 'practised'[3]. Measured therefore by the standard of the age, *Ignoramus* probably scarcely seemed marked out for the special censure of the moralist, but it is impossible here to

General character of the play.

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would further account for no ladies save those of the Howard family being present.

[1] As regards abuses to which the assumption of such parts had given rise at Oxford see Prynne, *Histriomastix*, p. 211. Thomas Goad (the son of Roger Goad) when giving, on oath, his account of the circumstances under which he refused to license the publication of the *Histriomastix*, did 'well remember that, as to his argument of the unlawfulness for a man to put on woman's apparel, he put Mr Prynne this question: "Suppose, Mr Prynne, you yourself, as a Christian, were persecuted by pagans, think you not, if you did disguise yourself in your maid's apparel, you did well?" Who answered, that he thought himself rather bound to yield to death than to do so.' Rushworth, *Collections*, II 225.

[2] See Prynne's affirmation that 'it is absurd and most infamous for any nobles, gentlemen, or persons of ranke or quality, to act a part in publicke or private on the stage.' *Histriomastix*, p. 858.

[3] Preface to *Volpone*, in 1606.

give any notion of the *double-entendres*, the *équivoques*, and the broad obscenities with which the original text abounds, and over which its Latin dress flung, in those days, a very imperfect veil[1]. Nor can we forget that most of those who took part in the performance were already consecrated to the clerical life,—a feature which did not escape the observation of the satirist from Oxford, where more stringency, in this respect, prevailed[2]. It is related that, some years after, when king James was at Castle Abbey, he recognised in the preacher in the pulpit the collegian who had so ably sustained the part of the sycophantic clerk of Ignoramus[3]. With facts like these before us, the justice and reasonableness of that Puritan aversion to which Milton, in after years, gave such pregnant expression, come home to us very forcibly; and the incongruities which startle us as we compare the actors and their parts in *Ignoramus*, can hardly be better described than in the words of his sternly ironical reminiscence of what he himself recalled of like performances 'in the colleges,'—'of the young divines and those of next aptitude to divinity' whom he had 'seen so oft upon the stage, writhing and unboning their clergy limbs to all the antic and dishonest gestures of Trinculoes, buffoons, and bawds, prostituting the shame of that ministry which either they had, or were nigh having, to the eyes of courtiers and court ladies with their grooms and mademoiselles. There, while they acted and over-acted, among other young scholars, I was a spectator: they thought themselves gallant men, and I thought them

The clerical element among the actors.

Milton's description of similar performances.

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[1] In the subsequent editions, prepared for the use of the Westminster scholars, most of these coarsenesses are expunged.

[2] 'Oxford had good comedies, but not such benefactours, | For Cambridge *byshopps* whiflers had, and *preachers* for their actours.' Verses comparing the royal reception at Oxford with that at Cambridge: Nichols, *Progresses of James I*, III 73. So too Corbet, 'Their plays had sundry grave wise factors, | A perfect diocess of actors | Upon the stage; for I am sure that | There was both bishop, pastor, curat,' Corbet's *Poems* (ed. Gilchrist), p. 13. 'It is altogether infamous, yea unlawfull, for any clergie-men whatsoever or their children, and for any who intend to enter into orders, either voluntarily or compulsorily, for reward or without reward, to act a part upon the stage, either in any publicke or private enterludes.' Prynne, *Histriomastix*, p. 862. John Reynolds, the eminent head of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in his *Overthrow of Stage Plays*, did much to discourage these performances.

[3] Kennet, *Chronicle*, p. 244.

fools; they made sport, and I laughed; they mispronounced, and I misliked; and, to make up the Atticism[1], they were out, and I hissed[2].'

Important after results.

The royal approval.

Oxford eclipsed.

The royal visit repeated within two months.

But whatever may be our estimate of the merits of the play itself, the after effects of its performance are undeniable and may indeed be said to be discernible almost to the end of James' reign. It not only threw a halo of success over the royal reception and put the King in a thoroughly good temper for the remainder of his stay, but it disposed him to look upon everything connected with the university with the genial indulgence of one whose special hobby has been skilfully trotted out. 'The King was exceedingly pleased many times,' wrote Chamberlain to Carleton; 'he visited all the colleges save two or three, and commends them above Oxford[3].' It is true that Oxford, in her chagrin, declared that Majesty went to sleep over the physic act[4], and evinced perceptible relief even when *Ignoramus* itself came to an end[5]; but the triumphant reply of Cambridge was, that, the king, after an ineffectual endeavour to persuade the actors to come to London, was fain, before two months were well over, to visit Cambridge again, in order to see the play acted a second time. 'Leave it,' retorted the author of the Cambridge rejoinder to Corbet,

. . . '*you* cannot say
The king did go from you in March
And come again in May'[6].

Tabor's account of the second visit.

The registrary of the university at this time was James Tabor,—the painstaking antiquary whose handwriting is familiar to those who have had occasion to consult our academic archives, and who was himself no contemptible contributor to our knowledge concerning the antiquities of the town. To him we are indebted for the following brief account of the second visit, which well deserves to be quoted in its entirety:

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[1] *ἐχόρευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐχορήγουν· ἐγραμμάτευες, ἐγὼ δ' ἠκκλησίαζον· ἐτριταγωνίστεις, ἐγὼ δ' ἐθεώρουν· ἐξέπιπτες, ἐγὼ δ' ἐσύριττον.* Demosthenes, *de Corona* (ed. Reiske), p. 315.

[2] *Apology for Smectymnuus*, Works, III 267.

[3] *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *James I*, vol. LXXX 51.

[4] 'Cambridge an wholesome physicke Acte which brought the kinge asleep.' See 'A Courtier's Censure,' etc. Nichols, *Progresses*, III 73.

[5] 'But Ignoramus pleased best the kinge when it was done.' *Ibid.*

[6] This *Answer*, written by Lake, is printed in Corbet's *Poems* (ed. Gilchrist), p. 24.

The university lines the streets.

'Upon Saturday, the 13 Maii, 1615, news was brought that his majesty would be at Cambridge that night, and that in the way he meant to hunt a buck; so that at 2 of the clock the school bell and St Mary's bells rung to call the university together. The vice-chancellor set the scholars towards Spital-End; they reached to the Armitage St Ann, and above them up to the town to Trinity College, the bachelors of arts, then the gentlemen fellow-commoners, then the senior regents and non-regents, then the doctors, who stood in Trinity College gatehouse. His majesty came from Thetford, whither the buck led him, and where awhile he had rested himself, and so came about four of the clock; the scholars all saluted him with *Vivat Rex*. Mr mayor and his fraternity stood on the hill by the spital-house, where Mr mayor, without either state or reverence, when his majesty came right against the place where he stood, stepped to his coach-side, and then kneeled down, and delivered his majesty a fair pair of perfumed gloves with gold laces, and the prince another, telling his majesty their corporation was poor, and not able to bestow any matter of value upon his majesty, and therefore invited him to accept of those, which his majesty took, and gave him his hand to kiss, and so he took his horse and rode before the king's mace-bearer to Trinity College with his mace over his shoulder...His majesty made no stay till he came at Trinity College walk, where him and the prince and his nobility alighted their coach; and being within Trinity College, against the first rails, Dr Gwyn, deputy vice-chancellor, made an oration to him, giving him thanks for his love to them, that he was pleased so suddenly to come to them again, and highly extolling his majesty and virtues. The vice-chancellor and Heads kneeled while this speech was delivering, and the king stood, and prince and nobility by him. And then, the speech ended, his majesty went towards his lodge; and then, about the middle alley, the orator made another oration; which ended the king and

Humble demeanour of the town authorities.

A pair of gloves. 'We are very poor.'

Reception at Trinity.

prince and nobility went to their lodgings. Then the vice-chancellor took order for the placing of the university and strangers, not actors: at the lower end of the stage, the doctors; in a place next the stage, the regents and non-regents, in gowns; in the body of the hall, other strangers according to their qualities, upon the scaffolds: the upper end of the hall, beyond the stage, was wholly reserved for the king and prince's followers, and for the courtiers. *About 8 of the clock the play began, and ended about one*[1]*; his majesty was much delighted with the play, and laughed exceedingly; and oftentimes, with his hands, and by words, applauded it.*

The second performance of *Ignoramus* before the king.

His complete satisfaction.

'On Sunday, at 9 of the clock, there was a sermon in St Mary's; at half an hour past 10 the king went to Trinity chapel, where he heard prayers and an anthem, and then a clero in Trinity, made by Mr Simpson of Trinity, which was an hour and an half long, which seemed too tedious to his majesty, and therefore he shewed some distaste, not of the clero, for it was well and learnedly performed, but that he had no care to prevent tediosity, he being wearied overnight; the clero ended, there was another anthem sung and prayers, and then his majesty went to dinner; at 3 a sermon in St Mary's, before divers of the nobility; after dinner, about 4 of the clock, his majesty went to Mr Butler[2], with his nobles; the sheriff Aldered of Foulmire was very officious, and took upon him his office before his majesty, which discontenting the university, the vice-chancellor, upon notice given him, informed my lord chamberlain, who, from his majesty, discharged Aldered, and told him it was his majesty's pleasure he should not carry himself then as a sheriff, for he had not power or authority in the university, and so he slunk aside, and took his place behind, and so whilst his majesty

A laborious Sabbath.

The dignity of the university maintained by the king against not only the town but also against the shire.

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[1] Another account of the *first* performance says 'it was (at the least) five howers and a halfe longe.' *MS. Bodl. Add. C.* ccvi. 133.

[2] The celebrated physician of the time, for an account of whom see Cooper, *Annals*, III 119: he was a fellow of Clare Hall, to which society, Fuller tells us, he bequeathed 'a chalice with a cover of beaten gold, weighing and worth three hundred pounds, besides other plate and books to the value of five hundred pounds.' Fuller-Prickett and Wright, p. 307. Compare Dillingham's account of John Freeman, the founder of the Freeman fellowship at Clare. *Laurence Chaderton*, by E. S. Shuckburgh, p. 20.

was with Butler, where he stayed near an hour; after that his majesty went to supper.

'On Monday, there was a congregation at 7, where good order and decorum was observed, and these orderly admitted [*blank in the original manuscript*].

The Act in Trinity chapel.

'Then about 10 the vice-chancellor and whole senate of doctors, regents, and non-regents, and those of the nobility in order, attended the vice-chancellor to Trinity college in order, the regents first, 2 and 2, in state to Trinity chapel, where they seated themselves, and thither came the king and prince, and heard the act, which was learnedly performed; and at the end Mr Cecill, the moderator, began to destroy their pleasure; he fainted the night before, and that morning, being sickly, fainted, and was carried out dead, but after a quarter of an hour recovered again; the act ended, the king went to dinner, and so, after he had made known how he was contented, suddenly departed.

The mayor held as of altogether secondary account.

'The mayor, when he came to Trinity college, was put before the beadles, and the vice-chancellor went next after them, and so next before the king; and when the mayor went out, he went without serjeant or show of his mace.'

The self-complacency of the wits of the university, as royalty made its second departure, must, we should imagine, have been very nearly complete. They had altogether eclipsed the town in the royal favour; they had satirised, with equal success, a leading town dignitary; while the ridicule which they had poured on their professional rivals, the common lawyers, had provoked from the victims themselves the best possible tribute to its effectiveness,—namely, unmistakeable indications that it had given them great annoyance. 'It hath so netled the lawiers,' wrote Chamberlain to Carleton, 'that they are almost out of all patience[1].' Coke, indeed, was reported to have so far forgotten what was due to himself and his high position, as to have launched

Chamberlain's account of the results to Carleton: 20 May 1615.

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[1] *State Papers (Dom.) James the First*, LXXX no. 102. 'Which how the common lawyers tooke, if any weare there, I know not. But I presume Wesmister Hall will one day crie quits with them.' *MS. Bodl. u. s.*

forth from the King's Bench itself sundry scathing allusions to scholars as a class[1]; while certain members of the Inns of Court took to satirising 'the university man' in epigrams and lampoons, and were fully repaid in like coin[2]. 'To say truth,' observes Chamberlain, 'yt was a scandall rather taken then geven, for what profession is there, wherein some particular person may not be justly taxed without imputation to the whole[3]?' But the recollection of the play long continued in legal circles; and 'Sir Ignoramus' appears to have become a current epithet in the Inns of Court for denoting an illiterate clerk preferred before a real scholar to a church benefice. There is one tradition, however, which all scholars will be reluctant to accept, save on better evidence than is forthcoming,—namely that the illustrious Selden composed his *History of Tithes* from feelings of resentment at the manner in which the class to which he belonged had been thus mercilessly assailed[4].

Irritation of the lawyers.

The townsmen of Cambridge, though not less sore at the indignity done to their recorder, who had been generally recognised in the carefully studied attire of Ignoramus[5], were still less able to retaliate on their satirists; while, contrasted with the sumptuous banquets, the intellectual diversion, and the scenic amusement provided by the university, the two cups and the scented gloves, accompanied by plaintive protestations of poverty, must have seemed very humble tribute. It may appear an exaggeration to assert that George Ruggle's clever composition was the cause why Cambridge is not at the present day a city, but it must be admitted that facts can be shewn to be strongly in favour of such a conclusion.

Graver consequences as regards the town.

In the year 1605, the town had acquired an important accession of dignity, having received a royal charter whereby it was constituted a free borough, and the mayor, bailiffs, and burgesses were created a corporation[6]. Inspired by the

The Corporation seek to have Cambridge raised from a free borough to a city.

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[1] *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *James the First*, LXXX no. 102.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] See Cooper, *Annals*, III 88 n. 2.

[5] 'The second night was a comodie of Clare-Hall, with the helpe of two or three goode actors from other howses, wherein David Drumond in a hobby-horse and Brakin the recorder of the towne under the name of ignoramus a common-lawier bare great parts.' *State Papers*, *u. s.*

[6] Cooper, *Annals*, III 17—18.

astute Brackyn, the corporation had ever since been aiming at yet higher honours, by seeking to bring about the restoration of their township to the superior rights and privileges of a city[1]; and on the 30 Jan. 1616, the corporation seal was affixed to a power of attorney authorising Thomas French, alderman, to exhibit and prefer to the king a petition for renewing the town charter, and for a new charter incorporating the town by the name of mayor, *aldermen and citizens*[2].

Vigilance of Suffolk.

Viewed in connexion with the relations that then existed between the university and the town, such a petition could not fail to be regarded with some misgiving by the former, and Suffolk, at that time chancellor, shewed himself fully on the alert. It was not however without some difficulty that, by virtue of his office as high treasurer, he succeeded in obtaining for the vice-chancellor and Heads a kind of summary of the additional privileges and immunities which the townsmen sought to obtain[3]. The abstract thus procured only made the academic authorities desirous of further information with respect to the claims of a community by which their own jurisdiction had so often been called in question and imperilled, and application was next made for permission to peruse the draft of the proposed charter. This request was met by a very terse and scarcely courteous reply. It would hardly do, the corporation objected, to draw out and discuss the charter before it had received the royal sanction, for that would be 'but to part the lion's skin'; then, again, it would involve them in considerable expense; and, lastly, it was 'only' the lord treasurer who had taken upon himself to suggest that any particulars should be given to the university, and those particulars had already been supplied, 'as by ye noate left with you doth appeare'; and 'to draw a charter first is more than my lord treasurer thought fit.' 'And this,' concluded the urbane epistle, 'is our answer[4].'

The university applies for a draft of the proposed charter.

The corporation demurs to 'parting the lion's skin.'

The university entreats Bacon, as attorney-general, to exert his influence in their behalf.

The semi-defiant tone of this missive by no means tended to reassure the university, and when it became known, shortly afterwards, that the petition had been actually presented, it was resolved to take immediate steps for securing the powerful aid of Bacon. The letter in which his intervention was implored must be looked upon as one of the most notable expressions on record of the deliberate convictions of the university with respect to the feelings by which it was habitually regarded by the town community. After a concise explanation of what had already taken place, the writers thus proceed: 'These peremptory answers and dealings of theirs, upon so kind and friendly usage and request of ours, make us fear the sequel; *for that as yet we could never find by any record, act, or wish of theirs that this university ever received honour, dignity, or favour;* in regard whereof we earnestly intreat your honour to stand with our worthy chancellor and us in staying this suit, until we be truly informed how the town may receive grace and the university no dishonour[1].'

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[1] Cambridge is designated *a city* in an official record of the reign of Rich. I; see Cooper, *Annals*, I 29.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 105—6.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.* III 106—7.

Their distinct assertion respecting the unfriendly feeling habitually evinced by the townsmen.

It was not until after the lapse of more than a fortnight that Bacon's reply was written, but its reassuring character, when it reached the recipients, compensated for the delay. 'I have taken care of you,' said the writer, 'rather according to your request, than at your request; forasmuch as I had done it before your letter came[2].' Eventually the draft of the proposed charter was duly drawn out, and was then subjected to careful criticism by the vice-chancellor and Heads, their comments on each separate article being appended to the document[3]. With the lord treasurer for its chancellor, the lord chancellor for its high steward, and the attorney general for a watchful guardian[4], the university

Bacon proves to have anticipated their request.

The draft is obtained and the university comments on it.

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[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 108.

[2] Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge Transactions during the Puritan Period*, II 279.

[3] 'We feare,' said the university authorities in one of their comments, 'this citty being a countye and the university seated therein, the whole and absolute jurisdictions that other cittyes have is here aymed at, which being graunted we of the university shall be excluded the commission of the peace with them, and dyvers other causes, misdemeanours, and forfeytures which belong to the university questioned.' See Cooper, *Annals*, III 109—112.

[4] It was certainly somewhat unfortunate for the corporation that, as Mr Spedding observes, the three officers of the Crown to whom their petition was referred were respectively the High Steward, the Chancellor, and the Standing Counsel to

might well seem to have had no very serious cause for alarm. Uneasy, however, at the confidence exhibited by the townsmen, and determined apparently to leave no stone unturned in order to ensure a victory, the authorities next proceeded to memorialise not only the attorney general[1], but, through him, the king himself. In an elaborate Latin letter, they aver that they foresee, in the enfranchisement of the town, the slavery of the university. 'For oftimes by their delight in contention,' they go on to say, 'have we learned the lesson only too clearly, with how little mercy they would trample our poverty beneath their feet, were it but once in their power to convert our resources into means for gaining allies to vex our peace.' 'It is our prayer,' says the letter, in conclusion, 'not that we may be made to shine in new honours, but that we may retain our old ones; and that we may not be trodden under foot by the ambition of those who are our neighbours and fostered at our expense[2].'

The university petitions both Bacon and the king, and strongly deprecates the concession of the new charter.

James declares that he will grant no privileges to Cambridge that are likely to give anxiety to her university.

The ornate diction and skilful flattery of this letter were successful in their purpose. James responded in the same language and in like terms. The ancient municipal privileges of the town, he said, were already a sufficient source of envy. New honours would be not only superfluous but would render it an object of suspicion to the academic community. He would grant no titles of honour to Cambridge which carried with them anxiety to the university[3].

From this time we hear nothing further of the aspirations of the townsmen to be raised to the rank of citizens, nor do they seem to have been aware of the precise manner in which their endeavours had been baffled; or if aware, they deemed it prudent to adopt a more conciliatory policy, for in the

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the university. *Letters and Life of Lord Bacon*, VI 132–3; see also 140–4.

[1] See letter of 9 Feb. $16\frac{16}{17}$ in Heywood and Wright, *u. s.* II 280–2: it is from this letter that we learn that the corporation put forward the specious plea that by making Cambridge a city, *like Oxford*, the university would also be invested with greater dignity: 'Honorem nobis obtendunt, et auctiorem Oxonioque rivalem splendoris cumulum. Offuciae merae et hamatum lenocinium!'

[2] See letter 'e senatu nostro frequenti 4to Idus Febr 1616': Heywood and Wright, *u. s.* II 282–4.

[3] *Ibid.* II 288–9; Cooper, *Annals*, III 114; see also *State Papers (Dom.) James the First*, LXXXVI no. 70.

following year Sir Francis Bacon was chosen high steward of the town.

Election of Bacon as High Steward of the Town: 22 April 1617.

Benefactions of Dr Stephen Perse: 1615.

In striking contrast to the embittered spirit which marked the relations of the university and the town, are the benefactions of Stephen Perse, M.D., a native of Norwich and one of the fellows of Gonville and Caius College. Like Caius and Butler, and others of the same profession in those days, he had acquired considerable wealth by practising as a physician, and at his death he bequeathed no less than £9000 for charitable purposes. Among other property, he had acquired the site on which had formerly stood the house of the Augustine friars in Cambridge[1], and here he directed in his will that there should be built 'a convenient house to be used for a Grammar Free School, with one lodging chamber for the Master and another for the Usher.' The master was to be a master of arts of the university, and the usher (likewise a member of the university) of bachelor standing at least. Scholars to the number of one hundred, being natives of Cambridge, Barnwell, Chesterton, or Trumpington, '*no more, nor any other*,' were here to receive a free education[2].

The Grammar School.

Fellowships and scholarships at Caius College.

In addition to this, Dr Perse founded at Caius College six fellowships and six scholarships; the fellows to be elected from the scholars, 'being fit scholars'; and the scholars to be elected from those on the school foundation ('being fit') who had there 'been instructed and taught by the space of three years at least[3].'

His contemplated benefaction to the university library.

Other benefactions, to aid in rebuilding the college hall and in building the new university library, gave evidence that the generous and wide-minded fellow of Caius College, while mainly intent on the foundation of an institution which should confer a substantial benefit on the town and should serve to link together the academic and municipal

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[1] See vol. I, p. 139.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 95–101. The school was erected soon after Dr Perse's death, and ordinances for its government were made by Perse's executors 10 Feb. 162¾. It flourished greatly in the seventeenth century during the mastership of Thomas Lovering and George Griffith. See Cooper, *Memorials*, III 154–160.

[3] *Ibid.* III 97.

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interests, was by no means unmindful either of his college or of his university. The bequest to the university library has reference to the scheme at that time in contemplation for the erection of a new building, and was to be paid by the executors 'within,' says the will, 'five years after my decease, so that the said library be within that time in building[1].'

Archdeacon Johnson.

The scheme, it is deserving of note, enlisted the sympathies of another enlightened benefactor in relation to school education,—Robert Johnson[2] (a son-in-law of Lawrence Chaderton), archdeacon of Leicester, to whom the well-known foundations at Oakham and Uppingham are indebted for their origin. But nothing was done during the reign of James, which, to quote Mr Bradshaw's expression, is 'an entire blank in the library[3],' and Perse's bequest consequently lapsed. The project, in the succeeding reign, was arrested by the sudden fate of the duke of Buckingham.

Effects of the royal visit on individual minds.

Besides the more general results of the royal visits, already described, the influence they exerted over the minds of at least two eminent members of the university must not be left unnoted. Among the fellows of Trinity at this time, was George Herbert, the poet, who in the year 1618 was appointed reader of rhetoric in the university. He had come up to Trinity from Westminster School when only fifteen years of age, and had been placed by his watchful mother under the special care of Dr Neville, whose good opinion and regard he was fortunate enough to gain. He was distinguished by his industry as a student and also by that slightly overwrought refinement of feeling which characterised him throughout life; while even his best friends could not but admit that he seemed to think too much about his dress, prided himself on his illustrious descent, and cultivated a little too assiduously the acquaintance of the great and noble[4]. At the time of James' visit in 1615, Herbert was only 22 years old, and his imagination seems to have become dazzled by the prospect of a court career; and his graceful

GEORGE HERBERT, public orator, 1619–1627.

His character as a student and a fellow.

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[1] *Ibid.* III 101.

[2] Luard, *List of Documents relating to the University Library*, p. 6.

[3] *The University Library*, p. 16.

[4] Walton's *Lives* (ed. Dowling), p. 291.

genius, under the spell of this illusion, condescended to acts of gross adulation which certainly stand in singular contrast to that 'contemptus mundi' which pervades the strains of *The Temple*. It had become the fashion, at this time, to flatter the scholar on the throne by lauding his public speeches as models of the highest oratory; and Herbert, in his chair in the school of rhetoric at Cambridge, determined to approve himself not wanting in the arts of the courtier. 'He passed by,' says the narrator, 'those fluent orators that domineered in the pulpits of Athens and Rome, and insisted to read upon an oration of King James, which he analysed, shewed the concinnity of the parts, the propriety of the phrase, the height and power of it to move affections, the style utterly unknown to the ancients, who could not conceive what kingly eloquence was, in respect of which those noted demagogi were but hirelings and triobulary rhetoricians[1].' It would seem that this somewhat singular method of proceeding gained the full approval of the authorities, for in the following year Herbert was elected public orator and continued to hold the office until 1627[2]. Very shortly after his appointment, there came down to the university library a copy of the *Basilicon Doron*, with a letter in the royal autograph. Herbert was delighted at the fresh opportunity thus afforded him. He not only penned a letter in admirable Latin returning the profusest thanks for James' gift, but he inserted in the margin at the close the following elegiac verse;

His rhetoric lectures on an oration of King James.

James presents the university with a copy of his collected *Works*: May, 1620.

Herbert's letter of acknowledgement: 18 May 1620.

Peregrinis Academiam nostram invisentibus.
Quid Vaticanam Bodleiumque objicis hospes?
Unicus est nobis bibliotheca liber[3].

Royalty was most successfully tickled. James even condescended to enquire who was the actual author of the letter, and finding that the writer was a relative of the very same nobleman[1] to whom (it would seem by accident) he had addressed the interrogation, he pronounced him the 'jewel of the university.'

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[1] Hacket, *Life of Archbishop Williams*, I 175. The appointment was well calculated to aid Herbert in his ambitious aims, for it seems to have been regarded as a stepping-stone, as was the case with Naunton (orator 1594–1611) and Nethersole (1611–1619) to an official career. 'At the time of being orator,' says Herbert's biographer, 'he had learned to understand the Italian, Spanish, and French tongues, very perfectly: hoping that, *as his predecessors*, so he might in time attain the place of a secretary of state.' *Ibid.* p. 297.

[2] Herbert's *Remains*, p. 213; Cooper, *Annals*, III 134–5.

[3] *Epist. Acad.*, II 537.

His high hopes.

From that time, Herbert, whenever the king visited Cambridge or its vicinity, was most assiduous in his court, and his hopes ran high. They faded, however, with James' death; and when, a few years later, in his thirty-sixth year, the poet was inducted into his quiet parsonage at Bemerton, he had already begun, in his own words, 'to behold the court with an impartial eye, and to see plainly that it is made up of frauds and titles and flattery, and many other such empty, imaginary, and painted pleasures[2].' Perhaps, as there arose in memory his own share in the 'flattery' which he now contemned, he would at that time have fain recalled his fulsome elegiac, and those lectures in which he had impressed on the wondering, awe-struck minds of the young Cambridge scholars, the superiority of James' artificial oration to the *de Corona* or the *pro Marcello*.

His ultimate disappointment and changed views.

Preston falls under a cloud.

In the case of Preston, the royal visit seemed likely, at one time, to be attended with very different results. The opposition which he had shewn to his pupils' participation in the performance of *Ignoramus* was regarded by those who disliked his new principles as convincing proof of disaffected feelings; 'he was no courtier,' it was said, who 'would envy so small a courtesie to those that had so freely offered greater unto him[3].' These representations were not without effect; and the brilliant fellow of Queens' was now generally looked upon as one who stood but indifferently well with both the court and the academic authorities. The consciousness that such was the case only led him however to cultivate still closer relations with the Puritan party, and to apply himself with yet greater assiduity to the duties of his tutorship as well as those of the offices of dean and catechist, to which he had recently been promoted by the influence of the not ungrateful Davenant[4]. He became intimate with some of the most eminent Puritan divines, of whom Dod

His assiduity as a college officer.

His increasingly intimate relations with the Puritan party.

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[1] The earl of Pembroke: Walton, *u. s.* p. 292.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 313.

[3] Clarke's *Lives*, *u. s.* p. 82.

[4] Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, pp. 433–4.

His favour with Davenant.

His eminent success as a college tutor.

His principle of selection in accepting pupils.

and Hildersham were frequently in his chamber; and he even went so far as to hold prayer-meetings at which they presided and to which his pupils were invited. Dr Davenant, we can well understand, would be little inclined to interfere with one by whom the reputation of the college was enhanced, and who was so well disposed towards himself; 'as William of Nassau,' says Fuller, 'was said to have won a subject from the King of Spain to his own party, every time he put off his hat; so was it commonly said in the college, that every time that Master Preston plucked off his hat to Dr Davenant, he gained a chamber or study for one of his pupils[1].' Preston, indeed, to use the same writer's expression, became 'the greatest pupil-monger in England.' In 1618, the authorities of Queens' found it necessary to erect new buildings[2]; and the college books shew that in this same year Preston entered, as his pupils, thirteen fellow-commoners, together with but five pensioners and two sizars[3]. In such estimation, indeed, was he held, that he imposed conditions when accepting a pupil on which probably no other college tutor ever insisted: namely, that the pupil should be not simply one whose social prospects were good, but also one likely to prove strictly conformable to discipline[4]. When, however, he had once accepted the responsibility, he did not lightly interpret the obligations it involved. Among the fellow-commoners under his charge was Sir Arthur Capel, an ardent royalist who was beheaded in the civil wars, and his cousin, Sir Capel Bedell of Huntingdonshire. The latter had not been very long a student in Queens' College, before his tutor learned that he had fallen in love with Jane Newcome,—the charming daughter of a Dr Newcome, commissary to the bishop of

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[1] Fuller-Nuttall, II 517.

[2] Searle, *u. s.*, p. 436;—'that goodly fabrick that contains many fair lodgings bothe for schollars and fellows, towards King's College.' Clarke's *Lives*, p. 84.

[3] Searle, *u. s.*, p. 434.

[4] 'As for that gentilman you writt of, I have spoken to my tutor about him, and he gave me this answer, that he never tooke pupill but upon two conditions, first that they should be an elder brother, secondly, of a stayd sober cariage: upon these two conditions he is ready to doe him all the good he can.' See *Diary of Sir Henry Slingsby, of Scriven, bart.*: ed. Parsons, 1836 (quoted by Searle, *u. s.*, p. 435). Young Slingsby's letter (3 May 1621) refers to one of the Talbots of Worcestershire, who was anxious to enter under Preston.

He extricates Sir Capel Bedell from an unsuitable engagement.

Ely, who resided in Cambridge,—and that an engagement seemed imminent. Without betraying any knowledge of the affair, Preston proposed to some of his fellow-commoner pupils (young Bedell among the number) that they should go for a few days' excursion into the country, should visit the splendid pile at Audley End and also Saffron Walden. When at Audley End, it was suggested by one of the party (not Preston) that they should go on to Much Hadham, a picturesque village in Hertfordshire, where Sir Arthur Capel,—grandsire of the two fellow-commoners above named,—had his seat. The proposal was eagerly adopted; but, when at Much Hadham, Preston did not fail to divulge to his host the important circumstance of his grandson's misplaced attachment. The young baronet was detained at Much Hadham, and eventually persuaded to set forth on his travels abroad; and Dr Newcome's expectations of a wealthy and aristocratic son-in-law were thus effectually nipped in the bud[1].

His success as a college catechist.

To his duties as a catechist Preston gave especial attention,—Andrewes' eminent success in a like capacity being, we can hardly doubt, distinctly present to his mind; and here again his own success was so marked as to excite the jealousy of his opponents. His lectures were delivered in the college chapel, and long before the fellows and students entered to take their seats, the little ante-chapel[2] was often crowded with students from other colleges and with townsmen. The authorities began to take alarm, and eventually orders were given that neither townsmen nor members of other colleges should be allowed to attend the catechisings,—with the result, of course, that the members of Queens' College were rendered more enviable in the eyes of others, as having, to quote the language of the narrator, 'the greater benefit of those things because they were not common and in print.' Under the influence, probably, of like motives, the authorities further enjoined, about the same time, that the lectureship at Trinity Church, which, in relation to the townsmen, held much the

Jealousy of the academic authorities.

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[1] See the whole story, as narrated with grim humour by Ball in his *Life of Preston*, pp. 86—87.

[2] According to Mr Searle, it was only 20 feet square. *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 440.

same place as the sermons at St Mary's to the university[1], should be suspended. The sermons at St Andrew's (where Perkins had so often discoursed) were likewise forbidden, and all students were required to restrict their attendance at services out of college to Great St Mary's[2].

St Botolph's church.

The effect of these measures was necessarily to deprive Preston of any audience save that which he could command among the members of his own college, and there were not a few, both in the university and in the town, who sympathised with him under the circumstances and were desirous of hearing him again. The living attached to the ancient church of St Botolph was then, as now, in the gift of Queens' College, and was held by a Queens' man. Originally in the possession of the prior and brotherhood of the priory at Barnwell, it had passed from their hands into those of the authorities of Corpus Christi College, and from these again to those of the authorities of Queens'. Andrew Doket[3] had held it for twenty-six years; the remains of Playfere rested within the walls of the church[4]. It was here that on Sunday, 23 Jan. 1620, at three o'clock, 'after St Maries' sermon should be ended,' Preston, encouraged mainly by some of the townsmen, undertook to address an audience of those who were precluded from listening to him elsewhere. A numerous and distinguished crowd had already assembled at the appointed hour, when Dr Newcome suddenly emerged from its midst, and, by virtue of his office as commissary of the bishop, forbade the preaching of any sermon and enjoined that there should only be the ordinary prayers. The remonstrances were many and loud,—the incumbent of the church, the earl of Lincoln (who was one of the assembly), and others all endeavouring to move the dictatorial official from his purpose. Dr Newcome, however, remained inflexible, and presently went home,—'with all his family,' says the narrator, from whence we infer that Jane herself was among the witnesses (and probably no commiserating one) of Preston's apparent discomfiture. But urged on by his ex-

Preston's sermon there: 23 Jan. 1619-20.

Dr Newcome forbids the sermon.

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[1] See Cooper, *Annals*, III 168.

[2] Clarke, *Lives*, p. 84.

[3] First president of the college: see vol. I, p. 317.

[4] Cooper, *Memorials*, III 154—5.

Preston preaches notwithstanding.

pectant auditors, Preston had the courage to set Dr Newcome's veto at defiance, and preached, notwithstanding, 'a very savoury and holy sermon.' It was also however a very long one, and some time had already been consumed in the discussion evoked by Dr Newcome's interference; in order therefore that the scholars might get away in time for evening service in college, Preston dismissed them with the usual prayers unsaid[1].

Dr Newcome's complaint to the king at Newmarket.

It so happened that King James was at that time staying at Newmarket, and thither Dr Newcome repaired the following day. It was not difficult, especially in the state of the royal sympathies at this period, to represent Preston as a crafty dissembler, a non-complier at heart, and one who, unless promptly and sternly dealt with, might rouse in that university where he was 'so followed and adored,' a spirit of insubordination which might result in the overthrow of all discipline[2]. The king determined that he should forthwith be called to account, and Andrewes, as bishop of the diocese, was directed to take immediate action. Preston was cited before the vice-chancellor and Heads and required to sign a form of apology to Dr Newcome, which he consented to do[3]. Their next demand must have been a sore trial to his high and sensitive spirit, for they called upon him to deliver in St Botolph's, 'at such daye, tyme and place' as they should appoint, another sermon, of which the burden should be, that people 'ought not to neglecte divine prayer at their owne parishe, and runne gadding to sermons at an other churche, contrary to the lawes and canons of this lande[4].'

Preston is required to apologise to Dr Newcome, and is called upon to condemn his own conduct in a second sermon.

To not a few, this requirement seemed somewhat hard measure, especially when it was considered that he had simply preached (as his biographer suggests) 'an innocent and honest sermon in a church belonging to the college, by the consent and in the hearing of the incumbent[1].' Preston, however, had early gained and maintained throughout his career, the reputation of being a master of the art of adroitly foiling the tactics of those who sought to bring him to an avowal which he would rather not make, and something of amusement was added to the interest with which the intelligence was received that he had consented to make the required declaration. 'It was all about the Town,' says the narrator, 'that Master Preston was to preach a recantation sermon at Buttolph's Church on such a day. This was good sport to the brave blades, who now came crowding as fast as any, for to hear, and it was no sin now for anybody to be from prayers, and indeed there was a very great assembly, though he did all he could to have concealed it. So he went on, upon his former text, and preached a very profitable sermon concerning growing in grace, and directed prayer, as a special meanes to make men grow in grace. Now that, he said, was of two sorts, either that which was sudain, extemporary, and conceived; or, set, enjoyned, and prescribed before, not only for the sense and scope, but also words and phrases. And whereas some thought this was to stint the spirit, he said, there was a liberty to use conceived prayer at other times, wherein the spirit might expatiate and inlarge itself; and also the intention of the mind, though not in extension and variety of language. The blades that came to laugh, had no great cause to do it, for this passage was at the very close; and the sermon all along before was sharp and searching; both sides were silent and went home not without some prints of good upon their spirits. *Optimus orator censendus, non qui meruit auditorum judicium, sed qui abstulit:* he makes the best speech that binds his hearers rather to think what was said then who said it. The good-fellows were nothing so merry at the end as at the beginning of the sermon. Indifferent hearers praised all, and were confirmed in a good opinion of the preacher. Good men were glad he came so well off and was at liberty to preach again, where they might hear him:

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[1] Clarke, *Lives*, pp. 84–5.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 87.

[3] 'Mr Do^r. Newcome I doe willingly acknowledge before this companie that I have offended you in not harkening to your counsayle, when you intreated me to forbeare preaching in Buttolphe churche uppon Sondaye last, and I doe humbly desyre you to forgeve mee.' Searle *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 446 [quoted from the *Acta Curiae* in the Registry for 1617–21].

[4] *Ibid.*

Ball's account of his adroitness.

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[1] Clarke, *Lives*, p. 86.

Preston however is prohibited from preaching without permission first obtained.

himself was troubled lest anything he said should be mistaken or mis-interpreted,—as he was apt to be[1].' Although, however, Ball would fain describe Preston's designed humiliation as resulting in a kind of triumph, it is certain that the latter was prohibited from preaching in Cambridge without 'the expresse consente of the sayde vice-chancellor first had and obtained[2].' But from this time the tide began to turn in his favour. He was shortly after chosen, with others from the university, to preach before the king at Royston; and the impression he then produced on both James and his courtiers was highly favorable. Buckingham, who from political motives was now intent on gaining the good will of the growing Puritan party, intimated his readiness to become his patron, and the favorite's overtures were cordially accepted. By Buckingham, Preston was presented to prince Charles, and was shortly after appointed one of the prince's chaplains in ordinary.

He subsequently preaches before the king at Royston and makes the acquaintance of Buckingham.

THE SYNOD OF DORT: Oct. 1618—April 1619.

The year that preceded Preston's sermon at St Botolph's had witnessed the conclusion of the Synod of Dort and the commencement of the Thirty Years' War; and although Cambridge was a far from uninterested spectator of the outbreak of the great struggle, the proceedings of the assembly of divines convened in the dull little Dutch town occupied, beyond doubt, a far larger share of its attention. Although it is to an Oxford pen that we are indebted for the best account of those proceedings, and although it was to an Oxford divine, the versatile George Carleton (afterwards bishop of Chichester) that episcopacy owed its vindication in the presence of the foreign theologians, it is to be remembered that John Hales was merely a passive auditor at the debates, and that of the five divines deputed by king James to attend the Synod, all except Carleton were Cambridge men. Davenant, the lady Margaret professor, and Samuel Ward of Sidney, were there from among the Cambridge Heads; Joseph Hall represented the more moderate Puritan element in Emmanuel College, and his place, when he was compelled to retire from the proceedings, was supplied by Thomas Goad

John Hales, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. *b.* 1584, *d.* 1656.

Four of the five English deputies Cambridge men.

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[1] Clarke, *u. s.*, pp. 87–88.

[2] See Searle, *u. s.*, pp. 442–3.

of King's College; and when the representative of the Church of Scotland arrived, it was a fellow of Pembroke, the eminent Walter Balcanqual, on whom it had devolved to sustain the part[1].

Violence and arrogance of the Calvinistic deputies.

Assemblies such as that convened at Dortrecht have seldom been conspicuous for the exemplification of the Christian spirit; but the whole conduct of the dominant party on that occasion,—the fierceness of their temper, with difficulty restrained from open brawls,—the coarse and brutal exultation with which they dismissed the Remonstrants from all further participation in their counsels,—were features to which the Hampton Court Conference could furnish no parallel, and must, we cannot but think, have somewhat shocked the English delegates. The latter did not, indeed, all return to England, prepared, like Hales, to 'bid Calvin good night[2]'; they accepted the handsome medals which testified to their share in the proceedings[3]; Carleton, in after years, assailed the Arminian doctrines of Mountagu; Ward and Davenant retained their Calvinistic creed unshaken; but the disregard of all Christian courtesy and the violence done to the spirit of fair and equitable dealing which the Synod had witnessed, were talked of in wider circles at home, and combined to bring about the coming reaction in many an English mind.

Cold reception of the English delegates at Leyden.

Before the delegates left the country, they made a tour of the Provinces, and visited some of the great and once more flourishing towns, where industry and thrift were already fast effacing the last visible traces of the late heroic struggle. In all save one, they were received with generous hospitality. That single exception was Leyden, which sympathised with the Remonstrants and still cherished the memory of Arminius. And thus (and the fact must surely have given rise to some reflexion in the minds of the English delegates) it was at the seat of the one university of the age which to preeminence in science and learning united the widest religious tolerance, that they found their least gratifying reception[1].

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[1] Fuller-Brewer, v 465–6.

[2] Tulloch, *Rational Theology in England*, I 190.

[3] '—a golden medal of good value was given to every one of them, wherein the sitting of the Synod was artificially represented.' Fuller-Brewer, v 473. Hall's medal is still preserved at Emmanuel College.

The reaction in favour of a more liberal creed which now began to shew itself in the royal mind, and, in consequence, at the universities, was largely aided by another very notable circumstance,—the disfavour incurred by the writings of Paraeus. David Waengler, better known by his Latin name of Paraeus, the father of a classical scholar who did good service in his day, and the grandfather of the author of the *Historia Palatina*, a work of no great merit,—was a native of Frankenstein in Silesia. Educated in the Lutheran belief, he had exchanged it for that of Calvin, and had subsequently rendered effective aid to the party whose cause he had espoused by the publication at Nuremberg, in 1587, of a new translation of the Bible with a strongly Genevan exegesis[2]. His services had been rewarded by his appointment, in the year 1598, to the chair of divinity at Heidelberg; and in the earlier years of the seventeenth century, after Beza was no more, no name stood higher in the ranks of Calvinism than that of Paraeus for learning and acumen. As the uncompromising opponent of the temporal claims of the papacy and of the views represented by Thomas Stapleton and the Jesuits, he had acquired a special reputation, and in his prefaces to his commentaries (as well as in the commentaries themselves) on Hosea (1606), the Epistle to the Romans (1608), and that to the Hebrews (1609)—volumes at that time eagerly consulted by every diligent student at Oxford or Cambridge,—he allowed no opportunity to pass of pointing out the utter untenableness of the ultramontane pretensions. Heidelberg itself, under his influence, was beginning to succeed to the reputation of Geneva as the chief school of Calvinistic doctrine. Like Bucer, and some few other eminent theologians of the 16th century, Paraeus was however one who endeavoured to mediate between contending

DAVID PARAEUS. *b.* 1548. *d.* 1622.

Distinguished as an opponent of the temporal power of the Papacy.

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[1] Fuller-Brewer, v 473.

[2] Known as the 'Neustädtische Bibel': see Hautz, *Gesch. d. Universität Heidelberg*, II 114.

parties, and his *Irenicum* (1604) had for its special object the reconciliation, or at least a certain understanding, between the two great Protestant confessions. His endeavour, although it won the complete approval of the Elector Palatine, remained fruitless of result beyond that of exposing him to the truculent assaults of Hutter and other fanatics. Had it not been for his advanced age, Paraeus would have taken part in the Synod of Dort; Tossanus, however, was deputed to represent him on that occasion, while Alting and the fiery Scultetus also appeared as delegates from Heidelberg[1].

His *Irenicum.*

It is evident that the theological views maintained by the aged professor would hardly have prejudiced him in the good opinion of king James; and his *Commentary on the Romans*, the result of the thought and research of many years, and generally regarded as his masterpiece, had been received with great favour in England. In his notes on chapter xiii. 1[2], he had however given expression to sentiments which hardly harmonised with that theory of non-resistance and submission to the kingly power which Bancroft, Andrewes, and Laud were successively developing much to the satisfaction of their patron. Paraeus, it is true, could hardly be suspected of any sinister design, for his observations were called forth, in the first place, by his endeavour to refute the claims of the papacy to dictate to temporal princes in matters of state policy. But before dismissing the subject, Paraeus, after the fashion of the schoolmen, put forward as a 'quaestio' for consideration, whether resistance to the civil ruler be lawful in any case, and, if so, to what extent? In summing up his elaborate 'responsio,' he deemed it necessary to enforce his position by laying down four propositions, in the first of which he affirmed that 'bishops and pastors might and ought to resist impious or unjust rulers, not by force or by the sword, but with the Word of God; by demonstrating their glaring impiety and injustice, and exhorting them to the

His *Commentary on the Romans*, especially on ch. xiii. 1.

Limitations under which he proposes to accept the theory of the royal prerogative.

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[1] See *de Vita et Obitu Davidii Parei*, by his son Philip, prefixed to the second edition (3 vols. folio) of his Works published at Geneva, 1642.

[2] 'Omnis anima potestatibus supereminentibus subjecta esto; non enim est potestas nisi a Deo; et quae sunt potestates sunt a Deo ordinatae.' Beza's *Novum Testamentum.*

Paraeus asserts the rights of the bishops, the civil magistrate, and the private citizen.

performance of their duty as prescribed by the Word of God and by the laws; and, should they prove contumacious, by excommunicating them, the consent of the Church being given, until they shew themselves amenable to reason[1].' Among other instances in support of their position, he adduced the classical one of Ambrose excommunicating the emperor Theodosius for the massacre at Thessalonica. He further maintained (Prop. II) that even magistrates of inferior rank would be justified in defending themselves, the State, and the Church, against the higher civil power, whenever that power became a tyranny, or obedience to it involved idolatry. And finally, Paraeus laid it down as a conclusion, that even private subjects, menaced by a tyrant with loss of life or of chastity, would be justified, when the protection of the law itself failed, in repelling such injury, just as they would when it was offered by a private citizen[2].

Dislike which James had already evinced to such limitations.

Moderate and reasonable as such conceptions of the limitations of the royal power must now appear, they jarred sensibly on the feelings of the English monarch. The allusion to Theodosius and St Ambrose was one at which he had evinced his dislike on the occasion of his first visit to Cambridge. The master of Peterhouse, as opponent in the divinity act, had then ventured to bring forward that classical instance in contravention of the respondent's position, and the royal voice had been heard to declare, with something like a growl, that Ambrose had acted in a very arrogant fashion[3]. It is by no means improbable that the treatment

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[1] 'Episcopi et pastores magistratibus suis impiis aut iniustis possunt ac debent resistere, non vi aut gladio, sed verbo Dei; arguendo eorum notoriam impietatem aut iniustitiam et ad officium iuxta verbum Dei et iuxta leges faciendum, eos cohortando: contumaces vero de consensu Ecclesiae etiam Satanae tradendo, donec resipiscant.' *In divinam ad Romanos S. Pauli Apostoli Epistolam Commentarius*, coll. 1380–1. Francofurti, 4to. 1608 [St John's Coll. Lib. Pp. 8. 2]. See also Mr Gardiner's *History of England*, IV 297–9.

[2] *Commentarius*, *u. s.* coll. 1384–5.

[3] Nichols, *Progresses* etc. III 57. In 1610 there was printed at Cambridge a volume by David Owen, fellow of Clare College, entitled: *Herod and Pilate reconciled: or, the Concord of Papist and Puritan (against Scripture, Fathers, Councils, and other Orthodoxal Writers) for the Coercion, Deposition, and Killing of Kings*. Ralph Brownrigg, fellow of Pembroke, afterwards bishop of Exeter, narrowly escaped signal punishment for having in January, 1618, ventured to propound to Owen, in the privacy of a college chamber, the question, 'Whether a king breaking

William Knight's sermon at Oxford: 14 Apr. 1622

He maintains that tyrants are to be resisted even with force of arms.

of the question of the civil power in Paraeus's recently published volume had suggested to Davenant the propounding of his *quaestio*[1]. At Oxford, however, we are able to trace the influence of his treatise much more distinctly. The volume had there found its way into the hands of a young Oxford divine, a master of arts of Pembroke College, named William Knight. He was struck by the justice of the sentiments above cited; so much so, indeed, that having, shortly afterwards, been selected by the head of his house to preach before the university at St Mary's, he eagerly availed himself of the opportunity to reproduce with much clearness, and greatly to his own satisfaction, the doctrines taught by the eminent professor at Heidelberg. Nor was he content with adducing the precedent set by Ambrose; he brought forward also the story told by Dion Chrysostom (for which he was probably likewise indebted to Paraeus[2]) of the *dictum* of the emperor Trajan, on the occasion of presenting the captain of his guard with a sword: 'Use it in my behalf, as long as my edicts are just,—but, if unjust, against me[3].'

Admirably judicious discourse indeed! especially when, but a year or two before, Acquaviva had found it necessary to issue injunctions forbidding the Jesuits to teach the lawfulness of the murder of tyrants[4]! The vice-chancellor of

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fundamental laws may be opposed?' See Cooper, *Annals*, III 118. The jealousy with which the theory of the kingly power was at this time being guarded shews how, on the other hand, opinion was gradually shaping itself, both at the universities and elsewhere, for that counter theory which found such terrible expression in January, 1649. The treatise of Richer, *On Ecclesiastical and Political Power* (condemned by cardinal Du Perron, see Hallam, *Lit. of Europe*, II 400) added fuel to the whole controversy.

[1] 'Nulla est temporalis Papae potestas supra reges, in ordine ad bonum spirituale.' Nichols, *Progresses of James the First*, III 56; Fuller-Nuttall, I 238. It is by no means difficult to perceive that the questions put forward on these special occasions were far from being mere stock *quaestiones*, taken at random from the arsenal of the schools, but ingeniously conceived *ballons d'essai*, designed to ascertain the direction of the prevailing current in the higher regions.

[2] 'Denique Trajanus laudatur apud Dionem, quod praefecto praetorio gladium tradens dixit: *Hoc pro me utere, si iusta imperauero, contra me, si iniusta.*' *Commentarius*, u. s. col. 1383.

[3] Wood-Gutch, II 341–2.

[4] Santarelli, the Jesuit, in his *de Potestate summi Pontificis*, re-affirmed the doctrine, by maintaining that the Pope may lawfully command the execution of a King. Luther and Melanchthon, again, maintained that tyrant-murder was justifiable; so also, the extreme Puritans, and here,

Alarm of the university authorities.

Knight and his two friends are arrested. His naïve defence.

Oxford was horror-struck, and at first unable to believe but that the sermon was designed as a direct incentive to sedition, if not to the royal assassination; that it had been composed at the covert instigation of some influential malcontents, he felt no doubt whatever. Knight's defence, on being summoned before the authorities, seems almost touching in its simplicity. In the first place, he confessed that he had appeared in borrowed plumes, for his teaching was but a reproduction of that of the great Paraeus. But then, he urged, he had also the royal sanction itself for the teaching he had put forward, for was not king James at that very time encouraging the citizens of Rochelle in their armed resistance to *their* King? As for having been instigated to write his discourse, he protested that only two other persons had ever even seen the manuscript,—namely two fellow masters of arts, John Herbert, vicar of Radley, and one John Code[1].

His confinement at Westminster and subsequent death.

His artless pleading proved of no avail. All three of the Pembroke collegians were forthwith committed to prison; and Knight, having subsequently been brought to London and examined by Laud, was sent to the Gate House at Westminster. There he languished for two years; and when eventually he was set at liberty, at the intercession of the compassionate lord-keeper, Williams, the act of mercy came too late, and he died within a few months from the effects of his rigorous imprisonment[2].

James thanks the University of Oxford: 24 Apr. 1622.

A royal letter, endorsed by Laud, conveyed to the university the 'princely thanks' for its prompt action; at the same time the Heads were desired to recall to remembrance 'that which we have heretofore so seriously recommended to both the universities concerning the studie of divinity; which was that the students in that profession should apply themselves in the first place to the reading of the Scriptures, next the Councells and ancient Fathers, and then the Schoolmen,

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as David Owen maintained, the Jesuit and the Puritan met. See Kraus, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, p. 486; Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, I⁴ 80.

[1] Wood-Gutch, II 342.

[2] *Ibid.* II 347–8.

excluding those neotericks, both Jesuits and Puritans, who are knowne to be medlers in matters of State and monarchy[1].'

Stimulated by this commendation and advice, the university proceeded forthwith to enact a formal condemnation of the conclusions of Paraeus (which were cited in a somewhat garbled form),—affirming in the most explicit terms the doctrine of passive obedience. However much a prince might place in jeopardy the safety, the honour, the religion, or even the lives of his subjects, it could never be lawful, it was declared, to resist him by actual force[2]. At Cambridge, though somewhat more tardily, a like condemnation was passed in full senate; the kingly power was declared to be subject to none save God, all resistance to the same was pronounced infamous, and the writings of Paraeus were branded as infamous and forbidden to be read[3]. The archbishop and bishops having in the mean time reported to the Privy Council that the *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* embodied 'most dangerous and seditious doctrine[4]', orders were given that the works of Paraeus should be publicly burnt; and in St Mary's Churchyard at Oxford, in the Regent Walk at Cambridge, and at Paul's Cross in London (where Dr Montaigne preached the sermon) this crowning act of condemnation was duly carried into effect[5].

The conclusions of Paraeus formally censured at Oxford: 25 June, 1622.

Similar condemnation approved in the senate at Cambridge: 17 July, 1622.

Report of the archbishop and bishops to the Privy Council: 22 May 1622.

The works of Paraeus burned at Oxford (6 June) at Cambridge (22 June) and at Paul's Cross (23 June).

Almost at the very time that the flames were consuming his volumes in this country, Paraeus himself died at Heidelberg,—taken, it might well seem, from the evil to come. He passed peacefully away in the midst of the university which he had so long and ably served[6], unconscious of the obloquy that had overtaken his well-earned fame in England[7], and spared

Death of Paraeus: 15-25 June, 1622.

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[1] *State Papers (Dom.) James the First*, XXXIX no. 58; Wood-Gutch, II 342.

[2] Wood-Gutch, II 345–7.

[3] *State Papers, u. s.* CXXXII no. 48.

[4] *Ibid.* CXXX no. 106.

[5] Wood-Gutch, II 345; Cooper, *Annals*, III 144.

[6] '—ut eodem in loco corpore desineret esse PARAEUS, quo in et quo ex loco fama ac ingenio cepit esse PARAEUS.' *Epig. Rectoris Academiae, de Vita*, etc. *u. s.*

[7] 'Some have said that these matters, coming to the knowledge of Paraeus, broke his heart; but how it could be I cannot perceive, forasmuch that he died 15 of June this year, when then (as 'tis probable) he had heard nothing of what was done in England against his works.' Wood-Gutch, II 348. As the 15 of June at Heidelberg would be, at that time, the 25th in England, there is no reason why the Report of the bishops (drawn up more than a month before

from beholding the horrors in which, a few months later, the palatine city became involved and the dark cloud that for some years rested on its schools.

William Lucy's Arminian sermon: Commencement Sunday, 1622.

It was a significant circumstance that, but a few days before the burning of Paraeus's volumes in the Regent Walk, one of Buckingham's chaplains, William Lucy of Caius College, ventured to preach at St Mary's a sermon strongly tinctured with Arminian views. Not less than a dozen Jesuits were said to have been noted among his audience, and Lucy himself narrowly escaped being non-placeted for his degree of B.D.[1]. The Calvinistic party in the university could not however but be aware that a strong counter current of theological feeling was rising around them, and the Puritan section began to take measures for providing against a coming storm. At the two colleges where their strength chiefly lay, various circumstances combined to render their position one of no little anxiety. At Queens', the retirement of Davenant, on his acceptance of the bishopric of Salisbury, appears to have involved that of Preston. It was probably partly from a consciousness that this would be the case, that Davenant was himself desirous of retaining his office as president[2], remote as would be the sphere of his new duties. Of merely selfish motives he may fairly be acquitted, for his interest in the welfare of the society was warm and genuine, and he was consequently especially anxious that Preston's connexion with it should not be severed. His wishes, however, were overruled; and on the 29th April 1622, John Mansel was elected by the fellows

Retirement of Davenant from the presidency of Queens'.

Election of JOHN MANSEL, president, 1622-1631.

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his death) should not have been heard of by Paraeus; but the rumour to which Wood refers is sufficiently refuted by the language of Paraeus's son: 'Illam [sc. *Epistolam ad Romanos*] deinceps Commentario illustravit neruosissimo et accuratissimo, omnibusque theologis, etiam iis qui varo pede incederent, nec essent orthodoxi, apprime probauit, donec viginti annorum intervallo [the Commentary was first made public in the shape of a professorial praelection, 13 Jan. 1603 (N.S.)] *post authoris μακαρισμὸν in transmarinis nonnulli σκολιοπρήγμονες mortuo leoni barbam vellere conati sunt.*' *de Vita*, etc. *u. s.*

[1] Cooper, *Annals*, III 135.

[2] He was promoted through the influence of Williams, at that time only dean of Westminster. 'Twelve years ago,' says Hacket, 'he had been public reader in divinity in Cambridge, and had adorned the place with much learning, as no professor in Europe did better deserve to receive the labourer's penny at the twelfth hour of the day.' *Life of Archbishop Williams*, i 63.

as his successor[1]. It is evident, even by the admission of his own admiring biographer, that Preston was far from being a favorite among the fellows of his college. They envied his fine talents and his popularity; while he, perhaps, shewed himself a little too indifferent to their good opinion[2].

Critical state of affairs at Emmanuel College.

The state of affairs at Emmanuel pointed likewise to change. The determination of the fellows to maintain the reputation of the house, as the home of austere life and arduous study, was as strong as ever, but since the royal visit of March, 1615, they had been made aware that the demeanour of the society on that occasion had been construed into actual disaffection towards both the Church and the Crown. If it could only be arranged that Preston should become their head, they believed that these suspicions would be disarmed. His royal chaplaincy and the place which he held in Buckingham's esteem would win back the favour of the Court; while his character and known sympathies were a sufficient guarantee that his policy as an administrator would be in harmony with the traditions of the college. The experience of Christ's College, again,—where Cary was gradually driving out all those who were suspected of Puritan sympathies,—was constantly before their eyes; and it was felt to be a matter of the highest importance that, in order to avert a similar experience, they should endeavour to obtain the privilege of a free election while Buckingham's friendly influence was still in the ascendency to secure it for them[3].

It is proposed that Chaderton shall retire and Preston be appointed his successor.

Chaderton's green old age.

The main obstacle to such a course was the difficulty in bringing about the retirement of the master for the time being. He had held the office ever since the foundation of the college, and having reached his eighty-ninth year, might well seem to have arrived at that time of life when such cares and responsibilities are fitly resigned to younger men. Laurence Chaderton, however, was an altogether exceptional man. He exhibited no signs of decay, either mental or physical. His memory was unimpaired, his digestion excellent, and he read his Greek Testament (printed in very small type)

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[1] Searle, *Hist. of Queens' College*, p. 447.

[2] Clarke, *Lives*, p. 91.

[3] *Ibid.* pp. 92–93.

His reluctance to give place to an unknown successor.

His poverty.

without the aid of glasses[1]. When, moreover, the exigencies under which the society laboured were put before him, although genuinely anxious to do what was best for its future advantage, he was perplexed by a twofold difficulty: his own future maintenance (should he retire),—for he had saved nothing from his slender income; and the possibility that the news of his retirement might simply precipitate the dreaded calamity, and that the royal mandate might impose another Cary on Emmanuel.

Buckingham's influence and generosity provide a solution of the difficulty.

It was to Buckingham that the college was indebted for a solution of the question, which at once dispelled the anxieties of their aged Head and gave them the new master whom they desired. On the 20 Sept. 1622, he addressed to Chaderton a letter informing him that the king was not only willing to sanction Preston's election but wished to recommend him to the society 'before any other'; while as regarded Chaderton's own future, the writer pledged himself to make all necessary provision as soon as 'fit occasion should be offered[2].'

Secresy observed at the election.

It is a somewhat surprising feature in the election that now took place, and must be regarded as a significant illustration of the want of good faith by which such transactions were often in those days accompanied, that, notwithstanding the apparent agreement among the fellows in favour of Preston, and the emphatic sanction expressed both by his retiring predecessor and by the king, it was yet deemed necessary to keep their intention a profound secret, and even to lock the college gates on the morning of the election, in order that 'no Judas' among 'the twelve'[1] might steal forth, and betray and frustrate their design[2].

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[1] 'Memini me semel videre illum legentem exiguis admodum characteris Testamentum Graecum, et quidem absque ulla conspicillorum ope; quorum tamen usum aiebat se ante quadraginta annos necessario aliquandiu adhibuisse. Accepi porro a summa fide viris, ne minimum quidem in Bibliis suis Hebraeis apicem aciem oculorum ejus fefellisse...Vidi ego illum id aetatis carne bovina sale condita et durata salsamentisque vescentem et sine omni ventriculi convicio, ut aiebat.' *Vita Laurentii Chadertoni*, &c. a Wilhelmo Dillingham, S. T. P. (Lond. 12mo. 1700), pp. 41–42; Transl. by E. S. Shuckburgh, p. 22.

[2] Clarke's *Lives*, pp. 93–94. It is not a little surprising that, although Ball professes to give a copy of Buckingham's letter, Dillingham, in his *Vita Chadertoni*, almost entirely denies the correctness of this account of the circumstances which preceded Preston's election. He speaks scornfully of Ball as 'proletarius quidam scriptor Anglicus,' and goes on to say 'Although I do not deny that this same successor (i.e. Preston) being a man of somewhat more politic nature and judging of others by himself, may have had some letter of that kind in readiness and even that it may afterwards have been found among his papers, yet it is at least certain that it was never delivered, and that no promise was made in it about any allowance for Chaderton's support, and no assurance given, expected, or asked for, nor even so much as known of on the part of the venerable man.' *Vita*, p. 32; transl. by Shuckburgh, p. 16. It seems difficult to suppose that either Preston or his biographer could have concocted such a letter; and it is deserving of note that Fuller speaks in high terms of Ball's labours: see his *Church History* (ed. Brewer), VI 56.

Preston, master of Emmanuel, 1622—1628. He is escorted from Queens' College to his new home.

It was a white day in Preston's life, when, attended by the scholars and fellows of Queens' in their academic attire, he crossed Trumpington Street and passed down Dowdiver's Lane to be received, as the new master, at the gates of Emmanuel. There was a banquet of unwonted profuseness and magnificence, at which those who had escorted him and the whole college were entertained,—the members of Queens' afterwards returning home and leaving him behind[3]. To natures such as his, endowed with fine talents and animated by lofty purposes, mature life can bring with it no more genuine satisfaction than that enlarged scope for the exercise of their powers which constitutes in itself a new stimulus to exertion; and, as the head of one of the chief Cambridge colleges, in favour alike with the Court, with his own influential party, and with the town, Preston must have seemed to have reached the summit of success in the university with which his name had so long been associated, and where it was now evident that he designed that his future life should be mainly spent. There was still however one thing wanting to his full contentment, and this was the freedom again to

He reaches the climax of his career.

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[1] The number of the fellows of Emmanuel.

[2] Clarke's *Lives*, p. 94. Ball's account of the election is confirmed by a letter (5 Oct. 1622) from Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ's College, to Sir Martin Stuteville: 'You will perhaps, or some others may,' adds this writer, 'wonder how this busines could be kept so close, since the vacation was to be published by a schedule sett up till the election. But this circumstance is requisite only if any of the fellows be absent, thereby to signifie the election to them,—to prevent which they made choise of a time when all their fellows were at home, to call them together, and make knowne the resignation to all present at once.' Heywood and Wright, *Cambridge Transactions*, &c. II 313.

[3] Heywood and Wright, *u. s.* pp. 312–3; Clarke's *Lives*, p. 94.

preach, as he had been wont to preach before his last sermon at St Botolph's. This too was before long afforded him. In the year 1624, the lectureship at Trinity Church fell vacant, and the townsmen resolved that, if possible, their once favorite preacher should be appointed to the post. In order to make it more worthy of his acceptance, they raised subscriptions by which the former stipend was nearly doubled[1]. There was however a party in the university who supported the claims of Paul Micklethwaite, a fellow of Sidney,—the same excellent divine who, in the reign of king Charles, pleaded with so much good sense and force, the cause of the poor in relation to Sunday labour[2],—and Micklethwaite's claims were also advocated by the bishop of Ely[3]. The living of Trinity was at that time in the gift of the Crown, and eventually the contending parties found it necessary to submit their dispute to the royal arbitration at Royston. King James, who had by no means forgotten the sermon at St Botolph's and the appearance of angry and denunciatory Dr Newcome at Newmarket, was nervously apprehensive of similar disturbances, and did his best to persuade Preston to retire from the competition, even offering him the see of Chichester, just vacant, in compensation. But his persuasions were without result; and Preston, backed by his powerful patron[4], was eventually appointed to the lectureship (his last preferment) and preached at Trinity Church, says his biographer, 'after all his time and did much good.'

He is elected lecturer at Trinity Church, Sept. 1624.

Apprehensions and reluctant consent of king James.

Glimmerings of science.

The student of the history of science, who, amid these wearying strifes of theologians and that ceaseless reiteration of dogma which have so largely filled our pages, seeks to discern the signs of the growth of a more real knowledge and of the bestowal of the 'divinely-imparted gift of reason on that which should benefit the human race[1],' is compelled reluctantly to admit that whatever Cambridge then achieved in this direction was the outcome of individual genius, rising superior to the prevailing influences of the culture that surrounded it. When Bacon, in 1620, penned the singularly graceful letter in which he sought the acceptance by the university of the copy of his *Novum Organum,* he seems to have felt himself under the necessity of half apologising for the novelty of his conceptions and of his method,—as innovations 'such as the revolving ages and centuries must needs bring[2].' Science and its votaries found, as yet, no permanent home at Cambridge. John Dee, who was remembered chiefly for the ingenuity with which he had represented, in the hall of Trinity, the Scarabaeus in the *Pax* of Aristophanes mounting upwards, with his human burden and the basket of victuals on his back, to the very presence of Jove,—had degenerated from science to pseudo-science and imposture, and died at Mortlake in 1610 in pitiable need[3]. Gilbert of Colchester[4],—of whom Bacon says that he had 'made a philosophy out of a loadstone', and whose treatise *de Magnete* heads the list of really original works on physical science in England,—had long been removed to London, where as royal physician, he enjoyed the favour and good fame that rightfully belong to those who unfeignedly seek the 'usus humani

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[1] Clarke, *Lives*, p. 95.

[2] Fuller-Brewer, VI 93.

[3] Nicholas Felton, master of Pembroke from 1616 to 1618: on the similarity of his career and character to those of bishop Andrewes, see *Ibid.* VI 63.

[4] 'At the time appointed it came unto an hearing, and an argument was urged against the Doctor, namely, that it was a lecture maintained by sixpences, a thing unseemly for a master of a college and the Prince his chaplain; but the Duke had taken care that nothing should be ordered and concluded against the Doctor's mind, for the Duke resolved not to lose him.' Clarke, *Lives*, p. 96.

Observations of Bacon on presenting his *Novum Organum* to the university.

JOHN DEE, of St John's and Trinity. *b.* 1527. *d.* 1608.

WILLIAM GILBERT, fellow of St John's. *b.* 1540. *d.* 1603.

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[1] 'Appetunt enim homines scientiam, alii ex insita curiositate et irrequieta; alii animi causa et delectationis; alii existimationis gratia; alii contentionis ergo, atque ut in disserendo superiores sint; plerique propter lucrum et victum; *paucissimi ut donum rationis divinitus datum in usus humani generis impendant.*' Bacon, *de Augmentis*, bk. i.

[2] 'Cum vester filius sim et alumnus, voluptati mihi erit partum meum nuper editum vobis in gremium dare, aliter enim velut pro exposito eum haberem. Nec vos moveat quod via nova sit. *Necesse est enim talia per aetatum et saeculorum circuitus evenire:* antiquis tamen suus constat honos, ingenii scilicet. Nam fides Verbo Dei et experientiae tantum debetur; scientias autem ad experientias retrahere non conceditur, at easdem ab experientia de integro excitare,—operosum certe, sed pervium. Deus vobis et studiis vestris faveat. Filius vester amantissimus, FR. VERULAM, Cancell. Apud Aedes Eboracenses'. *Epist. Acad.* II 800.

[3] Cooper, *Athenae*, II 497–510.

[4] *Ibid.* II 356–360. 'His work,' says Whewell, 'contains all the fundamental facts of the science; so fully examined indeed, that even at this day we have little to add to them.' See note to p. 47 of Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, ed. by Mr. W. A. Wright.

WILLIAM OUGHTRED. *b.* 1574. *d.* 1660.

WILLIAM HARVEY. *b.* 1578. *d.* 1657.

generis'. William Oughtred, although he had composed his 'Easy Method of Geometrical Dialling' while a scholar of King's[1], had left the university about the commencement of the century to commence that part of his life which was spent in the exemplary discharge of the duties of a parish priest at Aldbury. William Harvey, after six years' residence at Caius College, had quitted the university at nearly the same time as Oughtred, to study medicine at Padua, and was now in London, engaged in observations on the facts which led to his great scientific discovery.

Condition of the university towards the close of James' reign.

His last visit to the university, Dec. 1624.

Signature of the Marriage Treaty, 12 Dec. 1624.

But although lacking the best elements of progress, the condition of the university, as the reign of James drew towards its close, was not, to outward appearances unsatisfactory. In the year 1622, its numbers had risen to 3050[2]; it was prosperous and comparatively at peace. In the year 1624, Brackyn resigned his office as recorder[3], and from this time we may note a perceptible diminution of those embroilments with the town, the memory of which his appearance in public, in his official capacity, had never failed to recall. Once again, and little more than three months before his death, king James revisited the university. He was suffering severely from gout, and was compelled, for the most part, to remain secluded in his apartments at Trinity College; and his visit is chiefly memorable from the fact that the ratification of the match between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Henrietta Maria was signed during his stay[4].

Aspect of affairs, June, 1625.

Dr Samuel Ward's survey of the situation.

The new reign opened ominously amid tidings of war abroad and of pestilence at home. The levy for the Palatinate was disquieting the town, and the approach of the plague, the colleges. Towards the return of Commencement Day, the pious master of Sidney, as he summed up the aspects of affairs at home and of the political world abroad, could discern nothing that augured hopefully for the future. So gloomy was the outlook that, to his troubled apprehension, it seemed to summon the nation to a solemn day of fasting and humiliation[1]. It was doubtless a dispiriting time. The cold and cheerless summer foretold the failure of the harvest. Some of the best and ablest of the nation's leaders had recently passed away. There was pestilence and there was widespread want. The sinister policy of Richelieu was filling the wisest statesmen with apprehension. The royal marriage, once hailed as a blow to Catholicism, had been followed by the re-introduction of the Catholic ritual at court, and boded no good to Puritan interests. Genoa, Breda, and the Palatinate were names much on men's lips, and never uttered but with sorrow and indignation and misgivings of yet darker days at hand.

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[1] *Horologiorum Sciotericorum in Plano, geometrice solum, sine Calculo Trigonometrica, delineandorum, Modus facillimus. Inventore Guilelmo Oughtredo* 23^{um} *Aetatis Annum agente.* Oxoniae, 1652. Oughtred was admitted at King's in 1592 (Allen, *Lives*, II 1039), aet. 18.

[2] Cooper, *Annals*, III 148. The total at Oxford in 1611 was 2420. Wood-Gutch, II 307.

[3] *Ibid.* III 169.

[4] Nichols, *Progresses*, etc. IV 1008.

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[1] MS. Diary at Sidney College. Compare the language of one of the senior fellows of Trinity when it was proposed, in 1623, that there should be a performance of plays (in anticipation of the king's *third* visit): 'that these times required rather prayers and fasting than plays and feasting.' Nichols, *Progresses*, etc. IV 810. Dr Richardson, the master, and the seniority appear to have taken this view, in opposition to the younger fellows. The objection was however overruled at Court and order was given for the plays to go on.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

(A) pp. 138—144.

[The following selections from the two earliest codes of Trinity College are limited to statutes bearing upon the organisation, studies, and general discipline of the society, to which reference is made in the text. The titles of all the statutes are however given below, those which refer to statutes *altogether omitted in the selection* being enclosed in brackets. As regards the later code it may be observed that most of the *omitted statutes* may be found printed (with comparatively unimportant subsequent alterations) in *Documents*, III 411-472. The passages printed in Italics are those which especially illustrate the statements in the text.]

EARLY STATUTES OF TRINITY COLLEGE.

Statutes of 1552.	Statutes of 1560.
1. Prooemium.	
2. De praesidis officio.	2. De magistri officio.
3. De universa collegii distributione. 4. De electione magistratuum.	3. De seniorum numero atque officio.
5. Propraesidis officium.	4. De vicemagistri officio.
6. De censorum officio.	5. De officio decanorum.
7. De quaestorum officio.	6. De thesaurariorum officio.
8. De magistro aulae et quaestoribus.	7. De senescalli officio.
9. Concionatorum officium.	8. De concionatorum officio.
10. Aeditui sacri officium.	9. De lectorum officio.
11. Tutorum et pupillorum officium.	10. De tutorum et pupillorum officio.
	11. De officiariorum et lectorum et seniorum et concionatorum electione.

Statutes of 1552.	Statutes of 1560.
12. Sociorum electio. 13. —— jusjurandum.	12. De sociorum electione.
14. Discipulorum electio. 15. —— jusjurandum.	13. Discipulorum electio.
16. De pensionariis.	14. De pensionariis.
[17. De mediastinis.]	15. De sisatoribus et subsisatoribus.
[18. De famulis collegii et praesidis.]	[17. De gratiis agendis, de fundatoris aliorumque benefactorum commendatione et de legendis bibliis.]
[19. De viginti quatuor pauperibus.]	
20. De communibus precationibus frequentandis.	[16. De cultu Dei.]
21. De ordine publicarum exercitationum.	18. De publicis sociorum et discipulorum exercitationibus scholasticis, et de sermone Latino.
22. De tempore assumendi gradus academicos et ecclesiasticos.	19. De tempore assumendi gradus scholasticos et sacros ordines.
23. De modestia et honestate morum colenda.	[20. De modestia et honestate morum colenda.]
24. De excessu ex academia.	[21. De vestitu et ornatu deque armis non gestandis.]
25. De causis relinquendi collegii.	[22. De exitu ex academia et copia exeundi petenda.]
26. De commeatu collegii.	
[27. Cubiculorum distributio.]	[26. De cubiculorum distributione.]
[28. Stipendia collegii.]	
[29. De vestibus quas liberaturas vocant.]	[23. De vestibus quas liberaturas vocant.]
[30. De aegrotantium provisione.]	24. De comoediis ludisque in Natali Christi exhibendis.
[31. De vitanda peste et aeris contagione.]	[25. De vitanda peste et aeris contagione.]
[32. De agris et fundis collegii perlustrandis.]	[28. De sacerdotiis, praediis, agris et fundis collegii lustrandis.]
[33. De rationibus collegii ducendis.]	
[34. De expensis eorum qui collegii negotia obeunt.]	[27. De expensis eorum qui ad collegii negotia obeunda emittuntur.]
[35. De custodia bonorum collegii.]	[29. De custodia bonorum collegii.]
[36. De cistis et sigillo publico.]	

STATUTES OF 1552.	STATUTES OF 1560.
[37. De evidentiis et monumentis.]	[32. De evidentiis et monumentis collegii.]
[38. De bonis collegii non alienandis et indenturis firmarum.]	
[39. De sacerdotiorum collatione.]	[30. De sacerdotiorum collatione.]
[40. De praeside inhabili et malo expellendo.]	[31. De januis et ostiis.]
	[32. De evidentiis et monimentis collegii.]
[41. De poena majorum criminum.]	
	[33. De computo quod vocant faciendo.]
[42. De corrigendis minoribus criminibus.]	
	[34. De sigillo communi.]
[43. De fundatoris et aliorum beneficiorum commendatione.]	[35. De possessionibus collegii non alienandis et de locationibus earundem.]
[44. De statutorum lectione et scrutinio.]	
	[36. De auditoris et senescalli curiarum officiis.]
[45. De ambiguis interpretandis et regulis quibusdam generalibus.]	
	[37. De famulis collegii.]
	[38. De poena majorum criminum et minorum.]
[46. De visitatore.]	
[47. Peroratio.]	[39. De causis quibusdam collegii deserendi in aliis statutis non expressis.]
	[40. De magistri, si res exigat, amotione.]
	[41. De officio trium lectorum publicorum qui in scholis academiae praelegunt, quorum unus theologiam, alter linguam Hebraicam, tertius Graecam docet.]
	[42. De officio pauperum.]
	[43. De commeatu stipendiis et liberaturis omnium qui collegii sumptibus aluntur ac sustentantur.]
	[44. De peregrinis qui ad mensam magistri et sociorum invitantur.]
	[45. De pensionibus seu annuitatibus.]
	[46. De statutorum lectione et interpretatione.]

STATUTES OF TRINITY COLLEGE (A.D. 1552) to which reference is made in the text.

C. 2. *De praesidis officio.*

Unus igitur sit magister et moderator totius collegii, quasi mens in corpore, qui magister sive praeses appelletur. Hujus authoritati ceteri omnes subjecti sint. Hic doctrina, religione, vitae integritate, prudentia, aequitate, fide, studio erga collegium ceteris praestet, et authoritatis dignitas in illustri virtute luceat et exemplum ceteris proponatur, atque honos illi propterea justus habeatur.

Ad praesidem universi collegii omniumque ejus partium administratio pertinet, sed nisi ubi causam aliquam cognoscendam aut muneris partem obeundam, sibi ipsi assumere velit, a singulis quae aliis magistratibus mandantur ipse liber sit; tantum praecipuam curam habeat ut omnes magistratus officium suum faciant, in quo aeque laborare propraeses debet. Quae graviores collegii causae praeterea sunt, eae < huic > propriae sunto. Hujus locum nos nostrae electioni reservamus; collegio ceteros studiosos eligendos tribuimus. Is designatus a nobis tum verus praeses habeatur ubi hoc jurejurando se collegio devinxerit, et nomen suum tempusque jurisjurandi in collegii commentarios sua manu retulerit.

Jurisjurandum hoc suum coram universa collegii frequentia det.

Ego N. N. a regia majestate magister sive praeses designatus huic collegio Sanctae et Individuae Trinitatis, hoc sacramento [? meipsum] astringo et Deo teste promitto ac spondeo, primo me veram Christi religionem omni animo complexurum, Scripturae authoritatem hominum judiciis praepositurum, regulam vitae et summam fidei ex verbo Dei petiturum, caetera quae ex verbo Dei non probantur pro humanis et non necessariis habiturum; authoritatem regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam aestimaturum, et contrarias verbo Dei opiniones omni voluntate et mente refutaturum, vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis in religionis causa ante habiturum.

Deinde me omnia dicti collegii beneficia, fundos, possessiones, dominia, proventus, jura, libertates, privilegia, omnia denique bona, sine imminutione et vastatione administraturum; omnes et singulos socios et discipulos ex statutis his et praescriptionibus regiae majestatis sine ullius generis aut conditionis aut personarum gratia aut odio recturum et de-

STATUTES OF 1560.

Proportio seu distributio Collegii Sanctae et Individuae TRINITATIS Cantabrigiae a rege Henrico Octavo fundati auctoritate regia descripta et confirmata.

STAT. 2. *De magistri officio.*

Principio cum a capite, cui reliqua membra subjecta esse debent, exordium capiendum sit, statuimus et ordinamus ut in hoc collegio unus sit magister, tanquam caput, cui ceteri omnes pareant; sitque ita moribus et doctrina institutus ut sicut honore ceteros antecellit ita eximia pietate et singulari rerum cognitione eos antecellere merito existimetur. Sitque vere catholicus et orthodoxus; sit praeterea sacro presbyteri ordine initiatus et gradu vel doctoris theologiae vel baccalaurei saltem ejusdem facultatis insignitus. Res collegii et negotia ita administret ut non suum sed commune solum commodum quaerere videatur, et in causis cognoscendis decernendisve neque odio neque ulli animi perturbationi pareat, sed aequitatem ducem semper sequatur. Cujus nominandi et eligendi potestatem (ut literae patentes de ejusdem collegii fundatione volunt) omnino penes nos et successores nostros esse volumus. Isque pro magistro habeatur et acceptetur, magistrique officio in omnibus fungatur quem nos aut successores nostri praeficiendum, perque litteras nostras patentes magno sigillo nostro Angliae aut successorum nostrorum sigillatas nominandum duxerimus. Quem quidem magistrum sic nominatum et designatum praesentes vicemagister ejusve vicarius aut maxime senior socius reliquique socii assument et admittent in perpetuum magistrum collegii sanctae et individuae Trinitatis Cantabrigiae. Atque in hac sua admissione magister ipse, antequam ullam collegii administrationem suscipiat aut ullis negotiis collegii se ingerat, in hanc formam in sacello coram universo sociorum ejusdem collegii coetu, sine ulla haesitatione jurabit; quod quidem si recusaverit, eum nullo modo in magistrum dicti collegii admitti volumus:

Ego N. N....ante habiturum (*identical in first paragraph with statute of* 1552).

Deinde me omnia dicti collegii sacerdotia, fundos, praedia, possessiones, dominia, reditus, proventus, jura, libertates, privilegia, omnia denique bona sine imminutione aut vastatione, quantum in me situm fuerit, conservaturum ; statuta hujus collegii in omnibus servaturum, et eadem vere, sincere, et omnino secundum sensum grammaticalem interpretaturum; omnes et singulos socios et discipulos, pensionarios, sisatores, subsisatores et cetera collegii membra ex eisdem statutis et legibus sine ullius generis aut conditionis aut personarum respectu, gratia, odiove recturum et defensurum; atque ut officiarii omnes, socii ac discipuli ceteraque collegii membra, diligenter suum faciant officium fensurum, atque ut praedicta omnia legitime et salutariter ab aliis administrentur et defendantur curaturum.

Tum me neque in meis neque in alienis negotiis plus tribus in anno mensibus abfuturum, nisi vel collegii vel regni negotia vel regia autoritas me alio avocarint, aut vis morbi, contagio, aut alia quaevis causa necessaria a collegii senatu ante sedecim dies post tres menses expletos approbanda impediverit.

Denique si loco motus fuero aut si sponte cessero, me omnia collegii bona quae in potestate sunt vel esse debent, propraesidi et quaestoribus collegii, vel statim si id commode fieri potest, vel intra quindecem dies sine controversia et imminutione redditurum. Haec omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste me sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

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STAT. 3. *De universa collegii distributione.*

Collegium universum in socios et discipulos tribuatur. Socii quinquaginta numero sint, discipuli autem sexaginta. Socii sint magistri artium aut qui altioris alicujus gradus sunt; ceteri autem omnes, etiam bachelaurii artium ad societatem designati, discipuli sint.

Ex sociis magistratus, e magistratibus senatus, existit; magistratus sunt qui annuum aliquod munus sibi assignatum a praeside et senatu habent.

Digniores magistratus senatus sunto. Hi autem sint propraeses, censores, magister aulae, quaestores, et praeterea regii professores quotcunque in eo collegio socii fuerint.

Minores magistratus sint concionatores, quaesitores Latinarum et Graecarum conversionum, quaesitores aulae et aedituus sacer.

De senatu igitur primum ac sicuti par est, omnium electiones describantur.

STAT. 4. *De electione magistratuum.*

Post annuas rationes confectas, propraeses, quaestores, et aedituus sacer, clavibus suis quas habent, praesidi traditis et munere illorum abdicato discedant. Reliquique magistratus, lectis primum a praeside statutis de singulorum eligendorum officiis, jusjurandum praesidi dent, et praeses illis, se neminem ad aliquod munus electuros, quem non conscientiae suae testimonio idoneum ad hoc munus suscipiendum judicaverint, nec gratiae, odio, aut alicui perturbationi locum daturos.

curaturum. Tum me neque meis neque alienis negotiis amplius *quatuor in anno mensibus* a collegio abfuturum, nisi vel collegii vel regni negotia vel regia autoritas me alio avocaverit, aut vis morbi, contagio, aut alia quaepiam causa necessaria ab octo collegii senioribus, aut majore parte eorum, ante sedecem dies post quatuor menses approbanda impediverit.

Postremo si munere magistri vel sponte abiero, vel jure ac legitime abdicatus fuero, me omnia collegii bona quae in mea potestate custodiave sunt aut esse debent vicemagistro, decanis, et thesaurariis collegii, vel statim, si id commode fieri poterit, vel intra quindecim dies, sine controversia, tergiversatione, aut aliqua eorundem diminutione redditurum; et siquam pecuniae summam id temporis collegio debuero, obsides sufficientes daturum vicemagistro et ceteris collegii sociis et scholaribus de eadem pecunia penitus ante finem trium mensium proxime sequentium dissolvenda. Nullum litem actionemve collegio aut his qui me legitime abdicaverant ea de causa unquam in posterum intenturum. Haec omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste me pro virili facturum polliceor, sicut me Deus adjuvet et haec sacrosancta Evangelia.

STAT. 3. *De seniorum numero atque officio.*

Quoniam in omnibus causis plene cognoscendis riteque dijudicandis prudenti consilio imprimis opus est, idcirco statuimus et volumus ut octo viri et gravitate et prudentia praestantes qui magistro in collegii causis tractandis decidendisque subsidio sint, tanquam consiliarii adjungantur, hique vocentur seniores, qui tum propter autoritatem tum propter gravitatem et prudentiam sint quasi primarii et principes in R. P. viri, quos ceteri omnes revereantur et quorum consilium plurimi faciant.

Quod si horum quisquam vel socium, vel discipulum, vel ullum aliud collegii membrum officio deesse, aut vitam parum prudenter et honeste instituere, aut litteris indiligenter operam dare aliquando animadvertat, illum amice commonefaciat horteturque ut quod peccatum sit ab eo per imprudentiam mature corrigat. Horum quisquam cum e collegio exiverit, socium maxime seniorem qui non sit unus ex his octo senioribus neque alterius senioris vicarius, pro se relinquat et in registro notet. Omnium denique istorum vicarios seu deputatos eamdem autoritatem in omnibus rebus habere volumus quam illi ipsi, cum domi sint, habeant.

Electionis ordo sit ut propraeside electo de censoribus agatur, tum de quaestoribus, ad extremum de aedituo sacro.

Atque in ferendis suffragiis is pro electo habeatur quem praeses et magistratus judicaverint eligendum. Quod si ter suffragantes de uno aliquo non consenserint, is electus sit quem praeses eligendum et nominandum duxerit.

Post comitia autem die Veneris aut Sabbati eodem modo magister aulae et quaesitores omnes ad praesidem accedant, et de eligendis in proximum annum novis admoneant. Praeses tum et senatus de ea re coeant, et similem electionis formam ut superius habeant, ordine hoc servato, ut magister aulae et quaesitores Latinae et Graecae translationis deinde quaesitores aulae eligantur.

Electionibus suis confectis, in amplissima sociorum [congregatione] jusjurandum dent de obeundo fideliter munere suo, et nomina et jusjurandi summam in commentarios collegii referant; atque haec sit omnium magistratuum electionis forma.

Stat. 5. *Propraesidis officium.*

Grave est praesidi tantam provinciam soli sustinere, nullos tam magni oneris participes et socios habere. Propraesidis igitur officium idem quod praesidis sit, nisi si quid his statutis praesidi reservatur, aequalem curam omnium habeat, tam praesente quam absente praeside, omnes ordines in officio contineat; sed magistratuum imprimis curam habeat, illos si muneri suo desint pro arbitrio suo puniat nisi poena expressa aliqua mentio pro ea culpa in statutis fiat. Legum et statutorum custodia, sacrarum precum frequentatio, litterarum et virtutis progressus ab illo non modo spectentur sed procurentur et delinquentes quomodo oportet a magistratibus coerceantur, sin minus, ipse in magistratus dupla poena adhibita animadvertat.

A collegio ne absit nisi gravi de causa, eaque a senatu approbanda, ejus absentis locum et authoritatem suppleat concionator senior, cui nulla clavium custodia demandata est.

Stat. 6. *De censorum officio.*

Censores vitae, religionis, et morum,—magister aulae litterarum humanitatis et doctrinae,—quaestores rei familiaris et pecuniariae curam agant.

Censores sacra curent, eorum authoritati in sacris administrandis ceteri pareant, omnes in Dominico nisi bibliorum libros a quovis in-

Stat. 4. *De vicemagistri officio.*

In recta collegii administratione quoniam magister neque tantum oneris solus sustinere neque domi semper esse poterit: idcirco statuimus et ordinamus ut vicemagister ei ad res obeundas adjungatur, qui tam absente illo quam praesente, cum alios omnes ordines tum officiarios imprimis in officio contineat, et si muneri desint eorum nomina ad magistrum deferat, quo suo et majoris partis octo seniorum arbitratio eos puniat, nisi poenae pro eodem crimine expressa in statutis mentio fiat. Legum porro et statutorum custodia, rei divinae et sanctarum precum frequentatio, litterarum et virtutis progressus, ab illo et spectentur diligenter et procurentur. Videat item ut in delinquentes quo modo oportet, animadvertatur. Sit semper baccalaureus theologiae, aut doctor ejusdem facultatis, nunquam autem inferioris gradus, si commode fieri potest.

Absente magistro a collegio ne absit nisi gravi de causa, eaque a majore parte reliquorum sociorum si magister absit approbanda. Ejus absentis locum et munus suppleat unus ex octo senioribus, qui maxime senior est, modo non sit decanus, vel thesaurarius; quod si fuerit, tum quidem qui proxime senior est illud munus obeat.

Stat. 5. *De officio decanorum.*

Cum in quaque R. P. gubernanda morum probitas et honestas vitae spectanda sit: statuimus et ordinamus ut duo sint decani, qui huic rei operam sedulo dent et vel alter saltem eorum semper baccalaureus theologiae et ex numero octo seniorum; alter autem magister artium vel baccalaureus theologiae sit.

ductos removeant, negligentias, tarditates, abitiones, absentias puniant, problematis Mercurii et Veneris praesint, modestae ut disputationes sint curent, quaestiones propositas post disputationum finem explicent, et quae sit verissima sententia et quae omnium controversarum rationum solutiones judicent. Duos animadversores discipulorum in sacris delinquentium, quatuor animadversores linguae et sermonis constituant, atque efficiant ut illi tardos, absentes, ceteraque ejus generis, hi discipulos aliam linguam quam Latinam, Graecam, Hebraicam loquentes, notent, et ad se hebdomadatim in aula die Veneris post finitum problema deferant, mensarum etiam administros tum discipulos tum pensionarios, tot ordine hebdomadatim designent, quot omnia diligenter quae facto opus sunt facturos iudicant. Uterque censor domo ne abeat, nisi gravi de causa per praesidem et senatum approbanda. Vicarios quinam futuri sunt, domo abeuntes, in commentarios collegii referant.

Hi primum Dei cultum pie, religiose, ac decenter exequendum curent, videantque ut omnes socii, discipuli, pensionarii, sisatores, ut vocant, et subsisatores diebus festis et dominicis, precibus matutinis et vespertinis, supplicationibus sacrae communioni et concionibus, diebus autem profestis precibus in aurora inter horam quintam et sextam quotidie intersint. Omnes socii qui absunt singuli tribus obolis, tardi autem accedentes aut egredientes <obolo> mulctentur. Omnes autem discipuli, exceptis baccalaureis, pensionarii etiam sisatores et subsisatores qui absunt, si sint aetate adulta, hoc est si decimum octavum aetatis annum compleverint, singuli obolo, tardi autem adventantes aut exeuntes quadrante, mulctentur: sin autem eum aetatis annum, quem diximus, non confecerint, in aula die Veneris virga castigentur. Baccalaurei autem, quoniam a reliquis discipulis ordine et gradu differunt, volumus ut alia ratione tam pro re divina quam pro patrio sermone puniantur: ac propterea statuimus et ordinamus ut in correctionibus die Veneris neutiquam interesse cogantur, sed decani eorum nomina in schedula scripta habeant, et tam in festis diebus quam in profestis diligenter animadvertant quis a re divina absit, quisve tardus venerit, atque absentes denario, tardos autem venientes aut exeuntes obolo mulctent. Pro sermone vero patrio sic in eos animadverti volumus: baccalaureorum quisque incipiendo a senioribus per hebdomadam integram monitor esto, schedulam omnium illorum nomina complectentem habeat, tam in aula quam in aliis locis intra collegium *Anglice* loquentes moneat, inque schedula sua notet: die Veneris hora septima vesperi eam ad decanos deferat ac quoties quisquam locutus sit *Anglice* toties obolo a decano mulctetur. Sequenti septimana, baccalaureus qui proxime senior est domi pro patrio sermone monitor esto et ita deinceps: et qui abfuerint, cum primum ad collegium redierint monitoris officio proxima septimana post reditum suum fungantur.

Tardos venire dicimus eos qui in precibus vespertinis post primum psalmum finitum, in matutinis post *Venite:* ad supplicationes, post illud *O sancta, beata, et gloriosa Trinitas:* et ad communionem post mandatorum recitationem veniunt. Quod si qui in inferiori parte sacelli maneant et chorum non ingrediantur, perinde puniantur ac si absentes fuissent. Die autem Veneris semper hora septima vesperi correctiones per eosdem decanos fiant, quibus omnes discipuli (exceptis baccalaureis) pensionarii, etiam sisatores et subsisatores intersint. Qui autem, dum eadem peraguntur, nomine appellatus non responderit et ad finem earum usque non permanserit, si adultus, denario mulctetur; sin puer, die Sabbati castigetur virga; deinde eodem temporis momento sex monitores constituant, duos pro re divina et quatuor pro Latino sermone, qui discipulos omnes (exceptis baccalaureis), pensionarios, item sisatores et subsisatores qui in his duabus rebus peccaverint, sedulo notent, eorumque nomina et quoties deliquerint in schedulis notata die et hora praestitutis ad decanos deferant; sex praeterea discipuli et quatuor sisatores, qui discipulorum mensae ministrent, et unus

STAT. 7. *De quaestorum officio.*

Quaestores duo sint; hi omnium sacerdotiorum, fundorum, agrorum fructus et vectigalia recipiant, rem familiarem diligenter administrent, aes alienum quod collegio debetur accipiant, rationem veram et fidelem omnium acceptorum reddant, ut salubris cibus et potus sit curent, omnia ad usum collegii necessaria de praesidis et senatus authoritate praeparent, *ἀγοραστὰς* et obsonatores hebdomaticos assignent, singulis mensibus singulorum debita colligant, et ea suo periculo collegio praestent, ruinosa reficiant, et ut omnia sarta tectaque sint curent, collegii famulorum regimen suscipiant et ut singula ab illis fiant diligenter provideant.

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sisator pro organis in singulas hebdomadas ordine ab illis designentur. Hi si desint officiis a decanis quoque plectentur. Mulctarum omnium dimidiata pars collegio, reliqua autem ipsis decanis cedat. Porro iidem decani, quo res divinae magis decore peragantur, omnino ad preces vesperas cujusque Festi aut Dominici schedulam scriptam secum ad sacellum afferant, in qua notetur quod quisque officium eo festo sit obiturus, sitque inquisitor in ea scriptus, qui eandem circumferat singulosque sui officii commonefaciat; qui autem officio defuerit, si puer, virga castigetur; sin adultus, quatuor denariis mulctetur. Quod si quisquam sociorum, discipulorum, pensionariorum, sisatorum, aut subsisatorum, aegrotaverit aut gravi causa, per decanum seniorem vel eo absente per decanum juniorem approbanda, impeditus fuerit, aut copiam ab altero decanorum petierit, neutiquam pro rebus supradictis mulctari volumus.

Porro decanorum qui senior est disputationi theologicae quae die Veneris sit, junior autem disputationi quae die Mercurii eodem in loco habetur, praesit ac moderetur. Uterque simul a collegio ne absit nisi gravissima de causa, eaque vel a magistro, vel eo absente vicemagistro, et majore parte octo seniorum approbanda.

Denique neuter a collegio discedat nisi fido et diligenti vicario, qui suo munere eo absente sedulo fungatur, post se relicto, ejusque nomine in registro, uti in statuto de exitu ex academia praestitutum est, conscripto; et uterque tum in sacello, tum in aula, tum in area ceterisque locis videat, ut omnes se honeste gerant, eoque habitu quo debent vestiti incedant.

STAT. 6. *De thesaurariorum officio.*

Quoniam in tali corpore necessarium est ut sint aliqui qui rem familiarem sedulo curent, idcirco statuimus et ordinamus ut sint duo thesaurarii, qui omnium sacerdotiorum praediorum, fundorum, agrorum et possessionum reditus, proventus, et vectigalia recipiant, ea cum primum receperint in aerarium reponenda curent, res domesticas diligenter administrent, aes alienum quod collegio debetur accipiant, rationem veram ac fidelem omnium acceptorum et expensorum reddant, ut salubris cibus et potio sit curent, omnia ad collegii usum necessaria de magistri et octo seniorum sententia et auctoritate praeparent; ruinosa ut reficiantur, utque omnia sarta tectaque sint videant, collegii famulorum curam suscipiant, considerentque ut singuli eorum suo diligenter fungantur munere. Nunquam vero vel doctor vel baccalaureus theologiae ad junioris thesaurarii officium eligatur. Porro cautum esto ne collegio uterque thesaurariorum simul absit, nisi magistri aut vicemagistri et majoris partis octo seniorum judicio commodum videatur. Senior eorum, si commode fieri possit, semper curiis quas vocant intersit, vel eo aliis negotiis occupato, junior illud munus exequatur.

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STAT. 8. *De magistro aulae et quaestoribus.*

Prima inter hos cura litterarum omniumque studiorum magistri aulae sit, proxima singulorum quaesitorum; hi diligenter videant ut ordo is studiorum, exercitationum, et progressuum teneatur qui his statutis praescriptus est; singuli suos diligenter exerceant, delinquentes puniant, non proficientes notent, et ad senatum quotannis de diligentia et progressu studiosorum et tarditatem ac imperitiam non proficientium referant.

Quaesitores Graecae linguae ut sui in Platone et Demosthene, Latinae ut in Cicerone, eruditiores sint contendant.

Quaesitores aulae ut matutinae lectiones intelligenter explicentur, ut exercitationes litterariae cum intelligentia et judicio habeantur, laborent; magister aulae ut omnes in officio contineantur, ut tempora praescripta serventur, ut statutorum ordo non violetur, ut quaesitores vel non facientes officium, vel non punientes quos oportet, puniantur, ut ipse matutinis aulae inquisitionibus et problematum, sophismatum, declamationum exercitationibus semper intersit, et non modo scholasticorum omnium sed quaesitorum etiam diligens aequusque moderator sit, omni diligentia et attentione provideat.

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STAT. 9. *Concionatorum officium.*

Concionatores semper quarta sociorum pars sit. Horum domesticum officium sit de erratis singulos privatim admonere, delinquentes vi Scripturarum et timore Dei a dissoluta vita revocare, quos in vitio esse cognoverint severe et privatim admonitionibus et minis castigare.

Duo ex his, tempore concionatorio grandiores, cum propraeside magistratuum omnium munera diligenter videant num ex statutorum ratione bene ac fideliter administrentur, et quotidianis hortationibus bonos incitent, reprehensionibus malos absterreant.

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Hoc autem officium sit omnium et munus impositum, ut qua magistratus sunt et privatam et domesticam curam nonnullorum habent nullum cujusquam vitium irreprehendum patiantur, et usque eo quotidiano consilio cum delinquente agant dum aliquam emendationem videant. Ipsi de secretis vitiis suorum magistratus aut senatum non commonefaciant priusquam mensem de emendatione cum illis egerint, tum publice reprehendant et ceteros de improbitate et pertinacia admoneant.

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Officium cujusque commune sit quotannis singulis Dominicis Adventus et Quadragesimae concionari, decem praeterea foris conciones habere et unam domi in Dominico, pulsata prius campana, alteram

Stat. 7. *De senescalli officio.*

Quo melius rei familiari ac domesticae prospiciatur, statuimus et ordinamus ut sit unus sociorum magistrorum (baccalaureos enim et doctores theologiae neutiquam hoc munus suscipere permittimus) qui cum mancipio ad macellum est, esculenta emenda curet, et promos in officio contineat: summam expensorum cujusque hebdomadae pro commeatu erogatorum die Veneris una cum magistro aut vicemagistro subducat.

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Stat. 8. *De concionatorum officio.*

Cum istud collegium potissimum fundatum sit ad eos sustentandos qui litteris sacris incumbant et sacrosancto Dei verbo docendo operam studiose navent, itaque statuimus et ordinamus ut sint concionatores, si commode fieri potest, *numero duodecim*, aut si paucitas idoneorum ita compulerit, ad minimum octo. Horum singuli primo anno quo electi sunt, *octo conciones extra academiam, vel intra, in templis potissimum eorum sacerdotiorum quae sunt collegii propria*, et unam privatim in sacello collegii, nulla pulsata campana, habeant.

Qui hoc modo ad annum exercitati fuerint, deinceps singuli quatuordecim conciones habeant, duas in academia, alteram in templo Divae Mariae vel Sancti Michaelis, pulsata campana, alteram in sacello collegii, vel campana pulsata vel secus, ut ipsis videbitur: duodecim autem *extra academiam, vel intra*, eo modo quo supra dictum est. Ac pro hisce concionibus tam in academia quam extra habitis, singuli eorum qui sunt donati sacerdotio a collegii thesaurariis viginti sex solidos et octo denarios, reliqui quatuor marcas accipiant. Ac, quo illis et melius et liberalius provideatur, potestas sit unius vel praebendae vel sacerdotii ad summam triginta librarum, ultra salarium curati et cetera regi et episcopo debita, una cum sodalitio suo in collegio omnibusque ejusdem fructibus retinendi. Quod si vel duo habeat sacerdotia, vel unum cum prebenda, vel duas prebendas, vel quoscunque duos autem ibidem non pulsata; qui secus fecerit pro singulis externis concionibus menstruo commeatu, pro domesticis bimestri, mulctetur; et si horum defectus tum domi tum foris admissos intra sex hebdomadas post tempus debitum non expleverit, sodalitio suo ipso facto expellatur.

Nemo in concionatorem eligatur qui non antea Catechismum, *i.e.* Symboli Apostolici, Orationis Dominicae, decem Praeceptorum, Baptismi, Eucharistiae et Potestatis Clavium explicationem, domi his qui in collegio sunt, docuerit.

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Biblia in prandio lecta singuli concionatores ordine suo ipsi pro se integrum mensem quotidie statim post prandium exponant; qui secus fecerit singulis temporibus commeatu septemdiali mulctetur. Nullum his anni tempus nisi Adventus et Quadragesimae a bibliorum expositione liberum sit, quibus temporibus praeses ex aliis idoneos eligat qui ea quotidie similiter hebdomadatim exponant. Qui non paruerit stipendio illius quartarii multetur.

Socii omnes hujus explicationis auditores sint; qui discesserit aut negligens fuerit praesidis judicio corrigatur.

STAT. 10. *Aeditui sacri officium.*

Aegrotorum et morientium cura omnis illius sit, sacramentorum praeterea universa collegio administratio; Dominici ornamentorum conservatio, ostiorum praeterea Dominici occlusio, et quorum usus est in Dominico diligens, sedula, et tempestiva praeparatio. Unus ex discipulis illi subjectus sit, qui non modo ad manum ejus et nutum praesto sit, sed etiam diligenter imperata faciat et ad sacra campanam pulset. Domo exiens vicarium suum de praesidis et senatus sententia relinquat; singulis terminis concionem unam in Dominico habeat.

spiritualis dignitatis gradus, quas vocant promotiones, cujuscunque summae; vel si unum solum sacerdotium, praebendam, vel ullam aliam ecclesiasticam dignitatem, quae summam supra demonstratam superet, post annum a collegio discedat, sodalitiumque cum omnibus fructibus et commodis ad idem spectantibus amittat. Statuimus praeterea si quis sociorum (qui non sit concionator) aut discipulorum sacerdotium aut praebendam cujuscunque summae habuerit, aut si pensionem annuam quae summam decem librarum excesserit, aut possessiones haereditarias dictam summam excedentes, aut stipendium pro toto vitae suae tempore duraturum quod eandem summam superaverit, ut post annum collegio moveatur. Atque concionator quisque qui sacerdotium habet *provideat sibi de curato*, ut vocant, idoneo, tum ut suo in collegio fungatur officio, tum ne longius absit quam *tempus sibi lege praescriptum permittat.* Cuique concionatori praeter novem absentiae hebdomadas reliquis sociis concessas undecim praeterea concedimus, ut tum apud suum, si habeat, sacerdotium, tum apud alia, prout sibi lege praescriptum est, concionetur. Sit denique ei permissa potestas, quodpiam officium (praeter vicemagistri aut decani senioris) recusandi. Quod si quispiam concionatorum ullam ex praedictis concionibus extra academiam habendis omiserit, decem solidis mulctetur. Semel in singulis annis in schedula proponet nominatim locos et dies in quibus est concionatus.

STAT. 9. *De lectorum officio.*

Est quidem in collegio administrando cum primis providendum, ut sint certi ad juventutem in litteris instituendam designati; et ob eam causam statuimus et ordinamus ut sint lectores novem: quinque qui juventutem dialecticis, quatuor autem qui aliis artibus et disciplinis imbuant. Atque ex illis quinque unus lector primarius appelletur, qui ceteris praesit, atque studiose provideat ut tum legant diligenter atque interpretentur classibus suis designatis dialecticam, tum quod sint interpretati a suis discipulis in dies singulos reposcant. Hic autem toto illo tempore quo ex academiae et praecipuorum collegiorum legibus et consuetudine legi praescriptum sit, diebus profestis hora sexta antemeridiana, pulsata in aula campana baccalaureis omnibus qui nondum secundum annum gradus sui et ordinis penitus confecerint (tertio namque anno eos ab hac lectione immune esse volumus) et sophistis ibidem generalibus si qui in eam classem ascripti sint, vel Aristotelis Physica vulgo nuncupata, vel libros *de Ortu et Interitu*, vel *Meteora*, vel libros *de Anima* praelegat: *praeter Aristotelem in docendo philosophiam alium autorem praeterea neminem interpretetur.* Ceteri quatuor vocentur sublectores, singulique eorum singulas classas instruant. Primus legat *Topica* Aristotelis; secundus exponat vel Rodolphum Agricolam *de Inventione*, vel librum *de Elenchis* Aristotelis, vel libros qui *Analytici* dicuntur; tertius *Praedicabilia* Porphyrii, vel *Praedica-*

menta Aristotelis, vel libros *de Interpretatione* ejusdem autoris, prout classis ipsius postulat; quartus et infimus interpretetur dialecticae introductionem, sic ut classis infima commoda introductione informata, veniat ad Porphyrium et Aristotelem paratior.

Istorum lectorum singuli integram horam in dies singulos, quibus legere tenentur, in classe sua examinanda consumant, dimidiatam vero in autore interpretando. Atque quoties quispiam ex illis quatuor officium suum aut praetermiserit aut negligenter fecerit, toties a lectore primario quatuor denariis mulctetur. Quod si ipse lector primarius suo muneri aliquando defuerit, quoties deliquerit toties a magistro, vel eo absente a vicemagistro, octo denariis mulctetur, nisi causa per hunc vel illum approbanda obstiterit, quod etiam de reliquis lectoribus et sublectoribus intelligi volumus. Lectorem porro primarium mandamus semel vel saepius in quaque hebdomada inferiores classes adire et nunc hanc, nunc illam, tentare quid profecerit, et utrum sublector illi classi designatus suum officium et munus diligenter obierit. Ex classibus si quisquam abfuerit, is a lectore proprio, si adultus sit, mulctetur denario; sin tardus venerit, obolo; *quod si impubes sit, virga castigetur.* Verum si neque hoc modo in officio contineri possit, a lectore primario deducatur ad magistrum, vel eo absente ad vicemagistrum, et puniatur prout lex de majoribus criminibus postulat. Porro omnes, tam lectores quam classes, post preces in aurora, locique communis tractationem, nulla interposita mora, in aula simul conveniant, atque lectores statim se ad classes suas examinandas conferant, a singulis suae classis discipulis sensum et sententiam sui autoris exigant, puniant negligentes, studiosos laudent, cohortenturque ut in eo quo coeperint modo in studia incumbant. Perlecto uno autoris libro, eundem a sua classe cursim repetendum et definitiones divisionesque in tabulam redigendas et totum librum in compendium conjiciendum curent. Quod quidem, ut in omnibus libris quos interpretantur semper fiat, provideant, atque uno sic perlecto repetitoque semper ad alterum pergant. Ex quatuor illis qui alias artes docent, primus Graecam linguam, secundus Latinam, tertius mathematica, quartus grammaticam Graecam juventuti interpretetur. Qui autem linguam Graecam praelegit, Isocratem, Demosthenem, Platonem, Homerum, Hesiodum, aut alium quempiam praeclarum autorem pro arbitrio magistri aut vicemagistri doceat. Atque huic lectioni intersint discipuli qui jam Graecam grammaticam didicerint (exceptis omnibus baccalaureis et totidem ex sophistis generalibus quot per primarium lectorem et decanum seniorem erunt ad Graecam lectionem in scholis publicis audiendam designati), *Sabbatis vero singulis ea quae hebdomada antegressa lector interpretatus sit a juventute repetenda curet.* Qui vero Latinam docet legat potissimum Ciceronem. Singulis vero Sabbatis legat vel Rhetoricam vel progymnastica Rhetorices, exemplaque petat ex autore Latino quem praelegit. Huic lectioni intersit tota juventus (exceptis baccalaureis et sophistis illis generalibus qui erunt

STAT. 11. *Tutorum et pupillorum officium.*

Nemo ex discipulis sine tutore in collegio sit, qui fuerit, expellatur. Pupilli tutoribus pareant, honorem paternum et reverentiam exhibeant, quorum cura consumitur in illis informandis et ad pietatem scientiamque instruendis.

Tutores fideliter et diligenter quae docenda sunt suos doceant, quae agenda instruant et admoneant.

Omnia pupillorum expensa tutores collegio praestent, et singulis mensibus aes debitum pro se et suis quaestoribus solvant. Quod ni fecerint, tantisper commeatu priventur dum pecunia dissolvatur.

Pupillus neque a tutore rejiciatur, neque tutorem suum ubi velit mutet nisi legitima de causa a praeside et senatu probanda; qui fecerit collegio excludatur.

per primarium lectorem et seniorem decanum excepti), finito quoque termino, praecepta metrica, id est rationem condendi carminis, toti juventuti explicet,—*ut nemo sit qui non versus componere norit.* Huic lectioni intersint omnes qui nondum sunt gradu baccalaureatus insigniti; ac lector a singulis certis diebus, pro suo arbitrio, versus repetat argumentaque illis proponat de quibus versus scribant. Lector autem mathematicus doceat primum arithmeticam, deinde geometriam, tum cognitionem sphaerae et cosmographiam, deinde astronomiam, postremo musicam. Huic lectioni intersint omnes baccalaurei. Qui grammaticam interpretatur *Institutiones* Clenardi, vel Ceporini, vel Gazae legat; curet etiam ut omnes qui suae classis inflexiones nominum et verborum, dicendi phrases, et alia quae videntur necessaria memoriae mandent, *eaque singulis Sabbatis repetant.* Ex omnibus qui hisce lectionibus interesse tenentur, singuli qui vel absunt, vel tarde veniunt, vel negligentes reperiuntur, eo modo plectantur quo de lectionibus dialecticis supradictum est. Mulctae omnes quo diligentiores sint in lectorum commodum cedant.

STAT. 10. *De tutorum et pupillorum officio.*

Est ea quidem ineuntis aetatis imbecillitas ut provectiorum consilio et prudentia necessario moderanda sit, et propterea statuimus et volumus ut nemo ex baccalaureis, discipulis, pensionariis, sisatoribus et subsisatoribus tutore careat: qui autem caruerit, nisi intra quindecim dies unum sibi paraverit, e collegio ejiciatur. Pupilli tutoribus pareant, honoremque paternum ac reverentiam deferant, quorum studium, labor, et diligentia in illis ad pietatem et scientiam informandis ponitur. Tutores sedulo quae docenda sunt doceant, quaeque etiam agenda instruant admoneantque. Omnia pupillorum expensa tutores collegio praestent, et intra decem dies cujusque mensis finiti aes debitum pro se ac suis omnibus senescallo solvant. Quod ni fecerint, tantisper commeatu priventur dum pecunia a se collegio debita dissolvatur. Cautumque esto ne pupillus quispiam vel stipendium suum a thesaurariis recipiat vel rationem pro se cum eisdem aliquando ineat, sed utrumque per tutorem semper sub poena commeatus menstrui a dicto tutore collegio solvendi fieri volumus.

STAT. 11. *De officiariorum et lectorum et seniorum et concionatorum electione.*

Quoniam hactenus de officiariorum muneribus et officiis leges ac statuta dedimus, sequitur ut jam de eorum electione leges ac statuta ibidem demus. Itaque statuimus ut, primo die Octobris, vicemagister, decani et lectores omnes, postridie autem ejus diei quo annuae rationes confectae et ad exitum perductae fuerint, thesaurarii et senescallus pro sequenti anno eligantur. Sit hic modus electionis, cui quidem ma-

gistrum, nisi gravissima causa impeditum, interesse volumus. Magister, pulsata campana, et convocatis in sacellum octo senioribus hora octava, primum statutum hoc sive legem coram illis legat: deinde jusjurandum det se neminem ad aliquod officium gratia, odio, ullave animi perturbatione vel praemio adductum, sed eum solum quem testimonio conscientiae permotus maxime idoneum ad istud munus obeundum judicaverit, electurum; eodemque jurejurando se octo seniores similiter omnes obstringant. Tum cuncti ad suffragia ferenda se conferant. Ac primo vicemagistrum, deinde decanos, postremo lectores die supra praestituto ordine eligant; atque ferendis suffragiis is pro electo habeatur quem magister cum quatuor, ad minimum, ex octo senioribus duxerit eligendum. Sin autem omnes octo seniores de uno eligendo consenserint, is, etiam magistro non consentiente, electus habeatur. In singulis electionibus tam officiariorum quam lectorum, atque etiam sociorum et discipulorum, reliquorumque collegii membrorum, sit scrutinium semper apertum. Quod si post tria aperta scrutinia, neque quatuor ex dictis senioribus cum magistro neque octo simul de uno cooptando consenserint, sed sint in plures partes divisi, tum is pro electo habeatur quem solus magister nominaverit. Quod si magister domi non sit, tum vicemagister cum reliquis septem senioribus plenam eligendi cujusque potestatem habeat, isque pro electo habeatur in quem vicemagister et quatuor ex dictis senioribus consenserint. Quod si post tria aperta scrutinia in unum hoc modo non consenserint, tum is pro electo habeatur quem magister, certior per litteras de ea re factus, solus nominaverit, modo intra regnum Angliae fuerit, vel si non fuerit, tum quem vicemagister solus nominaverit; postero autem die quo electio confecta fuerit electi omnes in unum coram magistro et octo senioribus coacti se jurejurando obligent sua munera fideliter et omnino secundum statuta ac leges de illis per nos conditas executuros. Thesaurarii autem et senescallus eodem modo eligantur et idem jusjurandum dent die ad eorum electionem ante demonstrato. Omnia quae singuli tam socii quam discipuli juramento tenentur exequi, si poena pro transgressione eorundem alicujus in statutis praescripta sit, declaramus singulos sic transgredientes non incurrere crimen perjurii nisi poenam in statutis pro tali transgressione praescriptam subire recusaverint. Statuimus porro et decernimus, ut seniorum electio intra novem dies ad summum post locum vacantem fiat: sitque ista horum eligendorum forma. Cum senioris alicujus vacet locus, magister, vel eo absente vicemagister, convocatis in sacello, ut dictum est, illis senioribus qui reliqui sunt, cooptet in eum coetum socium illum qui sit proxime senior, nisi gravis causa per magistrum et majorem partem praedictorum seniorum approbanda obstiterit. Sin autem ea de causa minus idoneum censuerint, socius senior proximus ordine eligatur; et ita deinceps. Seniorem hoc loco intelligimus, qui sit et gradu magistri artium et admissione socius senior, quam senioritatem nullo alio scholastico gradu unquam immutandum decernimus. Quod si post tria scrutinia aperta de uno eligendo

non convenerint, is in numerum eum cooptatus esto, quem magister, si domi sit, vel si absit, certior de ea re per litteras vicemagistri factus, solus nominaverit. Qui postero die quo electus fuerit, det coram magistro, vel eo absente vicemagistro, ac septem reliquis senioribus jusjurandum, se munus illud fideliter et omnino secundum legem de eo sancitam obiturum. Statuimus item ac volumus ut nemo in concionatorem eligatur, qui non antea Catechismum, i.e., Symboli Apostolici, Orationis Dominicae, decem Praeceptorum, Baptismi, Eucharistiae, et Potestatis Clavium explicationem, domi his qui in collegio sunt docuerit. Hoc ut commodius fiat, quinque aut sex socii assignentur, qui singuli hoc legendi munus certis quibusdam Dominicis et festis diebus, hora tertia post meridiem persequantur, ut in concionatoris locum vacuum unus ex his eligatur, qui universum hunc cursum docendi compleverint. Statuimus igitur et volumus ut cum concionatoris locus vacet, intra viginti dies ad summum, magister similiter, vel eo absente, vicemagister, cum octo senioribus in sacellum coactis, consideret diligenter quis presbyter ex numero sociorum in collegio sit, tum propter gravitatem et virtutem, tum propter solidam et sanam doctrinam ad hoc officium idoneus, et qui Catechismum (ut praefertur) docuerit, et ei de sententia majoris partis octo seniorum mandatum det, ut intra quatuordecim dies concionem die Dominico vel die festo, si quis intra hos dies inciderit, post preces matutinas privatim, nulla campana pulsata, coram toto sociorum et discipulorum coetu habeat. Qua per magistrum vel vicemagistrum et quatuor ex octo senioribus approbata in concionatorum munus cooptetur. Verum si post tria aperta scrutinia magister aut vicemagister cum quatuor ex octo senioribus de illo cooptando non consenserint, tum magister, vel eo absente vicemagister, si voluerit, eum in dictum numerum cooptet. Quod si hoc munus suscipere recusaverit, a collegio amoveatur. Verum si in collegio nemo (quod Deus prohibeat) reperiatur, qui ad hoc officium idoneus sit; tunc magister cum octo senioribus respiciant unum ex aliorum in oppido collegiorum sociis, qui jam sunt vel qui fuerunt socii, et quem aliquando publice concionantem audiverint idoneumque judicaverint, eumque majore eorum parte aut quatuor ad minimum cum magistro consentientibus in hunc locum cooptent; qui eandem semper senioritatem habeat in collegio quam in academia. Statuimus porro ne quisquam octo seniorum post consultationem de negotiis quibuscumque habitam aut post electionem aliquam, aut decisionem de aliqua re factam omnino reliquis collegii sociis et discipulis aut aliis quibuscumque dicta aut facta in hujusmodi rebus intervenientia revelet, sub poena per magistrum et majorem partem octo seniorum statuenda infligendaque. Singuli electi ad aliquod munus aut in socium aut discipulum, post acceptum jusjurandum nomina sua propria manu in collegii commentarios referant, ac ita demum in plenum atque integrum jus muneris sui admittantur.

STAT. 12. *Sociorum electio.*

Socii quinquaginta numero sint; in hunc numerum hi maxime cooptentur quorum de doctrina et moribus honesta opinio est et amplioris quotannis progressus bona exspectatio et [qui] *finem sibi Scripturarum studium et professionem proposuerunt;* quatuor tantum excipiantur quorum est dispertita in medicina et jure civili opera, sed exercitationes publicas easdem cum ceteris habeant, ut fine studiorum disjuncti reliquis muneribus non differant. E quovis comitatu tres et non plures sumantur. Qui cooptantur ad minimum bacchalaurii artium sint, atque in eo domestici externis, eruditiores imperitioribus, quorum spes est desperatioribus, tenuiores ditioribus proferantur.

Cooptationis dies sit dies Lunae sequens comitia. Post Paschalis autem praeses magistratibus omnibus convocatis admoneat, ut de bene moratis atque institutis juvenibus quaerant qui <in> secedentium sociorum loca cooptentur, singulisque Sabbatis quaestiones habeantur de juvenibus qui eo accedunt periclitandae eruditionis et conquirendae gratiae causa. Magistratus omnes exquirant ab eis quid in linguarum ceterarumque doctrinarum cognitione efficere possunt. Hique in illis ad cooptandum habiles judicentur, qui quatuor dies quaestiones magistratuum sustinuerint, et decem dies ante cooptationem nomina et comitatus in quibus nati fuerint praesidi tradenda curaverint.

Cooptationis forma sit eadem quae magistratuum superius. Singulis singillatim cooptatis, omnes simul renuncientur. Qui magistri artium sunt intra novem dies admittantur socii; reliqui designati tantum sint, et ubi ad magisterium artium pervenerint si praesidi et senatui morum et doctrinae ratio probetur, in plenum jus sociorum admittantur, sin minus, ita rejiciantur ac si designati nunquam fuissent.

STAT. 13. *Jusjurandum.*

Ego N. N., Deo teste, promitto ac spondeo primum me veram Christi religionem omni animo complexurum, Scripturae authoritatem hominum judiciis praepositurum, regulam vitae et summam Fidei ex Verbo Dei petiturum, cetera quae ex Verbo Dei non probantur pro humanis et non necessariis habiturum, autoritatem regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam aestimaturum, et contrarias Verbo Dei opiniones omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum, vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis, in religionis causa antehabiturum.

Deinde me omnia hujus collegii statuta, praescriptiones, ritus, consuetudines laudabiles servaturum.

Praeterea me huic collegio fidelem futurum, nullum ei damnum aut incommodum allaturum, aliorum consilia, certationes, conjurationes, facta et acta, quae detrimentum aut infamiam collegio inferant repulsurum, et magistratui ei qui de eo cognoscere debet renunciaturum.

STAT. 12. *De sociorum electione.*

Quoniam socii scholares, ut litterae patentes fundatoris praescribunt, debent esse numero *sexaginta*, quorum alii socii majores appellentur, alii socii minores, et qui magistri artium sunt et superioris gradus, nomen majorum sociorum scholarium, et qui sunt baccalaurei artium nomen minorum sociorum obtineant; statuimus et volumus ut in hunc numerum solum cooptentur hi, quorum de religione, doctrina ac moribus, tum magister, tum octo seniores honestam opinionem et bonam spem amplioris in his rebus progressionis animis conceperunt, et quibus solum sacrae Scripturae studium ac professio finaliter proposita est; exceptis duobus, quorum uni licebit operam dare juri civili, alteri medicinae, idque judicio magistri; et qui cooptantur sint minimum baccalaurei artium; atque omnes ex discipulis istius collegii semper sumantur; ac tenuiores ditioribus, doctiores indoctoribus, et probiores minus probis, et qui canendi periti sunt imperitis, modo cetera respondeant, praeferantur. Dies electionis sit dies primus Septembris, aut ante primum diem Octobris penitus finitum, prout magister commodissimum decreverit et sex integros dies antea seniores de futura electione admonuerit. Eligendi potestas sit penes magistrum; (quem semper tum domi esse volumus nisi morbo aut aliqua gravissima causa praepeditum; cujus locum post viginti quatuor dies a dicto primo die Septembris, si magister tum interesse non possit, suppleat vicemagister) et penes octo seniores. Locus eligendi sacellum esto. Tempus hora octava antemeridiana. Modus autem eligendi sit ejusmodi: primum dent omnes jusjurandum se neminem in socium collegii electuros qui sit infamia notatus, de haeresi probabiliter suspectus; quinetiam neque praemio, neque gratia, neque ulla affectione commotos, se quemquam cooptaturos; sed eos solum quos, conscientia teste, maxime idoneos judicaverint. Quod si quisquam eorum quibus eligendi potestas tributa sit vel munere donatus vel spe muneris inductus cuiquam vel socio, vel discipulo, vel officiario suffragatus esse deprehensus fuerit, et coram magistro et octo senioribus legitime de eodem convictus, collegio expellatur. Quattuor dies proxime precedentes electionis diem ab hora septima antemeridiana usque ad decimam et ab hora prima pomeridiana ad quartam, omnes electores diligenter exquirant ab illis quid in bonis litteris efficere possint. Primo die in dialectica et mathematicis, secundo in philosophia tum naturali, tum morali, tertio in linguarum cognitione, in historiis, in poetis, et in toto genere humanioris litteraturae, quarto in scribendo de themate aliquo et in carminibus componendis et quid etiam in cantando possint. Qui autem nomen suum et nomen comitatus ubi natus fuit, quatriduo ante electionis diem magistro aut, eo absente, vicemagistro tradendum non curaverit aut qui dictos quatuor dies continuos integrosque horis praescriptis electorum quaestiones examinationesque non sustinuerit, nisi causa per magistrum et majorem partem octo seniorum approbanda obstiterit, in eligendorum numero pro eo tempore non omnino habeatur, Tum praesidi, propraesidi reliquisque magistratibus in omnibus legitimis honestisque morem gesturum et dignam debitamque legibus et statutis omnibus reverentiam exhibiturum.

Denique me omnia mihi imposita a praeside et senatu munera suscepturum, eaque summa cum diligentia et fide administraturum; haec omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste me sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

neque in ea electione in coetum sociorum cooptetur. Sumantur autem potissimum et eligantur ex eorum numero, si modo idonei et ceteris pares reperiantur, qui nati sunt in illis regni comitatibus ac locis in quibus collegii sacerdotia, praedia, fundi, proventus ac reditus jacent, ut quorum beneficio omnia et singula collegii membra sustentantur, eorum liberi in eodem educantur et virtute ac bonis litteris ad R. P. utilitatem instituantur. Ex aliis vero regni partibus ac locis indifferenter ad numerum supplendum, qui maxime idonei videbuntur, semper sumantur. In suffragiis ferendis idem modus servetur qui in eligendis officiariis, atque electione finita, sine mora pronuncientur electi. Postridie ejus diei, vel intra triduum, quo electio facta sit, omnes electi admittantur in plenum jus minorum sociorum, et percipiant ea omnia commoda ac fructus qui minoribus sociis ex statutis praescribuntur. Senioritatem autem habeant pro ratione gradus, ut senior in universitate baccalaureus ante juniorem admittatur. Et si quispiam eorum die admissionis aut aegrotus aut absens fuerit, nihilominus tamen senioritatem habeat pro ratione gradus, ut supra dictum est. Atque eo anno quo magistri artium creandi sunt, ab omnibus electoribus denuo examinentur, eo modo quo supra demonstratum est, et si vel parum in bonis litteris profecisse, vel parum honeste se gessisse, vel haereseos probabili suspicione aut labe infecti esse reperiantur, magistri atque electorum judicio penitus amoveantur a collegio: sin autem recte se et honeste in omnibus gesserint, sicque in virtute ac doctrina profecerint, ut collegio ornamento et R. P. usui atque utilitati futuri sint, magistri artium creentur, atque creati in plenum jus majorum sociorum recipiantur. Singuli electi, antequam admittantur, jusjurandum quod sequitur, sub poena locorum suorum amittendorum, coram magistro et octo senioribus in sacello dent:

Ego N. N. juro ac Deo teste promitto me veram Christi religionem omni animo amplexurum, sacrae scripturae autoritatem hominum judicio praepositurum, regulam vitae ac summam fidei ex verbo Dei petiturum: caetera quae ex verbo Dei non probantur, pro humanis habiturum; autoritatem regiam in hominibus summam, et externorum episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam aestimaturum, et contrarias verbo Dei opiniones omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum, vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis, in religionis causa antehabiturum; *theologiam mihi finem studiorum propositurum, et sacros ordines, cum tempus his statutis praescriptum advenerit suscepturum, aut a collegio discessurum.* Item me huic collegio fidelem ac benevolum futurum, ei et omnibus sociis ac discipulis, atque etiam magistro ejusdem, non solum dum in eo vixero sed etiam postea, pro virili, cum opus sit, benevolentiam et opem praestiturum; nullum collegio damnum incommodumve unquam allaturum; aliorum consilia, coitiones, conjurationes, insidias, facta aut dicta, quae collegium detrimento et infamia afficiant, quantum potero, repulsurum, ac officiariis collegii, qui de ejusmodi rebus cognoscere ac decidere debent, renunciaturum. Et si propter aliquod crimen inter majora crimina numeratum e collegio per consensum magistri et majoris partis

STAT. 14. *Discipulorum electio.*

Discipuli sexaginta sint; in his eligendis praecipua ratio ingenii et inopiae sit, in quibus ut quisque valet maxime ita ceteris proferatur. Eo adjungatur doctrinae studium et mediocris jam profectus, et reliqui temporis spes illum fore ad communem reipublicae posthac idoneum. Horum studium sit ut vitae innocentiam cum doctrinae veritate conjungant, et in veritate rerum inquirendi et honestate persequenda laborent. Studiorum finem Scripturarum scientiam, scientiae autem honestas et Deo complacitas actiones, putent. Nullus neque bacchalaureus artium, neque morbo insanabili aut contagioso vexatus in discipulum eligatur. Sic sint grammaticis et studiis humanitatis instituti ut inquisitiones aulae sustinere et domesticas exercitationes suscipere possint.

Postridie et perendie Michaelis exquiratur ab omnibus scholasticis eo adventantibus quid in Graecis et Latinis litteris aut ullo doctrinae genere possunt, quibus duobus diebus in examinandis illis consumptis, eadem electionis forma et iidem electores sint qui superius in sociorum electione fuerant. Plures tribus ex uno aliquo comitatu ne sunto.

STAT. 15. *Discipulorum jusjurandum.*

Ego N. N., Deo teste, promitto ac spondeo, primum me veram Christi religionem omni animo complexurum, Scripturae autoritatem hominum judiciis praepositurum, regulam vitae ac summam fidei ex Verbo Dei petiturum, cetera quae ex Verbo non probantur pro humanis et non necessariis habiturum, autoritatem regiam in hominibus summam et externorum episcoporum jurisdictioni minime subjectam aestimaturum et contrarias Verbo Dei opiniones omni voluntate et mente refutaturum, vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis, in religionis causa antehabiturum.

Deinde me omnia hujus collegii statuta, praescriptiones, ritus, consuetudines laudabiles servaturum. Praeterea me huic collegio fidelem octo seniorum, eo modo quo in capite de majoribus criminibus declaratum est, expulsus fuero, me neque ad alium judicem judicesve appellaturum, aut magistro collegii aut socio alicui litem aut actionem unquam in posterum ea de causa intentaturum, neque ullam unquam dispensationem contra hoc meum juramentum quaesiturum aut ab aliis quaesitam et oblatam accepturum. Tum magistro, vicemagistro, senioribus, reliquisque officiariis in omnibus legitimis honestisque rebus morem gesturum, et dignam debitamque reverentiam eis et honorem debiturum. Denique me omnia mihi imposita a magistro et octo seniorum coetu munera suscepturum, eaque summa cum fide et diligentia administraturum.

STAT. 13. *Discipulorum electio.*

Cum discipuli sint numero sexaginta duo, quorum quadraginta vocentur discipuli fundatoris, viginti autem reginae Mariae, duo vero Thomae Allen, presbyteri,—statuimus et volumus ut in his eligendis principua ratio habeatur ingenii, doctrinae, virtutis, et inopiae. Et quo magis quisque ex eligendorum numero his rebus ceteros antecellat, eo magis, uti aequum est, praeferatur. Dies Lunae post Dominicam in albis, vel intra viginti dies proxime sequentes, dies electionis esto. Diebus Veneris et Sabbatis proxime antegredientibus diem electionis, omnes qui discipulatum in collegio petunt, ab electoribus, quos supra in capite de sociorum electione posuimus, ab hora octava antemeridiana ad decimam, et ab hora secunda pomeridiana ad quartam, diligenter quid in grammatica et litteris humanioribus, *quid etiam in cantu possunt*, examinentur. Et qui cantare norunt, modo ceteris qui petunt virtute et doctrina pares sint, praeferantur. Atque die Veneris praedicto, singuli, qui discipulatus petunt, nomina sua ac comitatuum regni in quibus nati fuerint, magistro aut vicemagistro tradenda curent, et die electionis antequam electio coepta fuerit, coram omnibus electoribus recitentur. Sumantur autem potissimum et eligantur ex eorum numero, *si modo idonei et ceteris pares reperiantur*, qui schola regia Westmonasterii educati aut qui in schola Thomae Allen instructi sint, aut qui nati sint in illis regni comitatibus ac locis in quibus collegii sacerdotia, praedia, fundi, proventus ac reditus jacent, ut quorum beneficio omnia et singula collegii membra sustentantur, eorum liberi in eodem educentur, et virtute ac bonis litteris ad R. P. utilitatem instituantur. Ex aliis regni partibus ac locis indifferenter ad numerum supplendum qui maxime idonei videbuntur, semper sumantur. Nullus haeres qui jam sit, aut qui futurus patre mortuo haeres, cujus haereditas summam decem librarum excesserit, in hunc numerum cooptetur. Nemo eligatur in discipulum qui non sit habilis ad sophisticam et dialecticam in aula discendam. Idem sit electionis modus qui et sociorum et electores iidem, locus et hora eadem. Die Veneris proximo post electionem, hora prima pomeridiana a magistro, ubi jusjurandum quod infra futurum, nullum ei damnum aut incommodum allaturum, aliorum consilia, coitiones, conjurationes, facta et acta quae detrimentum aut infamiam collegio inferant repulsurum et magistratui ei qui de eo cognoscere debeat renunciaturum.

Tum praesidi, propraesidi, reliquisque magistratibus in omnibus legitimis honestisque morem gesturum et dignam debitamque <reverentiam> legibus et statutis omnibus exhibiturum.

Denique me omnia mihi imposita a praeside et magistratu munera suscepturum, eaque summa fide et diligentia administraturum. Haec omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste me sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

Stat. 16. *De pensionariis.*

Pensionarii et studiorum socii in collegium recipiantur, sed ita ut nec moribus honestis nec studiis desint, eadem ab his requirantur quae a discipulis, eadem illi collegio et magistratibus praestent, et ad id eodem jusjurandi sacramento obstringantur; sed ut neque numero nec imperitia obsint, provideatur ut neque praesidi plures quam quatuor neque singulis sociis plures uno pensionario sint, et ut a censoribus et magistro aulae tum de vita et honestis moribus, tum de ingenio et doctrina probati, ad praesidem et senatum de illis in collegium admittendis re-scriptum est dederint, omnibus electoribus praesentibus in discipulos admittantur. Senioritatem habeant inter admittendum arbitrio magistri, habito respectu aetatis, virtutis, et doctrinae. Domestici semper, inter eligendum, si sint doctrina et virtute pares, externis praeferantur. Nemo eligatur in discipulum qui non decimum quartum aetatis suae annum plene confecerit. Electi omnes et singuli jusjurandum quod sequitur, antequam admittantur, coram electoribus dent.

Ego N. N. juro, ac Deo teste promitto, me veram Christi religionem omni animo amplexurum, Scripturae auctoritatem hominum judiciis praepositurum, regulam vitae ac summam fidei ex Verbo Dei petiturum, cetera quae ex Verbo Dei non probantur pro humanis habiturum, auctoritatem regiam in hominibus summam et externorum episcoporum minime subjectam jurisdictioni aestimaturum, et contrarias Verbo Dei opiniones omni voluntate ac mente refutaturum; vera consuetis, scripta non scriptis, in religionis causa antehabiturum. Deinde me omnia hujus collegii statuta, leges, ritus, atque laudabiles consuetudines quae ad me pertinebunt, servaturum. Item me huic collegio fidelem ac benevolum futurum, ei et omnibus sociis ac discipulis, atque etiam magistro ejusdem, non solum dum in eo vixero, sed etiam postea, pro virili, cum opus sit, benevolentiam et opem praestiturum; nullum collegio damnum incommodumve allaturum, aliorum consilia, coitiones, conjurationes, insidias, facta aut dicta, quae collegium detrimento aut infamia afficiant quantum potero repulsurum, atque officiariis qui de ejusmodi rebus cognoscere et decidere debent renunciaturum. Et si propter aliquod crimen inter majora crimina numeratum, e collegio, per consensum magistri et majoris partis octo sociorum, eo modo quo in capite de majoribus criminibus declaratum est, expulsus fuero, me neque ad alium judicem judicesve appellaturum, neque magistro collegii sociove alicui litem aut actionem unquam in posterum ea de causa intentaturum. Tum magistro, vicemagistro, senioribus, reliquisque officiariis, in omnibus legitimis honestisque rebus morem gesturum, et dignam debitamque reverentiam eis et honorem debiturum. Denique me omnia mihi imposita a magistro et octo seniorum coetu numera suscepturum, eaque summa cum fide et diligentia administraturum. Haec omnia in me recipio, Deoque teste me sedulo facturum promitto ac spondeo.

STAT. 14. *De pensionariis.*

Pensionarios ut studiorum socios in collegium recipiendos statuimus; sitque in illis recipiendis ratio morum ac doctrinae diligenter habita; magistris artium aut superioris gradus unum, baccalaureis autem nullum omnino concedimus. Nemo illorum admittatur nisi a decano seniore et primario lectore examinatas. Et si ab his habilis ad discendam in aula dialecticam reperiatur, a magistro vel vicemagistro admittatur, sin minus omnino rejiciatur. Intra viginti dies post admissionem, superpelliceum, togam, et pileum more discipulorum habeat; quae, si non feratur. His si idoneus ad societatem videbitur, ubi duodecim denarios censoribus et magistro aulae propter quaerendi laborem persolverit et jusjurando praedicto se obligavit, manu sua in collegii commentarios retulerit, pro admisso habeatur.

Stat. 20. *De communibus precationibus frequentandis.*

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Publicae praecationes hae sint: singulis festis diebus matutinae et vespertinae preces, supplicationes, communiones, a praeside, sociis, discipulisque pie in Dominico decantentur; ab his nullus neque socius neque discipulus absit. Socius tardus obolo, exiens denario, absens tribus obolis multetur. Discipulus tardus quadrante, exiens obolo, absens tribus quadrantibus puniatur. Tardus sit qui ad matutinas preces post primi psalmi finem, ad supplicationes post illud *Sancta, beata, et gloriosa Trinitas*, ad communionem post mandatorum recitationem, ad vesperas post primi Psalmi finem venerit. His diebus communiones et precum initia ab aliquo presbytero fiant, reliquis autem diebus mane ad horam quintam in Dominicum, pulsata de more campana, quotidie conveniatur et divinae preces Deo offerantur. Socii autem, suo quisque ordine, matutinas preces ordiatur, et post preces locum communem tractet; qui non fecerit commeatu septendiali multetur, ad sextam tum preces tum loci tractatio absolvatur. His rebus singuli tum intra hoc spatium habuerit, collegio amoveatur. Excipimus autem ab hoc habitu ac vestitu, generosorum, nobilium, et magnatum liberos qui fuerint in commeatum sociorum admissi; eos tamen superpelliceis uti, chorum ingredi, rei divinae interesse et eisdem legibus teneri quibus socii, et omnes actus scholasticos in collegio vel per se, vel per alios observare volumus. Pensionarii ibidem qui sunt in discipulorum commeatu singuli eisdem legibus ac statutis pareant quibus discipuli et eodem modo si deliquerint multentur. Cum autem ex academia et oppido exeant, eos pro arbitrio vestitos incedere permittimus.

STAT. 15. *De sisatoribus et subsisatoribus.*

Cuique vitam pie et christiane agenti pauperes sedulo sublevandi sunt; et propterea statuimus et ordinamus ut sint qui sisatores appellentur numero tredecim. Magister tres habeat, et singuli ex decem sociis maxime senioribus unum. In his admittendis idem modus servetur qui in pensionariis. Et nemo in hunc numerum cooptetur qui non sit ad discendam in aula dialecticam idoneus. Eodem modo vestiti incedant quo discipuli, legibus eisdem teneantur. Singuli accipiant in annos singulos sex solidos et octo denarios pro liberatura quos in toga emenda consumant. Et in singulas hebdomadas singuli quatuor denarios a collegio accipiant et reliquias mensae sociorum majorum habeant. Sint quoque subsisatores qui admittantur eodem modo quo pensionarii et eisdem legibus teneantur, nisi quod pro lectione primario lectori minime eos solvere volumus, denique suis ipsorum impensis alantur, sintque eodem modo vestiti quo discipuli.

socii tum discipuli intersint. Tardi exeuntes, absentes, ut superius commemoratum est, puniantur.

Singuli sua subsellia tum festis tum profestis diebus teneant, quo commodius a censoribus et animadversoribus notentur; quod si suis sedibus ad alias migraverint pro absentibus habeantur.

STAT. 21. *De ordine publicarum exercitationum.*

Post finitum locum communem, singuli qui infra gradum magistri artium sunt ad publicum studium se conferant, bachelaurii artium in conclave, reliqui in aula.

Singulis festis Michaelis nova lectio instituatur, omnesque qui post festum Nativitatis superioris anni venerint in illius lectionis decuriam transferantur. Interea cum tutoribus ad studium Graecae linguae et reliquarum rerum ad aulam necessariarum se accommodent. Omneque id tempus quod in aula non legerint pro nullo ad gradus accipiendos habeatur. Nulla autem nova lectio eo anno praeter hanc instituatur.

Ordo studiorum hic sit: nihil illis in aula legatur; tutores singulorum in cubiculis quotidie singulos doceant quod proximo die in aula recitent; qui non fecerint primo a praeside reprehendantur, deinde gravi multa pro praesidis arbitrio puniantur, tertio a sodalitio ejiciantur.

Primo anno Euclidis elementa, ita enim aditus fiet in Platonis et Aristotelis libros quibus maxime convenit ut legantur, cum praesertim in ingressu scholae Plato scripserit Μηδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσίτω, et summam quamlibet dialectices recitent. Proximo, Aristotelis Logica integra nulla parte praetermissa. Tertio, Ethica, Politica, et Rhetorica. Quarto, totam eam partem quae de natura tractat physica, de ortu et interitu, et qui sequuntur libri.

Aula tum excedant et in conclave se ad Politica et Rhetorica cum bachelaureis recitanda conferant; hoc enim anno bachelaurii sint aut aedibus excludantur. Proximo item anno ut ante universae naturae cursum repetant. Tertio anno ad praedictos Ethicorum, Politicorum, et Rhetoricorum libros transeant, et illos iterum, quo intelligantur melius, recitent. Quarto anno usque dum admissi magistri artium sint eadem quae secundo bacchalaureatus anno legant, singuli authores sua lingua legantur. Translatio in aula non admittatur; haec recitatio a loco communi finito usque ad dimidiam horam ante octavam perduret. Harum repetitionum quaesitores et moderatores sint sex socii per praesidem et senatum quotannis eligendi.

Repetitiones praeterea quotidianae Graecae sint, aut Latinae, idque alternis. In his se diligenter ac assidue exerceant; horas praeses ad id [et] Senatus commodissimas assignent. Ordo autem librorum in quibus repetendis elaborabunt hic est:

Primo anno Demosthenem in Latinum convertant, et orationes Ciceronis in Graecum, secundo anno Platonem Latinum faciant et philosophica Ciceronis Graeca. Tertio anno eadem repetantur quae primo.

STAT. 18. *De publicis sociorum et discipulorum exercitationibus scholasticis, et de sermone Latino.*

Cum in quaque arte ac scientia usus sit optimus dicendi magister, statuimus et ordinamus ut singulis hebdomadis cujusque termini legibus academiae praescriptis tres sint in sacello disputationes: prima die Lunae hora tertia in philosophia, cui praesit lector primarius; secunda die Mercurii, hora similiter tertia, vel in philosophia vel in theologia, pro disputantium facultate, cui praesit junior decanus; tertia die Veneris, in theologia solum, hora quinta, cujus moderator sit decanus senior. Quarum singulae per duas integras horas continuentur. Quod si festum principale aut vigilia eorundem, aut dies Cinerum, in diem quo disputatio haberi debet inciderit, tunc omnino omittatur. Una eademque quaestio non saepius quam semel in anno discutiatur, nisi gravi de causa, a magistro aut vicemagistro, moderatore illius disputationis approbanda, hebdomada proxime vesperias et inceptiones solennes antegrediente, quinetiam cum quispiam ex collegio sit publicis in scholis vel in philosophia vel in theologia disputaturus, vel responsurus, quaestiones eaedem, si commode fieri poterit, quae sunt in publicis scholis postea excutiendae ab illis qui sunt in collegio disceptaturi, accurate tractentur, quo ad publicas concertationes paratiores accedant. Nemo autem ex sociis vel discipulis collegii, disputationes et exercitationes publicas, in scholis academiae habere tenetur, nisi in propria persona conficiat. Verum si forte aliqua gravi causa, per magistrum et seniorem decanum approbanda, impeditus fuerit, tunc per unum ex eodem collegio illud ipsum efficiendum curet. Disputationes autem quas sunt in collegio habituri singuli in propriis personis, cum suae vices inciderint, observent. Quod si vel morbo vel aliqua gravi causa, per magistrum et decanum approbanda, praepeditus, quispiam suas disputandi vices exequi nequiverit, tum volumus ut alium pro se substituat; aut quinque solidis, si disputatio omissa fuerit, mulctetur, et mulctam habeat is qui respondere voluerit; alioquin cedat in usum collegii et decanorum. Idemque cum convaluerit, aut, causa impediente sublata, vices sui substituti, quamvis mulctatus fuerit, expleat. Et quoniam tres sunt disputationes, sint socii omnes tam baccalaurei theologiae quam magistri artium et baccalaurei artium (doctores enim theologiae semper immunes esse volumus) in tres manipulos pro decanorum et primarii lectoris prudentia et arbitrio distributi. Ex baccalaureis sociis qui sunt primi anni, quique videbuntur ad illud munus aptissimi, quinetiam ex baccalaureis discipulis, si commodum ipsis judicabitur, sumant. Cum alter decanorum aut dis-

Quarto autem quae secundo. Anno deinde bacchalaureatus sui eadem recitent quae primo; secundus annus secundo; tertius tertio; reliquum quarti quarto similes ad repetendum libros habeant. Sic non multis legendis sed optimis idque multum, maximos fructus minimis laboribus percipient, et ad sapientiam, judicium, dicendique facultatem facile pervenient.

Quaesitores harum repetitionum quatuor eligantur, unus primo et tertio anno inserviat, quos jungi volumus, alter secundo et quarto; alius deinde primo et tertio bacchelaureorum anno; quartus secundo illorum anno et quarto administret. Horum officium sit quaeque arbitratu suo ut incipiat et desinat jubere; videre ut lectam Graecam sententiam non per partes sed integram simul Latinam faciat, neque in legendo nisi errato admisso aut meliore interpretatione adhibenda mora ulla sit, neque unus totum, sed singuli aliquid quotidie transferant.

Qui Aristotelem, Platonem, Demosthenem, orationes Ciceronis et philosophica, Graecum praeterea Testamentum Novum et Bibliorum libros, intra duos annos, suos non habuerit, hosque libros ad tempus Magisterii proprios non possiderit, domo ejiciatur, idque ut fiat praeses et magister aulae diligenter videant.

A tempore quo in magistros artium admissi sunt, usque ad Festum Michaelis Hebraica incipiant cognoscere. Magistri artium ceterique altioris gradus eruditi ne torpeant providendum. Doctrinae enim usus illis facilis et diligentiae exemplum inferiores ad studia inflammat.

Hi omnes duas in partes dividantur; superioris major, inferioris junior censor moderator sit. Horam integram praesidis arbitratu assignandam quotidie vel Novum Testamentum in Hebraica convertant, vel Vetus Testamentum pari modo in Graecam linguam transferant idque alternis faciant. Autoritas moderatorum et forma transferendi eadem sit quae supra in discipulorum translationibus commemorata est.

Socius tardus denario, discipulus quadrante, absens socius duobus denariis, discipulus denario multetur; singula errata discipuli cujusque minuto, socii quadrante puniantur, nec obediens quaesitori hebdomatico commeatu privetur.

Electus quaesitor si munus recusaverit tam diu commeatu careat dum hanc moderationem in se susceperit.

Magister aulae ut ceteri quaesitores diligentes sint curet, ipse cujus repetitionis velit quotidie moderator sit et quamdiu velit ab una ad aliam transeat, otiosus ne sit.

Qui frequentius abfuerit graviter et severe arbitratu magistri aulae, si discipulus, censoris grandioris, si socius fuerit, multetur.

Socii secundum senioritatem in tres decurias dividantur; e quibus una et infima in die Lunae in philosophia, media die Mercurii a sexta pomeridiana ad octavam tertia et summa die Veneris in theologia problemata a quinta pomeridiana ad septimam hebdomadatim custodiant. Moderatores sint primae magister aulae, secundae censor junior, tertiae censor senior. Hi quando incipiendum, desinendum ab argumento ad putet aut respondeat, tum disputationi praesit ille, qui sit ejus manipuli maxime senior. Quaestiones discutiendae biduum ante diem qua futura sit disputatio, in aula collegii affigantur. Inter disputandum, ubi opponens unam integram horam confecerit, sint duo alii ejusdem manipuli, qui alteram horam continuam alternis disputent opponantque, incipiendo semper a senioribus. Quod si tertius quispiam aliquam horae istius partem sua sponte voluerit disputando consumere, tum duo illi, qui tenentur disputare, brevius sua argumenta concludant, ut ei aliquantum temporis concedatur. Dum disputant tam respondens quam opponens ac reliqui etiam disputatores superiora subsellia occupent. Disputationi autem die Mercurii omnes, tum illius manipuli tum primi, disputationi die Lunae omnes tum illius manipuli tum generales sophistas omnes interesse volumus. Quod si quispiam praedictorum abfuerit aut tardus venerit, eodem modo puniatur quo pro cultu divino. Si vero opponens suas vices omiserit, viginti denariis; duo autem disputatores sive replicatores, si munus suum non praestiterint, duodecim denariis singuli mulctentur. Mulcta cedat in eorum usum qui disputandi laborem suscipere voluerint et munus disputandi proximo seniori decedendo a decanis assignetur, et ita deinceps. Quod si quis ea de causa saepius mulctetur, tum judicio magistri et octo seniorum puniatur gravius. Porro statuimus et ordinamus ut singulis diebus Martis, Jovis, et Veneris, ab hora quarta ad quintam, cum dies profestus fuerit, sint duo eadem hora sophismata, alterum ex generalibus sophistis et reliquis qui in dialectica majores fecerint progressus, suprema in parte aulae, alterum a ceteris sophistis in infima aulae parte quibus utrisque moderetur lector primarius et sublectores prout vices suae postulant. Quaestiones solum petantur ex rhetorica seu dialectica, proponantur omnino sine ulla praefatione. Sint praeterea duo problemata simul ex praedictis sophistis et baccalaureis, qui non disputant in sacello die Sabbati, si profestus dies fuerit, ab hora octava ad nonam usque servata, quorum altera e philosophia vel morali vel naturali, alterum ex dialectica promatur pro arbitrio et facultate disputantium. In quorum initiis duo themata proposita quam brevissime explicent; horum sint moderatores ut supra de sophismatis dictum est. In quibus omnibus tam sophismatis quam problematis ordine argumenta proponantur, considerate repetantur, et ad partes prout dialecticae praecepta exposcunt distincte respondeatur. Quod si respondens argumentum dissolvere nequit, tum moderator requirat ejus solutionem ab altero vel tertio; quod si qui ipsum recte ac vere dissolvere norit nemo ex sophistis reperiatur, tum ipse moderator dissolvat. Statuimus item et ordinamus quod singulis *diebus Sabbati, tam intra terminum quam extra, nisi festum principale fuerit, habeantur declamationes more ac modo a Quintiliano praescripto;* sintque qui in his se exerceant baccalaurei omnes, sophistae generales, et ceteri quos lector primarius idoneas ad hanc provinciam judicaverit; sint semper qui de aliquo praeclaro themate in hoc dicendi genere unoquoque Sabbato post coenam in sacello disceptent. Atque argumentum, aut a quaestione ad quaestionem discedendum sit praescribant, et in fine problematum argumenta non bene soluta explicent et sententiam suam de tota re controversa plene dicant.

Ordo problematum hic sit: respondens quisque cursu suo sit a grandioribus ordiendo. Hic duas quaestiones triduum ante ad aulae commodum et usitatum aliquem locum affigat. Hujus quatuor confutatores secundum senioritatem decendendo sint qui illius sententiam explicatam tempore aequaliter illis per moderatorem partito refutent.

Decuriatus quisque suae decuriae problemati semper a principio ad finem intersit. Tardus vero aut absens ut in absentiis a repetitionibus multetur. Respondens aut confutatores, si defuerint officio suo, menstruo commeatu careant, et proximus ordine illorum vices suppleat dimidiamque multam habeat, etiam illi poena eadem proposita si fecerit.

Quatuor e sociis grandioribus semper ordiendo, die Martis Anglice, proximi quatuor die Jovis Latine, deinde qui sequuntur die Sabbati Graece, a sexta pomeridiana ad septimam declament. Primus et tertius unas partes, secundus et quartus alteras teneant, nisi singuli singulas sententias de re controversa velit dicere.

Moderator harum declamationum propraeses sit, singulis declamationibus socii omnes adsint. Discipuli etiam, si velint, tum declamationibus tum problematis intersint. Poena absentium, tardorum, cursum suum praemittentium et cursum intermissum non supplentium eadem sit quae superius in problematis definita est.

Singulis Dominicis ad tempus prandii omnes declamationum controversiae ea hebdomada tractandae ad aulae commodum et usitatum locum affigantur.

Discipuli diebus Lunae, Mercurii, et Veneris declamationes, Martis autem et Jovis sophismata hebdomadatim a quarta pomeridiana ad quintam habeant; die Lunae Anglice, Mercurii Latine, Veneris Graece, quatuor ex illis pro senioritatis ratione decendendo declament.

Harum moderator magister aulae sit, is rudes et imperitos instruat, diligentes et laboriosos instruat, quemque in officio contineat, quem extra ordinem viderit corrigat, et ut singuli diligenter officium faciant curet. His declamationibus discipuli omnes intersint.

Discipuli in duas partes dividantur; primus et tertius in unam partem conferantur, secundus et quartus in alteram; hae singulis diebus Martis et Jovis hebdomadatim singula sophismata observent. Moderatores singularum partium quaesitores Aristotelicarum repetitionum sint alternis hebdomadatim moderantes. Autoritas quaesitorum sit qualis superius de sociorum moderatoribus descripta est. Mulctae absentium denarius, tardorum quadrans, cursum suum vel negligentium vel omittentium septendialis commeatus sit.

In singulis exercitationibus proximus quisque ordinem cursum deserentis suppleat, sin minus hebdomatico commeatu careat.

Singuli singulas exercitationum harum partes pro se ipsi suscipiant, sin per alium cum assensu praesidis senatus ob aliquam gravem causam omnes supra nominati suas vices in propria persona expleant, orationesque suas memoriter recitent. Quod si quis vel vices suas praetermiserit vel ex scripto recitaverit, duobus solidis mulctetur, et iterum declamare cogatur. Sin autem illud munus negligenter obierit, aut non accurate memoria tenuerit, denuo declamare cogatur. Si vero forte contigerit ut declamator morbo, aut aliqua gravi causa per primarium lectorem approbanda, impeditus fuerit, tum lectorem primarium certiorem faciat et quicunque ab eo fuerit ad hanc provinciam designatus eam absque tergiversatione exequatur; alter, morbo vel causa demum sublata, vices suas in propria persona expleat. *Omnes, tam socios quam discipulos et pensionarios, sisatores et subsisatores, hortamur his interesse,* quo qui sunt declamaturi ad majorem diligentiam in orationibus tam contexendis quam memoriae mandandis incitentur. Quod si quispiam ex declamatorum numero, ex oppido aliqua de causa exiverit, eum qui proximus est decimo quinto die ante commonefaciat. Quod si minime eum hoc modo commonefaciat, tunc vel ipse propria in persona idem ipsum munus praestet, aut per alium praestandum curet, etc.

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fecerint, illius postea cursum ipse suppleat, ut commutatio officii non sit omissio; qui non fecerit bimestri commeatu careat.

Sermo vel Latinus vel Graecus vel Hebraicus sit. Socius si alia lingua nisi quando statuta praescribunt obolo, discipulus quadrante mulctetur.

Comoedia aut tragoedia, una Graeca, altera Latina, post Epiphaniam ante initium termini quotannis collegii sumptibus agatur. Eas diligenter curent magister aulae et reliqui quaesitores.

In servatoris Christi festis, Sancti Spiritus et Trinitatis, singuli Graecos et Latinos versus sex ad minimum utraque in lingua faciant, et ante prandium alicui aulae conveniente loco affigant. In festis similiter Purificationis et Annunciationis Beatae Virginis, omnium sanctorum quatuor, reliquis festis Angliae approbatis duo qui non fecerit pro singulis versibus deficientibus singulos denarios solvant.

STAT. 22. *De tempore assumendi gradus academici et ecclesiastici.*

Nemo ad publica in scholis sophismata generalis sit qui non a praeside, magistro aulae, et quaestoribus suis idoneus judicetur.

Ad respondendum autem quaestioni aut magisterium artium nemo admittatur priusquam doctrinae cursum confecerit, quem in statuto de ordine publicarum exercitationum exposuimus, et praesidis ac senatus judicio moribus et doctrina habilis videatur.

Qui bacchalaureus futurus est brevem summam Aristotelicorum vel Topicorum vel Posteriorum vel Ethicorum scribat et magistro aulae et quaesitori suo cognoscendam et probandam ante admissionem suam offerat, eaque postea praesidi et senatui a magistro aulae pro periclitatione progressionis ejus in litteris ubi de admissione agitur ostendatur.

Nemo ad magisterium artium admittatur qui non Aristotelis duos posteriores de anima libros aut * * duos libros, aut duos Aristotelis de ortu et interitu interpretatus in aula fuerit: quo tempore si plures cooptandi nemo eosdem libros legat qui ab alio lecti fuerint.

Bacchalaureus theologiae ante admissionem suam decem capita e Paulinis epistolis aut Prophetis domi in collegio praelegat, et ex singulis capitibus tres praelectiones faciat, et aliquot annos se in Veteris et Novi Testamenti conversationibus exerceat. Doctor theologiae eodem modo vel Evangeliam Johannis vel Genesim vel Esaiam legat, et ex se integro sexaginta ad minimum lectiones faciat.

Tempus bacchalaureatus et doctoratus idem sit quod statutis academiae praescribitur. Qui secus fecerit et vel tempore praelectionibus erraverit vel praesidis et senatus judicio haud idoneus visus fuerit et suo tempore gradus hos non susceperit collegio moveatur.

STAT. 19. *De tempore assumendi gradus scholasticos et sacros ordines.*

Est quidem illud verissime dictum honorem alere artes; et propterea statuimus et ordinamus, primum ut discipuli, pensionarii, sisatores, et subsisatores, qui jam plurimum in dialectica profecerint in sophistarum generalium numerum cooptentur, idque judicio magistri aut vicemagistri et lectoris primarii; deinde, ut qui futuri sint baccalaurei per triduum integrum ab hora octava ad decimam, et ab hora secunda ad quartam, quid in dialectica, rhetorica, et aliis bonis artibus, quid etiam in philosophia possunt a magistro, vel eo absente a vicemagistro, et octo senioribus atque lectore primario diligenter examinentur. Et quotquot judicio magistri, vel eo absente vicemagistri, et majoris partis octo seniorum et lectoris primarii idonei ad hunc gradum suscipiendum videbuntur, hi tunc, ut mos academiae fert, admittantur ad respondendum quaestioni. Ceteri autem rejiciantur, atque si discipuli sint qui hoc modo rejiciuntur, eorum singulos tanquam non proficientes (si jam quadriennio integro discipulatum obtinuerint) a collegio post tres menses in perpetuum amoveri volumus. Discipulorum vero singuli ante quatuor annos integros in academia vel Cantabrigiensi *vel Oxoniensi* completos ad respondendum quaestioni nequaquam admittantur. Quod si tunc recusent, vel examinati, ut supra posuimus, ad hoc praestandum non reperiantur idonei, collegio post tres menses omnino expellantur. Statuimus porro, quod baccalaurei qui socii vel discipuli sunt triennio integro in baccalaureatu penitus confecto in artibus regere incipiant, et eodem modo examinentur, approbentur, vel rejiciantur, quo supra in capite de sociorum electione dictum est. Baccalaurei autem qui sunt discipuli, si non ante finem tertii anni postquam gradum baccalaureatus susceperint in socios

Septem annos post magisterium artium liberi sunto; octavo, nisi quis diaconus aut presbyter secundum regni nostri morem fuerit, si illum nec aetas impediverit nec publica in scholis professio, nec domi magister aulae sit, nec medicinam nec jus civile persequatur nec praelectio aliqua quotidiana bibliorum sit suscepta, *collegio protinus expellatur.* Qui autem sese studiis juris civilis et medicinae dederit, is duodecem annos in collegio post magisterium maneat, *decimo tertio, nisi sponte cesserit, expellatur.*

STAT. 23. *De modestia et honestate morum colenda.*

Inferiores quique erga superiores officiose et reverenter se gerant; qui secus fecerit prandii aut coenae tempore declamatione culpam in aula confiteatur et veniam deprecetur.

Nemo priusquam per triennium magister artium fuerit, in oppidum solus ingrediatur; qui secus fecerit, declamatione habita culpam expiet. Aedes suspectas aut infames nemo frequentet, bis a praeside admonitus si non abstinuerit collegio ejiciatur, portas aut muros nemo transiliat; qui fecerit, collegio moveatur.

Seditionis domesticae, detractionis, gravis dissensionis authores primo tempore menstruo commeatu, proximo trimestri, tertio collegio careant.

Omnes domesticae causae intra collegium dijudicentur; qui foras aliquem in jus traxerit collegium amittat.

collegii electi fuerint, intra sex menses post e collegio in perpetuum ejiciantur. Quinetiam magistros artium aut in discipulos eligi aut discipulatum habere nullo modo permittimus sub poena amissionis sodalitii, quadriennium autem amplius eam si voluerint retinere permittimus. Praeterea post admissionem ad incipiendum in artibus non in commeatum sociorum majorum ante festum D. Joannis Baptistae proxime sequens ulla de causa sumantur. Quinetiam ut nemo eorum ad incipiendum in artibus ante tertiam Dominicam Quadragesimae admittatur sub poena praedicta. Insuper statuimus et decernimus ut singuli qui sunt baccalaureatum in theologia suscepturi tria capita Novi vel Veteris Testamenti, a magistro et octo senioribus vel majore parte eorum designata, Latine in sacello interpretentur, et tum si a magistro vel eo absente vicemagistro et majore parte octo seniorum idoneus ad eum gradum judicabitur, ad publice opponendum et intrandum admittatur. Ac neminem hunc gradum sumere permittimus nisi septem minimum annis integris magister artium fuerit, sub poena praedicta; neque quisquam ad incipiendum in theologia, id est ad gradum doctoratus capessendum, admittatur, nisi eodem modo et legerit et approbatus sit sub poena antea in hoc capite demonstrata. Magistrum vero et vicemagistrum et octo seniores hortamur admonemusque, sicuti rationem Jesu Servatori in extremo judicio sint reddituri, ut in his examinationibus approbationibusque, neque odio, neque gratia, neque ulla affectione commoveantur; sed moribus solum et doctrina consideratis sententiam ferant. Statuimus etiam quod singuli socii semper sint juxta ordinem admissionis suae in sociorum numerum seniores vel juniores, et eam senioritatem sine ulla mutatione teneant exceptis concionatoribus et doctoribus. Porro statuimus et ordinamus ut socii qui magistri artium sint, post septem annos in eo gradu plene confectos, presbyteri ordinentur. Quod si noluerint, intra tres menses post spatium illorum annorum penitus expletum collegio in perpetuum expellantur, exceptis illis duobus juris civilis et medicinae professoribus.

Dissensiones inter socios ortae a praeside et senatu intra biduum tranquillentur; sin minus praeses et censores duoque socii per discordes eligendi audita iterum utrinque causa intra triduum cum aequitate dijudicent et quem illi finem imposuerint in eo discordes conquiescant; qui secus fecerit collegio careat.

Causa inter praesidem et sociorum aliquem aut plures orta a propraeside et senatu audiatur et pacificetur; sin intra triduum id fieri nequeat, ad praepositum Regalis Collegii, magistros Collegiorum Christi et D. Ioannis, aut illis absentibus ad eorum vicarios per duos socios et praeside et adversa parte eligendos, scripta causa deferatur, et quod duo ex his decreverint, id ratum sit, nec obediens collegio careat.

Tam domi quam foris vestitu utantur omnes ecclesiasticis viris convenienti; qui secus fecerit menstruo commeatu careat.

Vestis sumptuosa et supra statum et gradum ne sit, sed scholasticis conveniens; qui secus fecerit assidue dum perseveraverit diario victu multetur et declamatione culpam expiet.

Nemo armis aut gladio intra academiam utatur; qui fecerit septemdiali commeatu multetur.

Canes, viverrae, accipitres, aves vocales in collegio ne nutriantur, neve multae venationi aut aucupio sint dediti; qui fecerit dum perseveraverit septemdiali victu multetur, et declamationem in aula prandii aut coenae tempore habeat.

Alea ne quis omnino ludat, neque chartis aut ludis vetitis utatur; qui domi vel foris secus fecerit menstruo commeatu careat, declamatione aleas vituperet. Schaccis autem et ludo philosophorum nativitatis tempore in aula ludant. Nulli lusus in area aut hortis collegii sint; qui utuntur arbitratu praesidis puniantur et damnum aedibus aut fenestris illatum resarciant.

STAT. 24. *De excessu ex academia.*

Nemo nisi honesta et probabili causa a collegio abeat; commentarii apud praesidem semper sint in quo discedentes diem exitus, revenientes diem reditus manu sua conscribant.

Qui discesserit licentia a praeside non consecuta, primo menstruo commeatu, deinde trimestri, tertio collegio careat.

In dies reditus habeatur quo die tempus reditus conscripserit; qui diem exitus in discessu in commentarios non retulerit, ejus singuli absentiae dies pro duobus habeantur.

Annus a festo Michaelis ad ejusdem replicationem numeretur.

Annuae absentiae tempus sit sociis septuaginta dies, discipulis quadraginta; qui plus abfuerit collegio ipso facto careat.

Sin morbus aut grave admodum impedimentum inciderit, nisi intra decem dies post absentiae tempus praesidi et senatui denunciandum curaverit, pro nullo impedimento reditus habeatur.

Absentia vel in collegii negotiis, vel ubi collegium ruri propter pes-

tem fuerit, vel ad concionandum coram regi vel ad crucem Pauli, pro nulla habeatur.

Absentes modeste et graviter se gerant: hac lege reus et convictus praesidis arbitratu puniatur.

Praeses ne nimis durus in honestis et legitimis postulationibus abeundi sit, nec in levioribus et petulantibus nimis facilis ad concedendam licentiam.

Sin justa et necessaria causa post absumptos absentiae dies incidat, ut praesidi et senatui longius absentiae tempus tribuendum videatur, licentiam ut absint concedant. Sed ne nimis largi sint in licentiis dandis, socio ad negotia non ultra triginta dies, discipulo non ultra quindecim tribuant.

Socii non plures duobus aut tribus in transmarinas partes studiorum gratia abeant, neque plus tribus annis absint, et stipendium minus quadraginta solidis quam si domi essent habeant. Qui tertio anno expleto non redierit, collegium hoc ipso amittat.

Stat. 25. *De causis relinquendi collegii.*

Si socius decem libras annuas aut discipulus quique vel haereditate aliqua vel pensione vel promotione ecclesiastica aut alia quavis ratione ad terminum vitae vel ipse vel ad ejus usus alius habuerit, vel sacerdotium cujuscunque aestimationis, post annum collegio careat.

Nemo uxorem ducat aut bedellus academiae sit aut alterius collegii socius sit; qui fuerit post tres menses collegio careat.

Regius lector si uxorem duxerit societatem cum uxore retineat.

Stat. 26. *De commeatu collegii.*

Συσσίται collegii in aula sint, hoc nos commeatum his statutis appellamus. Nemo extra aulam sine licentia a praeside prandeat aut coenet; qui fecerit diario victu careat.

		s.	*d.*
Commeatus hebdomaticus	Sociorum........................	1	9
	Discipulorum, ministrorum, et famul. praesidis, ...	1	2
	Mediastini reliquias sociorum et singuli hebdomadatim		4

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Stat. 24. *De comoediis ludisque in Natali Christi exhibendis.*

Novem domestici lectores, quo juventus majore cum fructu tempus Natalis Christi terat, bini ac bini singulas comoedias, tragoediasve exhibeant, excepto primario lectore quem per se solum unam comoediam aut tragoediam exhibere volumus. Atque hasce omnes comoedias seu tragoedias in aula privatim vel publice, praedictis duodecim diebus, vel paulo post pro arbitrio magistri et octo seniorum, agendas curent. Quod quidem si non praestiterint, pro unaquaque comoedia seu tragoedia omissa, singuli eorum quorum negligentia omissa sit decem solidis mulctetur.

(B) p. 192.

THE BIDDING PRAYER.

'The Bidding Prayer,' says a recent investigator of the subject, 'is not so much a form of prayer, as a bidding of the bedes or prayers of the people, calling aloud upon them to pray and directing them what to pray for, or, as in after-times, calling upon them to use certain specified devotions, with a required attention,—Paternosters, and afterwards Paternosters or Aves, or Aves only.

'They were used not only in this country, but in Western Germany and in France, where they held their ground as a part of the *prone* without interruption until the old Gallican Church was overthrown at the Revolution,—the primitive custom of the priest speaking in the mother tongue being everywhere retained.'...'It was probably (being *unknown at Rome*) one of those customs which the Gallican Church received from the East—and very possibly one of those which our own Augustine adopted from the Church in Gaul, when he gathered the English Use from those of Rome and Gaul in accordance with the advice of Pope Gregory the Great. At all events...bidding the prayers of the people was practised in this country before the Conquest.

'In 1534 the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury considered the question of correcting and reforming portesses, missals, and other books; and the more complete rasing and abolishing *of the names of the Roman pontiffs and Thomas Becket by all priests.* It continued to be one of the questions at visitations down to the year 1547, "Whether they have put out of their church books this word *Papa* and the name and service of Thomas Becket?" The *Lay Folks Mass Book* (ed. T. F. Simmons, M.A., for Early English Text Soc.), pp. 315—16.

The subjoined extracts are specimens of the different forms of this Prayer used in the University Church at different periods:—

The earliest instance that I have been able to discover of the omission of the Pope's name, is that contained in an official report made to the university authorities at Oxford of a sermon preached at St Mary's Church in that city, on Ascension Day, 1382, by Dr Nicholas Hereford, a zealous follower of Wyclif. The following is a translation of the passage, as given by Mr Thomas Arnold in the *Academy*, 3 June 1882:—

'He recommended the states of the Church under this form, "Ye shall pray" [*orabitis*]—he said to the people—"for the lord the King, the lady the Queen, and the lady mother, and for the lord Duke [John of Gaunt] ye shall pray, that God would give him the grace of obeying the King, and enticing him to what is good; and next ye shall pray for all the temporal lords of this realm; afterwards ye shall pray"—he said

—"for all who are spiritual officers of God" [the chancellor, the university, the mayor, the citizens, etc.], and in the whole recommendation he made no special mention of the supreme pontiff [*non fecit mentionem de summo pontifice specialem*].'

The following is the form prescribed for general use by the Injunctions of Edward VI (1547); here the substitution of king Henry's (and subsequently king Edward's) name for that of the Pope and that of the Cardinals, as *supreme Head*, represents the main deviation from earlier forms:—

'You shall pray for the whole congregation of Christ's church; and especially for this church of England and Ireland; wherein first I commend to your devout prayers the King's most excellent majesty, *supreme head* immediately under God of the spirituality and temporality of the same church; and for queen Katherine dowager, and also for my lady Mary, and my lady Elizabeth, the King's sisters.

'Secondly, you shall pray for the lord protector's grace with all the rest of the King's majesty's council; for all the lords of this realm, and for the clergy and commons of the same; beseeching Almighty God to give every of them in his degree, grace to use themselves in such wise as may be to God's glory, the King's honour, and the weal of this realm.

'Thirdly, ye shall pray for all them that be departed out of this world in the faith of Christ, that they with us, and we with them at the day of judgement, may rest both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in the kingdom of heaven.'

See Caldwell, *Documentary Annals of the Reformed Church of England*, I 21—22.

On the occasion of Dr Perne's sermon (*supra*, p. 192) 6 Aug. 1564, we recognise the substitution of 'supreme Governor' for 'supreme Head'—a change attributed, as we have already seen, to Lever's influence (*supra*, p. 173, n. 2; p. 192, n. 4).

Commendo igitur vestris precibus universam ecclesiam Catholicam per totius orbis partes distributam, nominatim vero ecclesiam Anglicanam et Hibernicam, in quibus imprimis orabitis pro excellentissima principe et domina nostra Elizabetha Angliae, Franciae et Hiberniae regina, fidei defensatrice, et ecclesiarum Angliae et Hiberniae in omnibus causis tum ecclesiasticis tum civilibus suprema gubernatrice, ut Deus det ei vitam prolixam, imperium securum, beatum, et diuturnum, consiliarios prudentes et fideles, domum tutam, subditos obedientes, et reges vicinos undique amicissimos. Secundo, orabitis pro omnibus archiepiscopis, episcopis, et omnibus ecclesiae Dei ministris: nominatim pro reverendissimo in Christo patre archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, totius Angliae primati; pro reverendo patre episcopo Eliensi, pro eximie a nobis honorando Domino Gulielmo Cecilio, primario Reginae Majestatis Secretario longe prudentissimo, ac hujus Academiae Cancellario longe dignissimo; pro Domino Procancellario, Dominis Procuratoribus et Dominis

Taxatoribus, et omnibus hujus Academiae bonarum litterarum studiosis; pro honoratissimo Reginae Majestatis privato consilio; imprimis vero pro nobilissimo viro Domino Roberto Dudleo, summo hujus Academiae senescallo, et totius hujus Academiae patrono munificentissimo; pro reliquis hujus regni proceribus, magistratibus, ac judicibus, ut ita se gerant omnes in officiis suis, memores rationis illius quam reddituri sunt omnipotenti Deo coram illius tribunali; pro omnibus hujus regni subditis; gratias agentes pro omnibus qui in fide Christi hac luce commigrarunt, ut nos ita pie in hac vita geramus, ut in futura regnemus cum illis in regno coelorum, cum Abrahamo, Isaaco, et Iakobo. Pro his et pro gratia vobis mihique necessaria, piis precibus Deum ex Christi institutione invocemus.

Nichols's *Progresses* (ed. 1805) III 54.

The following form is remarkable for its reference to the reigning sovereigns without any attempt to define the relation of the Crown to the Church. It occurs on the fly-leaves of a copy of Thorndike's *Just Weights and Measures* (St John's Coll. Lib. Qq. 10. 37), and must be assigned to the period between 1694, when Tenison became archbishop of Canterbury, and 1702 when William III. died. The master of St Catherine's not being mentioned, it is probable that it was used either by a master himself, in this case either Eachard (1675—97) or Dawes (1697—1714), or by a member of the College during the vacancy.

'Let us pray for Christ's Holy Catholic Church, that is for the Congregation of all Christian people dispersed over the face of the whole earth—more especially for the Churches of Great Brittain and Ireland —and herein for his Majesty our most Gracious Sovereign King William —Catherin the Queen Dowager, Her Royall Highnesse the Princesse Ann of Denmark and all the Royall Family. For all the Clergy of the Land, by what names or titles soever dignified or distinguished; whether they be Archbishops or Bishops; particularly for the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Lord Archbishop of this Province, the Right Reverend Father in God, Symond, Lord Bishop of the Diocese, together with all Priests and Deacons. For the King's most honourable privy Councell, the High Court of Parliament now assembled; for all the nobility and Magistrates of this realm: that these and every one of these in their several stations may serve truly and painfully to the Glory of God, to the edifying and well governing of His people, remembering the great accompt that they must one day make. Let us pray likewise for all nurseries of Learning and religious Education. For the two famous universitys of this Land: this of Cambridge and that other of Oxford: and herein for his Grace Charles Duke of Somerset, our Chancellor, the Reverend and learned the Professors, Mr Proctors, Mr Taxers and all that bear office in this our Body. For all particular Colleges, and, as I am more particularly bound, for the religious and ancient Foundation of St Catherine's Hall: for the Fellows, Scholars,

and all the Students in the same. For all civil Incorporations: particularly that of this Town: for the Worshipful the Mayor, the Aldermen his brethren, and all that bear office in that body. Let us pray likewise for all the Commons of this Realm: that they may all live in the true faith and fear of God, in humble obedience to his Majesty and in Brotherly love and Kindness one towards another—etc., etc.'

In the 'Form of Prayer to be read before a Clerum' printed in Wall's *Ceremonies of the University of Cambridge* (edit. by Gunning, 1828, p. 439), the first part runs as follows:

Oremus,

Pro Sancta Christi Ecclesia Catholica; scilicet pro universo coetu populi Christiani per orbem terrarum diffusi; speciatim vero pro Ecclesiis Anglicana et Hibernica: et in his praecipue pro Augustissimo GEORGIO, *Britanniarum rege, fidei defensore, et super omnes cujuscunque ordinis homines, in omnibus causis, tam Ecclesiam quam Rempublicam spectantibus, intra regna et dominia sua summo gubernatore*, etc.

(C) pp. 291, 292, 302.

THE DISCIPLINA.

In the library of St John's College there are several copies of the book referred to on page 291 as Walter Travers' *Disciplina*; the title-page of the work is as follows:—

> *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae, et Anglicanae Ecclesiae ab illa aberrationis plena e Verbo Dei et dilucida explicatio.* [Rupellae.] Excudebat Adamus de Monte. M.D.LXXIIII.

There is also in the same library (A. 2. 45 Univ. Lib. h. 6. 16) a copy of the English Version of this work, in small quarto and printed in the same year, the title-page being as follows:—

> *A full and plaine declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline owt off the word off God | and off the decläninge off the churche off England from the same.* Imprinted. M.D.LXXIIII.

The former of these two volumes is by no means uncommon, and the statement of Strype, that it was written by Walter Travers, is made on the authority of Whitgift (*supra*, p. 303) has been accepted by Strype, Baker, and others, and never called in question. The author matriculated as a student of Christ's College, 14 Dec. 1560, was elected a junior fellow of Trinity, 8 Sept. 1567, and a senior fellow, 25 Mar. 1569.

The latter volume (the translation) was the work of Cartwright after his retirement to Geneva (*supra*, pp. 227, 263). It is, as Baker, in an entry on the fly-leaf of one of the Latin originals, describes it, printed in 'a black, rude, Gothick, letter.' The Preface, contained in both editions, but not by Travers, is designed to recommend the volume in the strongest manner to the attention of the religious world. It is said by Baker to have been written by Cartwright. This edition of the English translation is described by Baker (*u. s.*) as 'admodum rarus'; and it is remarkable that Anthony Wood does not appear to have seen either the Latin or the English edition of 1574[1], and that Strype was ignorant of the latter. In his *Life of Whitgift* (I 345) he says, after referring to the Latin edition,—'And *afterwards* it was put into English (having been originally written in Latin) for the more general use.' There seems little doubt that in speaking of the English edition as a *subsequent* rather than a contemporaneous publication, he had the following in his mind:

A ful and Plaine Declaration of Ecclesiastical Discipline out of the Word of God, and of the Declining of the Church of England from the same. At Geneva. M.D.LXXX.

This edition requires again to be distinguished from that published four years later: A BRIEFE *and Plaine Declaration, &c. of Discipline.* printed by Robt. Waldegrave. Lond. 1584—this last being a different book with a different title.

In 1584 there appeared also another edition of the Latin version, of which Bancroft gives the following account:—'The year ensuing, 1584, the seven and twentieth of her Maiesty, out started this booke, with great glory at the parliament time: and forthwith the present government of the Church, with all the orders, lawes, and ceremonies thereof, was to be cut off at one blow, and this new booke or platforme must needes be established. But it preuailed not. Shortly after that parliament, the saide booke and platforme was found amongst themselves to have something amisse in it. And the correcting of it was referred to Traverse. Which work by him performed, came out againe about the year 1586, when there was another parliament in the nine and twentieth of her maiesties reign. But it was then (as I suppose) seuered from the saide booke of common praier, and become an entire work of itself.' *A Surray of the Pretended Holy Discipline*, &c., (1593), p. 66.

Of the translation printed at Cambridge (*supra*, p. 304) we have no trace; but in contravention of Whitgift's statement that it was the same as that which Travers 'set forth in Latin' (*supra*, p. 304), we have the following assertion by Bancroft, who, it is to be observed, expressly refers to the 'translator in Cambridge' (*Surray*, p. 237):—'But you must remember that I doe referre you to his Latine booke, and not to the English translation of it.... The translator of Traverses book hath quite omitted the wordes which I have alleadged, and all the rest that leadeth to that purpose, euen seuenteene lines together'. (*Ibid.* p. 225.)

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[1] Wood-Bliss, *Fasti*, i. 205.

'The "Sacred Discipline,"' says Mr Dexter, 'among others, laid down these especial points: that lawful church government can be gathered only from the Holy Scriptures; that there can be but one right church order and form; that in every particular church there ought to be a presbytery of elders, by whom "all things are directed that belong to the state of their church;" and that all particular churches "ought to obey the opinion of more churches with whom they communicate." There might be here nothing radically inconsistent with the civil government of England, but in putting it into the power of the Consistory to decide what its religion and its worship shall be, a fatal blow was struck at the Queen's supremacy.' Dexter, *Congregationalism of the last Three Hundred Years*, p. 55.

In 1644, Travers' *Disciplina* was published as *A Directory of Government*, &c. and may from that time be regarded as an authoritative exposition of the Puritan conception of Church discipline.

(D) 313.

'NORTH' and 'SOUTH.'

The above terms, as employed in connexion with fellowship and scholarship elections, acquired in the seventeenth century a somewhat different meaning to that which belonged to them in an earlier period.

In the former statutes of Peterhouse was one made in the time of Warkworth (master 1473–1500) whereby it was enacted that one-half of the fellows should be natives of one or other of the following northern dioceses,—York, Durham, Lichfield, Coventry, Carlisle,—or of that portion of the diocese of Lincoln represented by the counties of Lincoln and Leicester; and the other half, natives of the remaining part of the diocese of Lincoln, or of one or other of the southern dioceses (*Documents*, II 54 and 66).

In 1515, it was further enacted that there should at no time be more than two fellows or two scholars from *any one county* (*Ibid.* II 55).

In 1626, the 'scholars' and students petitioned the Crown that the former statute might be rescinded, as dictated by a desire to favour 'that part of England' (the diocese of Durham) 'of which Dr Warkworth (the first maker of it) was.' 'The statute,' say the petitioners, 'pretends to remove from men the inordinate love of their private countries, as a fault by which goodnes and learning is much wronged. But it is so partially contrived, that it argues a most inordinate affection in the authors of it, and in all succession is cause of much wrong to virtue and good literature; for of 41 counties in England, that statute lays not 13 upon the one halfe of the Societie, but burthens the other halfe with above twice as many, as is above set downe.' (*Ibid.* II 99 and 98.)

The meaning of this latter observation appears to have been, that the petitioners held it to be unfair that the twelve counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, York, Lancaster, Lincoln, Chester, Derby, Stafford, Warwick, and Leicester (notwithstanding their much greater area) should be entitled to as many fellowships as all the other English counties, together with those of Wales. In 1629, their petition received a favorable response and the following distribution of counties as 'northern' and 'southern' was assigned,—twenty-six in each:

NORTHERN.

Bedford
Chester
Cumberland
Derby
Durham
York
Hunts.
Lancashire
Leicester
Lincoln
Norfolk
Northumberland
Northampton
Notts.
Rutland
Salop
Stafford
Warwick
Westmoreland
Worcester

Anglesea
Carnarvon
Denbigh
Flint
Merioneth
Montgomery

SOUTHERN.

Bucks.
Berks.
Cambs.
Kent
Cornwall
Devon
Dorset
Essex
Gloucester
Herts.
Hereford
Middlesex
Monmouth
Oxon.
Southampton
Surrey
Sussex
Suffolk
Somerset
Wilts.

Brecon
Caermarthen
Cardigan
Glamorgan
Pembroke
Radnor

It was at the same time laid down that if, at any time, a Scotchman [see APPEND. (E)] or any other foreigner were admitted to a fellowship by royal dispensation, the first so admitted should be assigned a northern fellowship, the second a southern, and so on alternately. It was also enacted that there might be, *at the same time*, four fellows from each of the counties of Cambridge and Middlesex[1], and as Peterhouse had at this time only fourteen fellowships, it was thus, of course, rendered practicable to make the southern element predominant. It will be observed, also, that in the above two lists, Huntingdon, Norfolk, Northampton, Rutland, and Worcester are all northern counties. In the older divisions, whether that according to the dioceses, or with the Trent roughly taken as the line of separation, these counties were in the southern division. In the early statutes of St John's (1545), known as those of Henry VIII this latter division is thus defined: "Statuimus autem et ordinamus ut, universo sociorum numero in duas aequales partes diviso, tantum media pars et non plures e novem trans Trentam comitatibus, videlicet, Dunelmiae, Northumbriae, Westmeriae, Combriae, Eboraci, Richmondiae, Lancastriae, Derbiae, Notingamiae assumantur, ceteri socii e reliqua Anglia eligantur.' (*Early Statutes of St John's College*, ed. Mayor, p. 49). In the same statute, it was enacted that not more than two were to be elected from any one county.

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[1] The relaxation of the statute having reference to the number from each county seems to have been made in other instances in the reign of Charles I.: 'Denique divus Carolus relaxationem statuti sexti, de numero sociorum ex uno comitatu eligendorum, indulsit.' Shermanni *Hist. Coll. Jesu*, p. 29.

At one time, all Wales counted but as one county, a fact that affords additional explanation of the strong sympathy which appears to have existed between the different members of the little Welsh community in the university. Hacket tells us of archbishop Williams that he was 'much welcomed to Cambridge by the Old Britons of North Wales, who praised him mightily in all places of the university,' 'for they are good at that,' he adds, 'to them of their own lineage.' *Scrinia Reserata*, p. 7.

Generally speaking, these restrictions continued in force down to a comparatively recent date at all the colleges excepting King's and Trinity. But King's laboured under a still more detrimental restriction; and the latter foundation alone represented catholicity in this respect. Dyer, writing in 1824, says 'What is it which gives Trinity College that superiority which it challenges over the other colleges at Cambridge?... It has neither propriety-fellowship, nor county-fellowship.' *Supplement to the History of Cambridge*, p. 23; see also *supra*, *Appendix* (A), p. 607.

(E) pp. 362, 516.

FOREIGNERS AT THE UNIVERSITIES.

With the exception of the special proviso in the early statutes of Pembroke (vol. I 237, n. 1, 239), there does not appear to have been any prae-Reformation statute which threw open our Cambridge colleges to students without some restriction as to nationality. The following is the extract referred to on p. 362, n. 2, from the original statutes of Queen's College, Oxford:

'Sicut Universitas Oxoniae, juxta sui nominis designationem, universos suscipit undecunque ad ipsam causa studii confluentes, sic et aula praedicta nulli genti vel bene meritae nationi sinum claudat subsidii; ut quam universalis sit scholarium ipsius Universitatis recollectio, ipsorum assumendorum ad aulam praemissam sit tam generalis electio.'

John Young, dean of Westminster, was a Scotchman, being a son of

Sir Peter Young, the diplomatist and tutor to James I. See S. Clarke's *Lives* (1651), pp. 487, 490; (1677), pp. 87, 89; Heylyn, *Cyprianus Anglicanus* (1671), p. 60; Birch, *Court and Times Charles the First*, I 155.

James was not a little annoyed to find that he was unable to break through the obstacle presented by the restrictions of college statutes, in conferring upon his countrymen the benefits of royal nominations to vacant fellowships. On 9 Dec. 1609, Sir Thomas Lake addressed a letter to the chancellors of Oxford and Cambridge, informing them that his Majesty was 'much troubled' at the reluctance of the universities to admit 'Scotchmen', and desiring them to concert measures for a visitation for the purpose of revoking the 'hostile statutes.' At Cambridge, the authorities would seem to have gone to work somewhat reluctantly; but, after an interval of rather more than a year, we find Fogg Newton, the vice-chancellor, forwarding the following 'note' from King's College, in which the result of their deliberations and the reasons which led to it are plainly set forth:—

'Concerning the admittance of Scottish students into the several colledges of Cambridge, the Heades of Houses have answered by their letters to their honorable Chancellor:

'First, that they cannot admit them into their foundations, eyther as fellowes or scollers, because it is contrary to their local statutes, as appeares by the speciall branches of the same statutes sent up in writing, *which forbid that election be made of any borne out of the realme of England.*

'Again, they cannot otherwise maintaine them out of any allowance of their colledges, both because their foundations are already full, which makes their expenses equall to their revenues, as also for that the distribution and ordering of every colledg receiptes and rentes is not in the disposition of the maisters alone, but is respectively referred by their statutes to the consent of the major part of the fellowes also, who (they feare) will be adverse and backward to any such good purpose as this, because whatsoever is this way to be allowed must of necessity be defalked from them.'

See *State Papers* (*Dom.*) *James the First*, L no. 43; LXI no. 17.

(F) p. 372.

GILES FLETCHER'S VERSES.

De Literis antiquae Britanniae, Regibus praesertim qui doctrina claruerunt, quique Collegia Cantabrigiae fundarunt. Cantabrigiae: ex Academiae celeberrimae typographeo. 1633.

* * * *

Haec igitur si forte tibi monumenta priorum
Noscere, Pieridumve bis octo tecta sororum
Scire vacat, quibus exsurgunt autoribus aedes;
Accipe quae seros deceat meminisse nepotes.
Atria prima vides Austrum spectantia, quorum *Domus Petri.*
Fida datur tutela Deo, sed nomina Petro?
Balsamus haec posuit, qui cincta palustribus undis
Elidis obtinuit praesul bifluminis arva.
  Proxima foemineos jactant sacraria sumptus: *Aula Pembroch.*
Uxor Adomari musis haec struxit Eliza;
Pembrochiae qui rura comes, Wallosque regebat,
Quos videt extremo decedens vespere Phoebus.
  Tertia quae gelidis Aquilonibus atria pandunt, *Coll. S. Benedict. vel Corp. Christi.*
Henricum autorem memorant, quem fertilis agro,
Et pecorum dives genuit Lancastria foetu.
  Quarta vides nostris quae surgunt proxima ripis *Coll. Regin.*
Moenia? Regina domus haec autore superbit:
Margaris, Henrici conjux, haec condidit olim,
Dum melior fortuna fuit, necdum aspera frustra,
Aspera captivo pro conjuge bella moveret.
At cum victa domus tandem Lancastria regno
Cederet, et caeso fugeret regina marito;
Aemula, non hostis, victae virtutis Eliza
Inceptum perfecit opus. Vicina mariti
Nonne vides ut jactet opes, et nomina regis?
  Haec sextus, cum regna senex infida teneret, *Coll. Regal.*
Astruit Henricus, templi cui moenibus ingens
Conditur ascriptum regali nomine saxum,
Laevus ad arctoam qua prospicit angulus ursam.
Fortunata domus nimium, si caetera primis
Aequa forent! Musis invidit caetera Mavors.
Aspice, quae moles, et quae fundamina primi
Interrupta manent operis! vix ista feruntur
Edvardi flexisse minas, quin victor ab hoste
Cum redit, infestis ducens hostilia signis

Agmina, nil meritis inferret bella Camoenis,
Innocuosque ferens incenderet igne penates.
Addidit et musis aliud nascentibus idem
Hospitium, placidae currens ubi leniter undis
Isis Aquadunae foecundat flumine campos,
Altaque vicinos Vinsoria despicit agros.
O nimium deflende senex! tibi regia sceptra
Abstulit, et vitam belli fortuna caducam.
Ast tua, quae melius tranquilla per otia virtus,
Claruit, utilior nobis, tibi noxia soli,
Vivet, et in nullo tua fama tacebitur aevo.
Aula Cathar. En vero qui tecta colunt vicina penates;
Regius haec musis Vodolarsus dona sacrabat;
Aspice ut agnoscant tecti regalis honorem,
Altaque submisso venerentur moenia culmo.
Aula Claren. Proxima quae spatio, tectisque obscura, sed uno
Nomine Clara vides, nostras Budaeus ad undas
Constituit; quorum confinia tecta severis
Aula Trinit. Bathmannus legum studiis operaeque forensi
Despondit, regnat nunc ista Bartholus aula.
Coll. Caii. At cujus pars una novo stat candida muro,
Pars melior veteri saxo constructa, Gonellum
Autorem memorat domus (hic sine prole suprema
Fata sequens, musis haeredibus omnia liquit:)
Auxit agro nuper Caius, duplicique penates
Disposuit muro. Viden' ut nova moenia jactet,
Pieridumque choro, et tecto crescente superba?
Coll. Trinit. Quattuor inde novis quae turribus alta minantur
Et nivea immenso diffundunt atria circo,
Ordine postremus, sed non virtutibus[1], auxit
Henricus tecta, et triplices cum jungeret aedes,
Imposuit nomen facto. Quae proxima cernis,
Coll. S. Joan. Coctilibus muris, parilique rubentia saxo,
Qua super alta sedens postarum limina custos
Arduus auratis tollit se cornibus hircus,
Margaris erexit, fausto quam Derbia partu
Coll. Christ. Edidit: haec etiam quae proxima cernis ad ortus
Atria, jam moriens Christo sacrata reliquit.
Coll. Magd. Quae ponti vicina vides, Audelius olim
Coepit, et adversi posuit fundamina muri:
At coeptum perfecit opus Staffordius heros
Quem genuit maribus regio celeberrima damis.

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[1] *Quae et quantae Hen.* 8. *virtutes* *fol. ult.*
vide *hist. Martin Reg. Aug. in Hen.* 8.

Haec inter media aspicies mox surgere tecta *Coll. Sidn. et Sussex.*
Culminibus niveis, roseisque nitentia muris:
Nobilis haec doctis sacrabit foemina musis
(Conjugio felix, magno felicior ortu)
Insita Sussexo proles Sidneia trunco.
Ultima quae nostris hinc cernis dissita ripis, *Coll. Jesu.*
Inque quibus, dum res pretio Romana manebat,
Lenta cuculligeri ducebant otia fratres,
Transtulit, et musas super sacrata reliquit
Alcocius, bifidum praesul regnator aquarum.
Tuque etiam, Mildmaie senex, tu candida Christo *Coll.Emman.*
Atria felici, tu sanctas omine musas
Institues, fuscis Clarius qua surgit ab Indis,
Eoisque auctam claudit mihi finibus urbem.

(G) pp. 424, n. 2, 427.

AN ABSTRACT, ETC.

I here append the following facts respecting this notable volume and its reputed author, in the hope that others may be able to make the question which it incidentally raises in connexion with our early University Press a subject of more detailed enquiry than has been within my power. In the Library of St John's College there are two copies of the work: the former (Gg. 6. 41) being the original, complete edition; the latter (Gg. 2. 42) being a reprint of pp. 1—163 only, together with the *Answer* to the same, this latter production being attributed by Thomas Baker (the donor), in a manuscript note on the fly-leaf[1], to 'Dr Cosin,'—*i.e.* Richard Cosin, English dean of the Arches and M.P., who died in 1597.

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[1] 'Robert Beale a noted man for his disaffection to the Eccles: Goverment, has been sayd to be the Author of this Book. The Answere is by Dr Cosin. He' [i.e. Beale] 'seems to disown the charge. See Mr Strype's Life of Archbp. Whitgift Lib. 4. cap. 9. P. 391. Of this Abstract, and Answere, see Mr Strype's Annals vol. 3rd: chap. 19 and chap. 23.' *Baker's MS. Note.* For Robert Beale, a distinguished politician and diplomatist, and also well known as a man of literary tastes, see Cooper, *Athenae*, II 311–4. I learn from Mr Sinker that Henry Jacob has been conjectured by some to have been the author of the *Abstract;* while Mr Maskell, in a manuscript note to the copy of the *Answer* in Trinity College library, assigns the latter to Whitgift. He, however, had not, I presume, seen Baker's unqualified statement on the point.

The *Abstract* seems to have been circulated largely: Cosin, in his preface, says: 'But then should he not haue foisted it to a make-shift, to have been printed in hugger-mugger, but would have addressed it to those, unto whome the execution of such pretended necessarie, and yet disused lawes, apperteineth: then should not the printed copies thereof, as not daring to looke out at noone-day, haue beene so soone shufled up, and sent by hundreds into mutinous places abroad, thought most to fauour such factious writings.' *Pref.* A ij.

The original volume is described by Strype (*Annals*, III pt. i. 338) as 'a collection made out of the laws, acts of parliament, canons of the Church, in favour of the Disciplinarians, and endeavouring to prove the deviations of the present bishops in their exercise and government.' the date of its composition is to be inferred from the following passage:

'Whereby I gather, that these offices in cleargy men, haue not bene of any long continuance in England, and that by the ancient laws and customs of England, they do not properly belong vnto them: onely the King by his prerogatiue, hauing power to make barons at his royal pleasure, and to appoint judges in his courtes at his gratious will, hath by the same his prerogatiue, graunted unto the cleargy that which, before time, by the common laws of his empire, did not appertayn vnto them, and that therefore, as the common weale was gouerned, justice ministred, and lawes executed in the King's courts, by the barons, before the time of this graunt by Hen. 2, without the ayde and assistaunce of cleargye men, euen so might the common weale at this day, be as well gouerned by the like gouernment, without any help from any of them; as in deede and truth, the same in matters of policye and greate state, *these 24 yeares hath bene wonderfully gouerned without them.* For which of the cleargy men, since the Lord sealed up the eyes of queene Mary, hath once set his foote within the Councell chamber dore, to consult with the nobility of matters of state?' p. 217.

As the treatise would thus appear to have been written in the year 1582, and the reprint with the accompanying *Answer*, bears the date 1584, we may reasonably infer that the original work was *printed* about 1583, and, as it bears no imprint, the question naturally arises, *Where was it printed?* On a comparison of the numerous embellishments, ornamented initial letters, etc., with those which appear in the volumes printed at the Cambridge press by Thomas Thomas and John Legatt, I incline to the belief that the original edition of the *Abstract* was printed by Thomas, at the press which he conducted, shortly before he received his licence in 1583[1] (*supra*, p. 293); and with the kind assistance of Mr Sinker, I have drawn out the following list of the embellishments, etc., together with references to other volumes printed by Thomas and his successor, in which they are also to be found. These other volumes, distinguished by the Greek letters α, β, γ, δ, ϵ, ζ, are as follows:

(α) Pilkington (Jas.), *Fowle and grosse Sinne of Oppression.* 1585. Thomas.

(β) Rouspeau and L'Espine, *Two Treatises on the Lord's Supper*, 1586. Thomas.

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[1] On p. 293, l. 11, read 1583 instead of '1582': see *Errata*.

(γ) *Harmony of the Confessions.* 1586. Thomas.
(δ) Ursinus, *Explicatio Catechismi.* 1587. Thomas.
(ε) *Beza on Ecclesiastes.* 1590. Legatt.
(ζ) Stockwood's *Danaeus in XII Prophetas.* 1594. Legatt.

List of Embellishments, etc., in 'Abstract'.

1. Ornament on title, B 1 recto, and pp. 165, 207, 243, 259; cf. (β) title-page and first page of preface.
2. Ornament above preface: cf. (α) p. 30.
3. Same page, capital T (floriated), do. E, p. 165; do. F, p. 251; cf. (δ) f. 2, (γ) preface, and (β).
4. Ornament at end of preface and on p 163: cf. (α) p. 27.
5. Initial N on B 2 recto: cf. (δ) p. 9.
6. Wood-cut initial on p. 32: cf. (α) p. 30.
7. Wood-cut ornament on pp. 105, 107: cf. (α) title.
8. St John's head on charger, pp. 107, 207, 259: cf. (ζ) p. 87.
9. Small leaf ornament on pp. 243, 251, 259: cf. (ε) A 5 recto, etc.

An initial B on B 1 recto, an ornament on p. 31, and a small head of Elizabeth on p. 266, are features which I have as yet failed to find in any of the volumes bearing Thomas's or Legatt's name.

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